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1772—1774

THE GAIKWADS OF BARODA

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1805—1808

THE GAIKWADS OF BARODA

ENGLISH DOCUMENTS

VOLUME VIII

ANANDRĀO GĀIKWAD
(1809 — 1814)

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INTRODUCTION

UNDER BRITISH GUIDANCE

The documents in this volume are in the nature of *disjecta membra*, scattered historical remains and disjointed, like pieces of a jig-saw puzzle that have long been mislaid, so that on their rediscovery it is no easy matter to reconstitute the original picture whence they were cut. An attempt is however made here at distributing and classifying them, so as to make it possible for students to strike a trail through what would else be an impassable jungle, and still remains something of a bewildering maze. A few words of comment on the various headings, under which the documents are listed, may serve the purpose of giving at least an inkling, if not an adequate idea, of the contents of this volume and its significance.

I THE GAIKWAD FAMILY

There is a good deal of information on various members of the House of the Gaikwads.

Malharrao of Kadi: He was a Baroda state prisoner, but not under Baroda state control. The Company had taken charge of him. Malharrao's coming to Bombay aptly illustrates Baroda's apron-strings subservience to Bombay. When the question of Malharrao's transfer to Bombay arose, the Baroda Administration would fain have said: 'No.' "Not without some reluctance and jealousy they [the Baroda Administration] yielded up their charge of Malharrao to their trust and confidence in the Company's service,"—a diplomatically phrased statement and poles apart from Malharrao's primitive pronouncement: "Mr. Duncan is Governor of Baroda on the part of the English Company, and the proprietor of Gujarat."

Of course the Baroda Government had to pay for Malharrao's upkeep at Bombay; for which purpose an annual sum of Rs. 15,000 had been appropriated. The English authorities in Bombay allowed Malharrao to spend more than warranted by his pension; by the end of the third year an additional sum of 5,000 Rupees had been spent and was to be recovered. It was piously hoped in Bombay that "it is not

probable that the Baroda Government will object to this inconsiderable excess." Query: Would the Bombay Government have been equally free-handed in sanctioning Malharrao's train of expenditure, if they themselves should have had to foot the bill?

One way out of this difficulty, which was likely to recur, was to suggest to the Baroda Government to increase the yearly pension of Malharrao and his family; an increase to 50,000 Rupees per year was proposed, and eventually granted, not willingly, but grudgingly. Alexander Walker wrote to Bombay: "I am under the necessity of observing with regret proportionate to my anxiety to meet your wishes, Hon'ble Sir, that the Gaikwad Government were extremely indisposed to make this additional provision."

The Bombay Government had still other plans in view as regards Malharrao and his son Khanderao. It was intended to allow Malharrao to return to Gujarat together with his son Khanderao. The Bombay Government were more interested in the son than in the father; and they actually thought of partly restoring Kadi to Khanderao. The following reason for doing so is recorded in the documents: "It would, I [Duncan] conceive, amount to too severe a retribution to render this unoffending son and his descendants the victims of their father's misconduct," than which a more humane sentiment can scarcely be excogitated. There was however an additional reason for this young man being restored to power; and this reason was not so disinterested as the one just quoted. In the words of Duncan: "The utility in possessing in Khanderao's branch of the family a salutary check on the yet untried disposition of Fatesing is sufficiently obvious"; and that is that! However both projects fell through; Khanderao never ruled in Kadi, and Malharrao did not return to Gujarat.

Kanhojirao Gaikwad: He was in active opposition to the Gaikwad Administration. At one time Major-General Wellesley was ready to open negotiations with Kanhojirao because, "when carrying on the operations of the late war against Daulatrao Sindia and the Raja of Berar, I [Wellesley] found that the rebellion of Kanhojirao was very inconvenient." In 1804 Wellesley wrote: "The circumstances of the times are much changed, but still it is my opinion that you [Jonathan Duncan and the Government of Bombay] should have in security the person of Kanhojirao Gaikwad,"

In 1806 Kanhojirao, began to make overtures of peace through his former Diwan, Ganeshpant; and the English at once took the whole matter into their own hands. In Walker's words: "The accompanying overtures... I [Walker] have considered as affording grounds for negotiating with, or rather for admitting this troublesome pretender to certain terms." And Ganeshpant wrote to Kanhoji: "The Hon'ble the Governor replied to me that, if you desire to be at amity with the Hon'ble Company's Government, it is disposed to consider you with a favourable eye."

On the arrival of Kanhojirao's wakil, Navji Patel, at Baroda, in order "that he should have every reason to be satisfied with his reception and treatment at Baroda, as well as that the means of his maintenance should appear to proceed for the Company's Government, I [Alexander Walker] have with a view to the important object of his mission advanced him the sum of Rs. 700, which, I also trust, will be sanctioned by the orders of the Hon'ble Company." This expenditure was sanctioned with the proviso that "every expense incurred on that account should be placed to the debt of Anandrao's Government and not become chargeable to the Company."

In due time Kanhojirao made "professions of unlimited obedience to, and dependence on, the Hon'ble Company's Government, through whose means he hopes to obtain an ultimate arrangement in his favour." This arrangement was at last arrived at. A pension was conferred on Kanhoji, a place of residence was chosen, the number of his attendants was settled, an agent of the Hon'ble Company, accompanied by a respectable guard, was appointed to remain with Kanhoji; and it was all done by James R. Carnac and Alexander Walker in the name of the Bombay Government, of course on behalf of the Gaikwad; but the Baroda Administration, His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad, and Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur being spared the trouble of discussing, and bargaining, and settling; they had merely to follow suit.

The Company acted in the same high-handed manner when Kanhojirao was caught conspiring against the Baroda State. As soon as James R. Carnac had learned from reliable sources of these doings, he at once took steps: "Under these impressions I [J. Carnac] did not hesitate to direct Captain Ballantine to apprehend Kanhoji Gaikwad." According to Ballantine, who effected the arrest, he acted "in consequence

of a special application to me [Ballantine] from the Native Government (*the same emanated from the superior authority of His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad*) and also with the concurrence and knowledge of the Resident" [J. Carnac]. The italicised clause is, to say the least, misleading, as may be inferred from Carnac's own words: "The instructions, which had been given by Vithoba Diwanji with my concurrence to the members of the Gaikwad Administration to act with Captain Ballantine for the seizure of Kanhoji Gaikwad, have received the entire approbation of his Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad, *to whose authority there was no time for reference from Amreli.*" In the light of this statement, Ballantine's assertion that he acted: "in consequence of a special application from the Native Government" is an unwarranted allegation. Ballantine acted in consequence of instruction from James R. Carnac; and the Baroda Administration concurred in consequence of similar instructions received from James R. Carnac.

When the question of settling Kanhojirao's future arose, James R. Carnac had already made up his mind: "I have also to notice that His Highness will be happy to any suggestions for the disposal of Kanhoji Gaikwad which the Hon'ble Board may be pleased to offer." The Hon'ble Board was of opinion: "It seems however essential that he [Kanhojirao] should be removed beyond the limits of the province of Gujarat or of the territories of the Gaikwad." The Board referred the question to the Governor-General for the latter to decide: "Until the instructions of the Supreme Government shall be received, it is advisable that Kanhoji should remain within the British territories under the immediate control of the British Government." But Baroda did not want that Kanhoji should be thus dealt with. Anandrao wrote to Walker: "The adoption of such a step in regard to Kanhoji will do us much discredit among our kindred, inasmuch as it may induce them to suppose that we had not the means within ourselves to dispose of a man as Kanhoji has proved himself to be." But the Bombay Government insisted on Kanhoji's removal from Baroda: "The Governor-in-Council is concerned to have occasion to express his regret at the wavering disposition which the Gaikwad authorities evinced in regard to the disposal of Kanhojirao Gaikwad." The Governor-General, probably not aware of the Baroda opposition, sent orders that Kanhojirao should be taken not to Bengal, but to Madras. These orders were communicated to

Baroda, and the Baroda authorities at last yielded. Anandrao, being appealed to, replied: "I accordingly give my consent under all the circumstances brought forward in support of this measure" [Kanhoji's removal]; and Kanhoji was removed from Gujarat and sent to Madras.

What is altogether incomprehensible is that Sir Evan Nepean, Governor of Bombay, should have made bold to write to Kanhoji: "Whatever inconveniences you may have lately suffered, have, I am informed, arisen out of circumstances wherein the propriety of your own conduct has at least been questionable; and however correct you may conceive your proceedings to have been, *the Government of His Highness appears, from the steps it has taken respecting you to have considered them in very different light.*" Sir Evan Nepean, who was Governor of Bombay from August 12, 1812, to October 3, 1819, during which period the conspiracy was detected, and Kanhojirao arrested and removed from Gujarat, had, it would seem, nothing to do with it. It was all done by the Government of His Highness of Baroda!

Other Gaikwads: The Company were likewise interested in the doings of other members of the Gaikwad family, notably Fatesingrao, Ganpatrao, of Sankheda, Ganpatrao Keroji, Apparao, and Takhatabai, Anandrao's favourite wife. The Company took notice of everything and anything connected with them: when one of them went on a pilgrimage, when another was about to create trouble, when one of them died. Nor was it a member of the Baroda Administration who sent to the Bombay Government a detailed and circumstantial account of these public or private occurrences. This was done by the Resident of Baroda, who was thereupon instructed by the Bombay authorities what measures to take.

II THE PHANSE FAMILY

What was the Company's attitude towards the members of the Phanse family? Here a distinction has to be made between Sitaram and his brother Sakharam on the one hand, and Babaji and his son Vithal Bhau on the other.

Sitaram and Sakharam: The servants of the Company, both in Bombay and Baroda, claimed the right to sit in judgment on Sitaram, not by virtue of any power delegated to them by the Baroda Ruler, but in their own right. Thus for example, in connection with the reforms introduced by Alexander Walker,

Sitaram Raoji was called upon to give an account of his expenditures; and meanwhile the emoluments he enjoyed on account of his ministerial office were stopped, not by the Baroda Government, but simply, because "the letter from the Chief Secretary to Government having authorised the measure of withholding payment of the allowance of Sitaram the Diwan, until the depending accounts be thoroughly elucidated."

Nor were the Company more leniently disposed towards Sitaram's brother, though they were spared the trouble of having to concert vexatious measures against Sakham, who of his own account went to Dhar. "Alexander Walker had already suggested the policy of removing both Kakaji and Sakham from the sphere of their influence over Sitaram;" so that, when Sitaram proposed to send Sakham to Dhar, the Company's servants did not oppose this scheme: "An opportunity has occurred of causing the removal of his [Sitaram's] brother Sakham, realising one part of our [the Company's] projects without creating uneasiness or disquietude to Sitaram." Sakham died soon afterwards.

In course of time Sitaram was told by Jonathan Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, that he could no longer act as Diwan. "Your restoration to an efficient or controlling power in the administration of the affairs of your Master Senakshel Samsher Bahadur cannot, you must yourself be sensible, be contemplated by the Bombay Government as compatible with a due regard to the interests of His Highness's Government, or admitted of being recommended by me [Jonathan Duncan] in justice to the affairs of either State," [Baroda and Bombay].

As a result of his allowance being stopped Sitaram was in great distress. Then the Governor of Bombay could afford to be liberal: "Sitaram Raoji appearing now to have tasted largely and perhaps sufficiently of the bitter fruits of his past misconduct, the Governor-in-Council.....is disposed to concur in the suggestions of the Resident for extending the assistance of the Hon'ble Company [with the Gaikwad's money] to his relief."

Babaji and Vithal Bhau: As regards Babaji, he was treated differently. When his life drew to a close, he was visited by James R. Carnac. The dying man wrote a last letter to his son, who happened to be absent. In the words of

Carnac: "I have the honour to enclose a translate of his [Babaji's] letter, which requires no remarks from me in elucidation of the feeling with which Babaji was animated towards the British Government. It is pleasing to reflect that the acknowledgments, contained in the letter above adverted to, will produce a powerful claim on the attachment of his son." This son, Vithal Bhau, succeeded his father in the office of Khasgidarak, though there was some local opposition to be overcome; "for His Highness the Raja had given way to the insidious representations of some men of low character to the prejudice of his brother Fatesing and Vithoba Bhau." But some of the principal instigators were seized and delivered over to Fatesing and Vithoba Bhau; whereupon Vithoba Bhau's investiture took place.

III BARODA RESIDENCY

The various events, listed under this heading, mainly centre round Alexander Walker and James Rivett Carnac.

Alexander Walker: About to return home in January, 1809, Alexander Walker is officially praised for the valuable assistance he has rendered to the Bombay Government "by the successful issue of an uninterrupted series of intricate and arduous negotiations." He was already on board the *Earl St. Vincent*, when he was asked by the Calcutta Government to postpone his return home, "in equal proportion on account of the political views of the Supreme Government in respect to Cutch and Porbandar as on account of the interior affairs of the Gaikwad State on the concerns of this [the Bombay] Government." Finally in Walker's own words: "During the period of seven years, in which I have been entrusted with the charge of the Hon'ble Company's interests at the Gaikwad Darbar, the views of the Hon'ble Company have been directed to certain objects of political advantage, having a more intimate connection with the internal management of the Gaikwad affairs than is generally usual in political Residencies."

James Rivett Carnac: He was recommended by Alexander Walker to be his successor at Baroda: "He has been present at, and assisted in, the execution of every measure of the Hon'ble Company in Gujarat;.....to the Gaikwad family and Administration he would be an agent peculiarly acceptable;...to Fatesing Gaikwad in particular his succession to this Residency would be considered particularly gratifying." He was given

careful instructions by Alexander Walker: "I would accordingly recommend a frequent attendance at the Darbar,...to keep a vigilant eye over the Administration,...to give your constant attention and support to the shroffs and the moneyed men at Baroda,...to use every delicacy and keep him [Sitaram] satisfied and easy until the final decision of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may be received."

IV LAWLESSNESS IN GUJARAT

It was the result of internal disturbances and external aggression, but in both cases the people responsible were notorious for their criminal misconduct: the Kolis, the Grassias and the Mewasis were inhabitants of Gujarat and local mischief-makers; the Pindaris come from abroad and made plundering inroads.

As regards the Kolis, the Grassias and the Mewasis, their misdoings, as recorded in the Bombay Diaries, run to hundreds of pages, of which but a very few instances are here published, in order not to embark upon an endlessly weary tale of robbery. What is more interesting is the way in which these criminals were dealt with by the British authorities.

When they had to be brought to book, the Bombay Government wanted them to be tried in one of the Company's Courts of Justice, but James R. Carnae prevailed upon the Bombay authorities that the punishment of the guilty should be left to the Gaikwad Administration. On another occasion he pleaded that recourse should be had to the locally extant panchayat system as best calculated to settle such questions. Nor was he in favour of using the Gaikwad troops to punish recalcitrant revenue defaulters, when it could be done otherwise, as, for example, by the system of Bhat securitics. The Bhat who stood as security had a traditional way of bringing the offender to his senses. He would fast with his whole family and sit with them in dharna for a certain number of days, and threaten to persevere in the practice till the refractory party in question should return to a dutiful demeanour towards Government.

In thus adapting himself to his surroundings and following the customs of the country, James R. Carnae acted wisely; but it has to be borne in mind that the method to be followed in dealing with these lawless elements led to discussions, not

between the Bombay Government and the Gaikwad Administration, but between the Acting Resident at Baroda and the Bombay Government. The Gaikwad Administration was expected to acquiesce in whatever decision was ultimately arrived at by the British authorities.

As regards the inroads of the Pindaris, James R. Carnac took matters in hand, and with good reason; for the Gaikwad troops could hardly have coped with these ruthless marauders. If there was any trouble as regards the use of military force, it was not with the Gaikwad Administration, but between the Acting Resident and the officer commanding at Kaira. James R. Carnac wanted that officer to be subordinate to him, but the Bombay Government refused to comply with this request.

Mahi Kantha Settlement: By way of additional information a few documents are here listed under the heading 'The Mahi Kantha Settlement.' This was proceeded with on the same lines and after the same manner as the arrangements effected by Alexander Walker with the Kathiawar Chieftains. In the words of Captain Ballantine: "With the single exception of Bhataji of Amliyara, the salutary proposed decennial arrangements have been hailed by the Mahi Kantha tributaries as essential to their interest and honour, and accepted as a token of the disinterestedness and honourable motives of the British Government to their well-doing."

V KATHIAWAR EVENTS

The political activities of the British Resident at Baroda were not limited to Gujarat. They stretched to the west, beyond the Gulf of Cambay, across the whole of Kathiawar as far as the Rann of Cutch and even farther. The influence yielded by the Company in Kathiawar was in no wise inferior to that in Gujarat.

Kathiawar Policy: James R. Carnac wrote on March 3, 1809: "Captain Greenwood is deputed to Kathiawar to superintend the affairs of the Hon'ble Company in that country," which was a part of the Gaikwad's dominions. After Greenwood's death, Captain Ballantine was sent to Kathiawar as the Company's agent with much the same instructions.

What were the affairs of the Hon'ble Company may be easily gathered from the documents: confirming Walker's settlement, checking brigandage, watching recalcitrant Chief-

tains; in a word, these affairs comprised everything and anything short of the actual ownership of the country, as both the rulers and the ruled were made to realise. Of course everything was done through the Gaikwad authorities and in the name of the Gaikwad.

Banditti and Pirates: Among the ruled, mention is made in the documents of the doings of professional law-breakers: the Kathis, the Mianas, the Okhamandal people: the last were pirates; the others were thieves, cattle-lifters, highwaymen, incendiaries, cut-throats. Lest, in these highly supersensitive democratical days, exception should be taken to these uncomplimentary names, it may be pointed out that the Kathis prided themselves on their occupational pursuits. There is extant a priceless gem of Kathi epistolary art, a letter addressed to Alexander Walker: "From Khandadar his obedient servant Jhareja Lakhji; the rebels: Walla Matra Veraman, Walla Oghir, Matra Gamni, *alias* the criminals Waldan Dandal, Curpurra Chubba; and all the thieves together send their respects."

The damage done by the Kathis was widespread and, considering the poverty of the victims preyed upon, enormous. The Bombay Government informed Alexander Walker that it was left to him to decide whether and how far it would be useful to take action against the Kathis. Walker was in favour of adopting a conciliatory policy, if he could thereby bring the Kathis to follow more peaceable vocational pursuits. He opened negotiations with them, and eventually an arrangement was arrived at. Speaking of this settlement, the Baroda Resident wrote to Bombay: "I made the Diwanji [Vithalrao, the Gaikwad commander in Kathiawar] acquainted with this measure, and he was satisfied with what I had done." Other recalcitrant Kathis did not come off so easily; Vithalrao Diwanji "in concurrence with my [Walker's] opinion" marched against them."

The same conciliatory policy was not followed with regard to Malia. Alexander Walker thought it imperative that strong measures should be taken against it, and the Bombay Government fully approved: "The arguments by which Lieutenant-Colonel Walker has supported the expedience of again employing a force in the western provinces of Gujarat for the suppression of the freebooters of the tribes of the Mianas and the Kathis are conclusive." Khandadar and

Malia were captured, and the fort of Malia was destroyed, because in Walker's words "it having been deemed advisable to destroy the works and fortifications of Malia."

Nor were the Positra pirates spared. The Bombay Government allowed Alexander Walker a free hand in dealing with Positra: "[These] advantages [derived from the treaties with Beyt and Dwarka] should not be sacrificed from any apprehension of the consequences of coercing and, if found necessary, of expelling from their single remaining haunt throughout all the peninsula of Gujarat those freebooters of Positra, and putting that place into safe hands; which must more than any expedient contribute to the final extinction of piracy in all that part of the country." Accordingly Positra was occupied and the fort was demolished. Orders not to demolish the fort, sent from Bombay, came too late. The Gaikwad's share in the Positra expedition is thus described: "The experience I (Walker) had had of Vithalrao Diwanji's character and disposition, and the cordial assistance I have experienced from him during a variety of intricate arrangements, induce me strongly to point him out to the notice of the Governor-in-Council as a person to whose talents and abilities they may continually look forward to support the views and objects of the Company's Government in Gujarat, and whose attachment I strongly but respectfully suggest the policy and advantage of securing."

Kathiawar Chieftains: Kathiawar was divided into a number of independent States, of various extent and importance. All these States came within the sphere of Gaikwad influence, and acknowledged the overlordship of Baroda by the annual payment of the mulukgiri tribute. The Baroda Government did not claim the right of interfering in their internal administration or in their mutual dissensions, as long as their contributions to the Baroda treasury were faithfully paid. In the seventh volume of this series a detailed account was given of Alexander Walker's settlement of the mulukgiri question. From that time onward the Company adopted the policy of closely watching over Kathiawar, on the plea of seeing to it that the settlement mulukgiri was faithfully observed by its signatories. But the servants of the Company held more than a watching brief, as is made plain by the documents referring to the dealings between the Kathiawar Chieftains on the one hand and the servants of the Company on the other.

Grassia of Gohilvar: He can hardly be called a Chieftain. His offer of territorial cession was made not to the Baroda Government but to the Company, a detail worth stressing in an otherwise trivial occurrence.

The Raja of Morvi: The arrangements made with the Raja of Morvi for the payment of arrears of tribute to Baroda are recorded by Captain Greenwood, not only as a chronicler, but also as an agent in their preparation.

The Thakur of Limbdi: In spite of the support given by the Gaikwad commander, Vithalrao Diwanji, the Thakur's request to try one of his dishonest kabaris, was refused on the plea of "a claim to the sovereignty of Barvala [a Limbdi taluka] having been asserted by the British Government."

Junagarh succession: A contest for the succession ensued after the death of Hamid Khan on February 26, 1811. The elder son was supposed to be a usurper, and the younger was considered the legitimate heir. Afterwards the reverse turned out to be the case. The inquiry into the respective rights of the two claimants to the masnad was conducted by Lieutenant James McMurdo, upon whose finding Bahadur Khan's right was acknowledged. Thereupon the Baroda Government, which had at first refrained from interfering, declared themselves in Bahadur Khan's favour. The steps taken at Baroda were reported to Bombay for the Governor's sanction, which was duly given. "It is however right that he [James R. Carnac] should be now apprised that the manner, in which they [the affairs of Junagarh] have thus far been brought to a conclusion, is perfectly satisfactory; and that his [Carnac's] proceedings as well as those of Lieutenant McMurdo are approved."

Porbandar dissensions: It was in the interest of the Gaikwad Government that the Company interfered in the affairs of Porbandar at the request of Kumar Haloji, who had been ousted from the high position which was his by right as heir apparent.

The result of the Company's interference was that "Rana Sartanji [Haloji's father] and Kumar Haloji agree to cede to the Hon'ble Company one-half of the port of Porbandar with a full participation in all its rights. In consideration of the above cession the Hon'ble Company engage to take upon themselves the satisfaction of a part of the claims of the

Gaikwad Government on Porbandar, equal to the amount of 50,000 Rupees."

This agreement did not altogether conform to the instructions of the Supreme Government, who had sent orders that a clause should be asserted "leaving it optional to the Hon'ble Company to withdraw from Porbander hereafter, without however admitting the Rana to the same reciprocity." But Alexander Walker deemed it "impracticable to have obtained a stipulation of this description, so decidedly adverse to the interests of the Rana and [to] those views for which he was desirous of placing himself under our protection."

After this engagement had been entered upon, the Company continued to interfere in its own behalf in the affairs of Porbandar, which was now on the border line of becoming a tributary State of the Company. When dissensions broke out afresh, Lieutenant Greenwood occupied the place. Rana Sartanji and Kumar Haloji were promised the Company's protection, "and for this purpose they [the Company] will station a captain and 100 men in Porbandar." But Haloji's son, Prithiraj, continued to give trouble. "It is hoped that this misguided man will be induced to abandon his present proceedings . . . A perseverance in rejecting considerate proposals, you [Lieutenant Ballantine] should not fail to inform Prithiraj, will be followed by a different line of conduct towards him." In course of time Prithiraj was served with an ultimatum; Fort Chhaya was taken from him by the Company's forces. Thereupon James R. Carnac wrote to Bombay, "I request the instructions of the Hon'ble Board for the disposal of Prithiraj."

Jasaji of Navanagar: Interference in the affairs of Navanagar was due to the repeated inroads into Kathiawar by the Prime Minister of Cutch, Jamadar Fateh Muhammad. These raids were made on the plea of enforcing certain pecuniary demands on Navanagar. These pecuniary claims and their settlement are a much entangled skein not easy to unravel. Commenting on them Alexander Walker wrote: "Although Fateh Muhammad's claims may be founded on written obligation, they must be long since cancelled by the collections he has made from, and the injuries he has inflicted on, Halar." James R. Carnac also pointed out that Fateh Muhammad had sent assistance to the Ruler of Jodiya "to defend

the taluka of Jodiya from the just resentment of the Chieftain of Navanagar, who was extremely desirous of retaliating on Jodiya those injuries which Khawas had assisted Fateh Muhammad in committing in Halar." It is obvious that the question of pecuniary claims was not the only cause of Fateh Muhammad's inroads.

The Company were anxious to put a stop to those inroads, which disturbed the tranquillity of the western provinces of Kathiawar. Accordingly on October 26, 1809, a first treaty was made by Captain Greenwood under the direction of Alexander Walker in the name of the Company with Fateh Muhammad and his son Husain Miyan on behalf of Maharao Rayadhan. In this treaty, Maharao Rayadhan is four times mentioned, and Fateh Muhammad not once, though he signed the treaty (1809, Public Department, No. 346; entry: 10th November, 1809). In the words of James R. Carnac: "By the second article of the agreement with Fateh Muhammad, dated the 20th October, 1809,...the mediation of the Company was pledged for the settlement of certain claims to be possessed by the Raja of Bhuj on Navanagar."

It is therefore surprising that on August 21, 1815, the Governor of Bombay wrote to the Governor-General: "Your Lordship is already aware that the treaty made by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker with the late Fateh Muhammad has been considered to be personal and to have terminated with his death and the cessation of authority of his son and successor Husain Miyan." The decision arrived at by the Government of Bombay in 1815, raises a further question: What about the settlement of the claims of Cutch or Navanagar made in 1812, in which the Ruler of Cutch was awarded a sum of 13,000,000 Koris in full payment of his demand? How is this settlement to be considered? Is it to be looked upon as the redemption of a solemn pledge made to the Ruler of Cutch or as a personal favour to Jamadar Fateh Muhammad?

As regards the final award made by the Company, it rests with the student to determine whether the Jam of Navanagar was justly dealt with, or whether the decision of the servants of the Company was unduly influenced by the Murpur incident. Two Britishers, a lieutenant and a doctor, were assaulted by men of the Murpur garrison. The doctor escaped unhurt,

but not so the lieutenant. The British authorities insisted on the guilty party being handed over to them for trial, a request with which Jam Jasaji refused to comply. This incident affected the question of Fatch Muhammad's claims, and in the words of Carnac: "It is the policy and incumbent duty of the Company's Government under the stipulation of an express agreement that the fair and just claims, preferred by Jamadar Fatch Muhammad against Navanagar, be satisfied." According to Alexander Walker, already quoted, there were no such fair and just claims. As regards Jam Jasaji, the Ruler of Navanagar, he is now depicted as a man of licentious freedom in his actions and of proverbial arrogance.

James R. Carnac thereupon left Baroda for Kathiawar to settle matters either by a compromise or by force of arms. He was accompanied by Fatesingrao at the latter's request, but only after the Bombay Government had approved of it: "The Governor-in-Council does not withhold his acquiescence in His Highness's wishes." At the same time the Bombay Government reminded James R. Carnac that according to Alexander Walker's report Fatch Muhammad's pecuniary demands were to be discharged by Sagaram Khawas of Jodiya and not by Jam Jasaji.

Jam Jasaji became anxious to make amends. He wrote a letter of apology: "This act has proceeded from men who are extremely foolish and bloodthirsty. Hence I am much displeased with these people and have caused them to be severely punished." He also offered to Lieutenant Knight 7,000 Rupees by way of compensation for the injuries sustained. But James R. Carnac was not so easily appeased: "The reparation you state to have afforded by the dismissal of the sepoy who committed the atrocious act of wounding a British officer without cause and unarmed, is considered by me [Carnac] very insufficient; and, as you value the friendship of the sarkars of the Company Bahadur and Senakhaskhel, you will without hesitation conform with the demand made in my communication of the 30th July last," *i. e.*, to deliver the implicated party to the British...

At last military measures against Jam Jasaji were decided upon. However, no fighting took place; for the Navanagar Chief realised that any further opposition would be of no avail. He gave in. In the negotiations which followed, full advantage was taken of Jam Jasaji's helplessness to the greater advantage of the Company, the Gaikwad and Maharao Rayadhan of Cutch.

Jam Jasaji carried out the onerous peace terms to which he had willynilly subscribed. His punctuality in doing so is "entirely satisfactory to the [Bombay] Government and equally creditable to that Chieftain" [Jasaji]. However James R. Carnac regretted that the Ruler of Navanagar showed a distinct want of confidence in the Company, which was the "effect of a circumscribed intercourse with the British Government and [of his] ignorance of the upright principles which govern it" [the British Government]. On this the Bombay Government made the following comment: "The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has only to remark that a change in the disposition and opinions of the Nagar Chieftain, more favourable to the British character than he [Jasaji] would appear to entertain at present, must be left to the operation of events that may afford him the opportunity of a more intimate intercourse with the [British] Government than he has hitherto experienced: and [the Governor has only] to express a confident hope that Captain Carnac will continue to regulate his conduct in such a manner as may remove any doubt which may now be entertained [by Jasaji] of the justice and equity which have uniformly marked the character of the British nation." It would seem that Jasaji died before "the operation of events" effected this hoped-for change in his disposition.

N. B.—*Bhavnagar*: happenings which took place in the State of Bhavnagar are not recorded in this compilation of documents, because they do not come within the purview of Gaikwad activities in Kathiawar. By a deed of November 8, 1808, the annual tribute paid by the Thakur of Bhavnagar was transferred from the sarkar of Anandrao Gaikwad to the Hon'ble Company (Aitchison, *Treaties*, Vol. VI, P. 261, edit. 1892). Thenceforth Bhavnagar was a tributary State, not of the Gaikwad, but of the Company.

VI RELATION WITH OTHER STATES

The remaining documents cover a wide field of information and deal with various incidents, mostly of a political nature, which gave rise to exchanges of views between Baroda and other States, either tributary or non-tributary to the Gaikwad Ruler. At times the matter in question was settled peacefully, at other times armed intervention was used, as will be gathered from the documents.

Amliyara: The terms of an agreement arrived at between the Baroda Administration and Bhataji the Chief of Amliyara,

are forwarded by Alexander Walker to the Government of Bombay: "I have the honour to submit the adjustment which has taken place with this person" [Bhataji].

Balasinor: The Nawab feared that his territories would be invaded by Bapuji Sindia and appealed to the Gaikwad for protection. James R. Carnac remonstrated with Bapuji Sindia; a friendly letter, but at the same time a warning.

Cambay: Relations between Baroda and Cambay were the reverse of cordial. One of the main sources of discontent in Cambay was the refusal of the Baroda Government to continue to defray the kathipal expenses and Baroda's claim to ghasdana tribute.

The kathipal problem was taken by Alexander Walker on behalf of the Baroda States: "Such are the sentiments of this [Baroda] Government; and if after this explanation it should appear to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Nawab of Cambay has any just claims on the Gaikwad Government beyond the year 1803-4, the Administration are ready to yield a prompt obedience to the arbitration of the Hon'ble Company."

Baroda's claim to ghasdana in Cambay was likewise defended by Alexander Walker. The Governor of Bombay wrote to the Nawab of Cambay: "I have to recommend that you immediately depute a respectable and intelligent agent to Colonel Walker for its (ghasdana's) permanent adjustment. Afterwards James R. Carnac, Acting Resident, was entrusted with these negotiations. He repaired to Cambay, but could effect no agreement, owing to the dilatory tactics of the Cambay Ruler. The Bombay Government resented the Nawab's unwillingness to come to an agreement: "Considering the unfriendly conduct of the Nawab of Cambay, the Governor-in-Council does not consider him in the smallest degree entitled to the favourable interposition of this [Bombay] Government."

The negotiations continued to drag on, and to the ghasdana claims were likewise added three Bombay demands. As the Nawab of Cambay continued to procrastinate, the Baroda Administration were allowed to have recourse to retaliatory measures.

Daulatrao Sindia: Sindia's complaints that the Gaikwad forces had invaded his territory proved baseless, as James R. Carnac was able to prove, when the Gaikwad Government

were asked to explain the alleged aggression. On another occasion Daulatrao Sindia's kamavisdar was reminded by James R. Carnac that it was an unfriendly act on his part to engage the services of Muhammad Abu, an inveterate enemy of the Gaikwad Government.

Dhar Succession: After the death of Anandrao Pawar of Dhar the rights of his posthumous son were usurped by Murarrao Pawar. Thereupon the Gaikwad Government "wished to be permitted to send troops to Dhar or to request the assistance of Daulatrao Sindia. But having explained to them that such measures might involve consequence of a serious nature, this [Baroda] Administration has requested me [Walker] to submit the subject for the ultimate decision of the British Government." Alexander Walker intended to write a letter of advice to Murarrao, but was given orders to delay doing so till the Calcutta Government's decision would be known. As Murarrao soon afterwards made his submission, it was not necessary for Alexander Walker to remind him "that God never fails to treat those who quit the path of propriety, according to their deserts."

Dungarpur: There is a reference in the documents to a request for protection made by the Ruler of Dungarpur to a Gaikwad Administration. The Baroda answer was dictated in Bombay. "The circumstance of Dungarpur being already tributary to Sindia and other Maratha Powers constitutes a sufficient motive for the British Government's declining to countenance any extension of our own [English] or the Gaikwad Government's influence in that quarter; under which circumstances the [Dungarpur] vakil should be civilly dismissed."

Ghodasar: The Thakur's offer to transfer his allegiance from the Gaikwad to the Company was rejected.

Jhabua: When Bhimsing of Jhabua asked from the Baroda Administration permission that two pieces of ordnance of small calibre should be allowed to pass through Baroda territory on their way to Jhabua, Alexander Walker referred the request to Bombay: "You will oblige me therefore by ascertaining whether the Hon'ble Governor-in-Council has any objections with the request above mentioned." The Bombay Government replied: "The sale or transit of ordnance [through the Baroda territories] is strictly prohibited by the regulations of the English Government."

Palanpur: Diwan, official title of the rulers of Palanpur, was conferred on them in 1597 by Emperor Akbar. In 1812 Divan Phiroz Khan was murdered by Farid Khan and Raja Muhammad Farid. Phiroz Khan's son, Fatch Khan, was imprisoned, and Samsher Khan, the Chieftain of Disa, became the nominal ruler under Muhammad Farid, Farid Khan having died. The Baroda Government "were roused by a sense of indignation with the proceedings at Palanpur." A British force proceeded to Palanpur, where James R. Carnac effected a settlement between that Principality and the Gaikwad State. With James R. Carnac was a representative of the Gaikwad: "I have the honour to state that, as far as the Gaikwad is concerned, his principal servant [Sakharam Mahadev] here has the authority under my suggestions to form any engagements which may be deemed expedient." The phrase *under my suggestions* plainly shows that everything was done by James R. Carnac.

Radhanpur: Ghaj-ud-din Khan appealed to the Gaikwad State for protection; and his son and successor, Sher Khan, did the same after the death of his father. Thereupon James R. Carnac wrote to Bombay: "It will rest with the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to decide on the policy of forming a connection, which would embrace the [Company's] power of interference or control on occasions of moment, without imposing in ordinary cases any weighty responsibility." The Bombay Government replied: "You should endeavour to ascertain by what means the object of introducing the Gaikwad authority over that place can be best effected." Sher Khan was assisted: and "it does not appear that any difficulty can now be experienced in effecting the ultimate views of the Right Hon'ble Governor-in-Council."

Rajpipla: A dispute between Baroda and Rajpipla "was settled with my [Walker's] advice and assistance." An account of the supersession of Partabsing by Ramsing is forwarded to Bombay with the information that "the sarkar [Baroda] has nominated Mr. Carnac on the part of the Hon'ble Company as guarantee." When Ramsing's successor, Naharsing, proved troublesome the Bombay Governor stated that "the British Government have the means of punishing the Government [Rajpipla] by confiscating as a forfeit the Raja's income, which he derives from the villages, belonging to the Hon'ble Company's pargana of Broach, Anklesar and Hansot."

Conclusion: After this summary view of the documents comprised in this volume and their significance, the general caption, under which they are here published '*Under British Guidance*' needs no further explanation.

Bombay, St. Xavier's College, January, 1943.

ANANDRAO GAIKWAD

(1809—1814)

Under British Guidance

NO. 1. THE GAIKWAD FAMILY

THE documents dealing with the doings of various members of the Gaikwad Family are distributed under the following headings: Malharrao, Kanhojirao, other Gaikwads.

A. MALHARRAO OF KADI

Malharrao, though defeated and a state-prisoner in Bombay, continues to loom large in the history of the Baroda State. The documents referring to him are divided into two sections:

Section A: Malharrao's discontent

Section B: Malharrao's pension

Section A: MALHARRAO'S DISCONTENT

Malharrao, considering himself ill-used, appealed to all and sundry to secure redress of his supposed wrongs. He wrote to the Peshwa and Holkar, Broach and Baroda, and also sent a petition to the Hon'ble Court of Directors. This petition was briefly commented on by Jonathan Duncan, and refuted in detail by Alexander Walker.

DOCUMENTS

Bombay, 15th March, 1807 (1807, S & P. D. 202)

1807

Jonathan Duncan to Court of Directors.

1. I think it a duty incumbent on me to lose no time in submitting to your consideration the enclosed copies of a letter, accompanying papers transmitted to me from Colonel Close, the Resident at Poona, under date the 7th of last month; comprehending the particulars of communication, made to the Resident by His

Correspondence

Highness the Peshwa, of several addresses from Malharrao, the deposed Chieftain of Kadi in the province of Gujarat, inclusive of one [No. 16] purporting to be that person's statement of his own case to the Superior Authorities in England.¹

Malhar's family 16. After all, however, it may especially be regretted that the ruin of Malhar's family should be the effect of his personal obstinacy, as likewise perhaps that he should not himself have a larger stipend for his support than is derivable from the Rs. 800 per month, that he separately draws in part of the Rs. 15,000 per annum, assigned by the Administration at Baroda for himself and his son. To remedy both which objectionable circumstances, measures have been for these several months past under consideration, such as may probably tend to satisfy in these respects both father and son; the latter being peculiarly an object of just and humane commiseration, and who, having committed no fault, nor harbouring any resentment from past transactions, it were undue severity permanently to retain in the present depressed state of his fortune, which, it is accordingly hoped, may be improved, in like manner as has been suggested in the general letter from this Government, in the Political Department, under date the 25th of last month.

No. 1. Letter from Colonel Close, Resident at Poona, to Jonathan Duncan, dated 7th February, 1807.

Malhar's letters I had formerly the honour to notice in a private dispatch an intercepted correspondence, which had been shown to me by desire of His Highness the Peshwa, connected with a plan formed by Malharrao Gaikwad for submitting his case in England, either to His Majesty or the Court of Directors. The originals of that correspondence have since been sent to me by order of His Highness, and I have this day forwarded them for the inspection of the Hon'ble the Governor-General, accompanied by English translations. As time must elapse before you can hear from the Hon'ble Governor-General on this subject, I do myself the pleasure to enclose copies of the several translations for your information.²

No. 16. Petition of Malharrao to the King or Court of Directors.²

Malhar's case Governor Duncan resides at Bombay on the part of the Hon'ble Company Bahadur and the proprietor of Gujarat. Malharrao Khanderao Gaikwad Bahadur represents his case from Bombay for the information of all the British Gentlemen.

Fatesing & Khanderao Formerly Govindrao Gaikwad resided in Poona, and Shrimant Raghunath Bajirao gave him a khilat of investiture and sent him to govern Gujarat. At that period Shivram Pant held the offices of wakil and

1. Fourteen letters, written by Malharrao to different people and found in the 1807 Secret and Political Department Diary No. 202, are not of historical interest and have therefore been omitted.
2. Malhar's account is in many respects a nonsensical travesty of the truth, as may be gathered from the documents already published in Volumes IV-VI. He either shows himself in this petition in his true colours or was perhaps suffering from senile decay.

fadnavis under the Shrimant Raghunath, who directed him to proceed with Govindrao to Gujarat and exert himself in settling the affairs of the Government. Shivrām and Govindrao accordingly set out; and shortly after the aforesaid Shrimant sent a letter to Khanderao, intimating his desire that this person and Govindrao Gaikwad should jointly conduct the affairs of the Government. On receipt of this letter, Khanderao joined Govindrao in order to act along with him, on which Fatesing showed resentment against Khanderao. The ministers of our House, at this period, were Kosaji Bawa Sindia and Shambhaji Sindia; and Fatesing, conspiring against them, sent his jamadar, Ahmed Khan, who put them to death. Having effected this view, Fatesing seized on our mahal Nadiad and levied a tribute from it, of 1,20,000 Rupees.

At this time Khanderao Gaikwad addressed a letter to Fatesing to *Nadiad* this effect: "I have united with Govindrao, and on this account you *tribute* have seized on Nadiad and committed oppression on the inhabitants." In reply Fatesing expressed himself thus: "I shall restore Nadiad to you, but I am resolved to draw a tribute from it of a lakh of Rupees." After this, Fatesing died; he was succeeded on the Gadi by Manajirao Gaikwad, to whom I paid a visit, and said: "Khanderao united himself with Govindrao, and on this account Fatesing seized on Nadiad." Manajirao answered: "I shall restore Nadiad and remit the sum of 20,000 Rupees, but must receive a tribute from you annually of a lakh of Rupees." Manajirao soon after died; and then Govindrao Gaikwad succeeding to the gadi took charge of the Government. I then visited Govindrao; and it so happened that the period of the marriage of my daughter was near at hand; and the bridegroom leaving Poona had arrived at Jambusar. At this crisis Raoji Appaji Prabhu, making groundless representations to Govindrao, excited his enmity against me and prevailed on him to send a force against me at Jambusar. The bridegroom, hearing of these events, fell back and took up his residence in Surat, where he remained four months. At length I sent a boat and, bringing him by sea, caused him to arrive at Kadi, where the marriage was celebrated. I then proceeded to Baroda and paid a visit to Govindrao and thus addressed him: "On account of my attachment to you Fatesing seized on Nadiad. It is proper you should restore this mahal to me. It cannot be right that I should render to you the tribute he demanded from me." Govindrao answered: "I am unwell at present. When I recover, I shall restore Nadiad to you, and dispense with the payment of the tribute. We are both as one." In such manner did Govindrao express himself, but he too soon after died. On this event, his son Shrimant Anandrao Gaikwad succeeded to the gadi, and nominated Kanhojirao Gaikwad to be his Diwan, which office he filled four months, when Raoji Appaji Prabhu, uniting with the Arab and Sindhī risalah and acting perfidiously, cast Kanhojirao into prison in the fort of Ranpur, and assuming to himself the place and power of his Master, and acting as a traitor, said thus to my vakīl: "The annual tribute of a lakh of Rupees must be paid, not a rupee will be remitted." Of this the vakīl informed me, when I addressed a letter to Raoji Appaji Prabhu to the following effect: "Fatesing harboured resentment against me on account of Govindrao, seized on

Nadiad, and took a tribute of a lakh of Rupees from me. This tribute, however, shall not be rendered to you." To this effect did I write. The Prabhu then represented matters thus to Anandrao Gaikwad: "It is true Manajirao and Govindrao remitted 25,000 Rupees of the tribute from Nadiad, but they were in power at the time, and might act at their will. We however will not allow credit for the above sum, but insist on receiving the whole tribute." By such representations the Prabhu excited enmity betwixt Anandrao Gaikwad and me.

Raoji rebels Soon after however I received a letter from Anandrao Gaikwad to this effect: "The Prabhu refused to obey my orders, and it is probable he will soon be master of the State. He has treacherously seized Kanhoji and cast him into prison. He has gained over the risalah and all the household people, and to me the name only of master is left; and if I venture on any act, I must be exposed to the fate of Kanhoji. The Prabhu is become lord of the gadi. You are now to me the same as Govindrao, you are my superior. My servants are destroying my State. This is not right, you must therefore come hither and take measures for refraining affairs here, and effecting the release of Kanhoji. You entertain a great regard for me. The Prabhu and the risalah have become traitors." In such terms did Anandrao address me.

I replied to him in these terms: "The Prabhu has behaved as a traitor and is acting basely, of this I am sensible. He is not such as that you should give him orders and he should obey. The risalah having combined together are destroying the State, you are abandoned and left alone, and no person adheres to you. If you will furnish me with cash, I will form an army and chastise the Prabhu and his colleagues, in such a manner as that no servant shall in future conspire against his Master."

In such terms did I write to Anandrao, who addressed me again to this effect: "The silver articles and treasure, that were in the treasury, have been removed by the Prabhu. The jewels still remain, but I have no power over them. You must therefore confidently and by all means possible raise an army, and make yourself master of the country and forts, and assume the management of the districts, and collecting money, and paying the army; then proceed to chastise the Prabhu and the risalah, and release Kanhojirao from prison."

Thus did he write to me; and according to his directions I raised an army and laid hold of Visnagar, proclaiming that I made the capture on behalf of Anandrao. Amidst these transactions, the Prabhu's brother Babaji came forward with an army and occasioned disturbance. I engaged and defeated him, and he fled to Ahmadabad. My troops continued to guard the pargana, when Babaji, returning with a force, made indications of engaging me. His attempts, however were fruitless, and then it became known to the Prabhu that he had still a Master.

Appeal to Bombay He began to perceive that he would not be able to retain his power, and under this impression he went to Anandrao and making a groundless representation to him, said: "Malharrao is endeavouring

to wrest the government from us. Let me have some treasure. I will dispatch Kamal-ud-din to the Governor of Bombay and bring from thence a British force." Anandrao replied thus: "You have not left a single Rupee with me, you have carried off the whole treasures; you possessing the country, have become master and collect the revenue. The government is under your direction, you hold the seal, while I have only the name of being a Raja."

Having thus expressed himself, Anandrao withdrew to his devotions, and the Prabhu proceeding to the jamadarkhana, and breaking open the treasury, carried off the whole of the property and articles, etc., to his own dwelling, and instantly dispatched Kamal-ud-din to the Governor of Bombay. There he mis-stated matters to the Governor and, obtaining a letter from him, proceeded to Surat where he delivered it, and then returned to Baroda. At this place he remained ten days and then proceeded to Cambay.

There he procured a force, with which he proceeded to the village *Visnagar* of Surfee, appertaining to Kadi, where he halted. The Major Walker then dispatched a letter to me, expressing his desire to see me; and I accordingly proceeded to visit him. He was accompanied by Mr. Inglis and Clarke (Sir William). At my first visit little conversation took place, I withdrew, and encamped at Jedey [Satej?] The Major again desired me to visit him the ensuing day. I again went to him. He asked me what I meant by seizing Visnagar, and quarrelling with Anandrao, and taking his country, and refusing to pay him the annual tribute. I replied: "Anandrao's country and mine are but one, and not distinct. Anandrao is as my son. This place is mine. Between Kadi and Baroda there is no distinction. The Prabhu acts between us as a traitor. He has taken the seal to himself, and imprisoned Kanhojirao, and enjoys the whole dominion, and acts as lord. Such perfidious acts had the Prabhu been guilty of, when Anandrao wrote to me that he could effect nothing, that his servants acted basely, and were enjoying his country. It was accordingly to chastise the Prabhu and risaldars, to release Kanhoji and fix him in the office of Diwan, to replace Anandrao on the gadi, and to establish order in the country and jagirs that I formed an army, and acted as I have done. Had I formed any intention of taking Anandrao's country to myself, what occasion could I have had in taking Visnagar to proclaim that the capture was in his behalf? Such false conduct could not possibly proceed from me. Had I been disposed to act dishonestly, I should have made the capture in my own name. Anandrao is as my son. His honour was sinking, and this led me to act as I have done. Kamal-ud-din having misinterpreted matters to the Governor has brought you hither. Your Government is remarkable for justice and equity, and not in the practice of breaking with the Master on account of the groundless statements of his servants. If you are able, do me justice; and uniting with me, inflict such punishment on the Prabhu and the risaldars as they deserve, to the end that they may abstain from such perfidious conduct in future. Let Anandrao be established on the gadi, let Kanhoji be released and fixed in the office of diwan, and let such agreements of cession as the Prabhu and Kamal-ud-din may have concluded with you, be delivered into my hands. It is not right that you should listen to

the representations of servants and then break with their Master. If giving ear to the misstatements of servants, you withhold the heir from enjoying his inheritance, your situation is only like ours. The same may fall on the head of the Company." Thus did I explain myself.

The Major said in reply: "It is the order of the Governor that you give up Visnagar, that you continue to respect the name of Anandrao as heretofore, that you adhere to original customs and practices, and that you take no concern in the affairs of Anandrao." I remonstrated thus: "Govindrao was independent and uncontrolled, and it is my wish only that Anandrao should be in the same free and uncontrolled state. The Prabhu is bringing ruin on the country, and Sitaram is not less licentious. This does not appear well to me."

Kadi campaign The Major replied: "It is proper that you should relinquish such discourse." On this I said only: "Act as it may be your pleasure." Here the Major expressed his desire, that I should proceed to Cambay, attended by 200 horse, and visit the Governor; to which I expressed my acquiescence. I reflected however that it would be proper for me to repair to Kadi first and, settling my affairs at that place, then proceed to pay the requisite visit. But while I meditated this plan, the perfidious Prabhu brought the Major and the army to Kadi, and halted before the place. I then began to reflect that the Major had desired me to proceed to Cambay to visit the Governor and has yet himself hastened to Kadi. May it not be his intention to lay hold of my person? In this doubt I addressed a letter to the Major to this effect: "You have come hither with the traitor, the Prabhu; is it your intention, pray, to possess yourself of Kadi?" In reply the Major desired me to withdraw my troops within the town, in order that he might encamp on the ground which I then occupied. I answered that my troops would not reside in the town. The Major replied that it was necessary that I should draw off my army to the distance of five kos.

During the parley Mr. Williams and Sunderji Prabhu and other sardars, who were in the army, began to fight. I then wrote to the Major to this effect: "I am about to proceed to Cambay to visit the Governor." When the bearer of this letter was returning, the Major sent an officer and 100 men with the King's colours along with him to Kadi with this party. I proceeded to the Major's camp, although my family felt great anxiety, lest some accident should happen to me. When I had arrived at a short distance on the road, the Major sent word to me that on my account his character had suffered in the country, and that it was necessary that I should admit five of his men into the fort of Kadi, and allow a British colour to be hoisted on the works at this instant. Colonel Clarke drew out 3,000 Europeans and required me to attend him into the fort and hoist the British flag. I then said: "You have brought a traitor along with you, and you wish to hoist a colour on the Fort. This is not right. You have plundered my treasury, my plate, my cloths, and elephants, this is improper." I then addressing the Major told him that he ought to forward me to Cambay to see the Governor, and I and the Major proceeded to Cambay, where I visited the Governor, and observed to him that Anandrao had

addressed a letter to him to this effect: "My respectable uncle at present visits you, he will explain matters to you, and let matters be adjusted agreeably thereto. Let the traitor the Prabhu and the risalah, be delivered over to my uncle. They have ruined my State. They differ amongst themselves, and keep the Government in confusion." In this manner did Anandrao write to the Governor, and accordingly I proposed to the Governor that we should unite and bring matters to an adjustment. The Governor said however: "As to Anandrao's letter and what you have proposed, I shall not listen to you. I shall mention a word or two, and you must acquiesce. Nadiad yields a revenue of 2,25,000 Rupees; accept of 1,25,000 Rupees and remain in Nadiad, and let 50,000 Rupees be paid to the Hon'ble Company and the remaining 50,000 given to Kemal-ud-din." I told the Governor that it was not proper to fix that I should remain in Nadiad, that I had committed no crime, and that I should not consent to reside in Nadiad, and that it was proper I should have leave to depart and seek for employment. The Governor, however, refused to grant me permission and insisted on my agreeing to his proposals to reside in Nadiad. I had no alternative and at length assented. I stated however that I should remain only six months in Nadiad, and then proceed to Bombay and that, while I should reside in Nadiad, it was necessary that no authority should have effect in the district, except my own. The Governor answered: "In the districts and over the forts and garrisons, there shall be no authority but yours."

Thus did this Governor assure me. I accordingly took up my residence in Nadiad and regulating the districts, continued to reside in it during four months, when Ramdas, the vakil of the traitor Babaji, told my officers in the different posts that it was necessary they should quit their stations and repair to the town of Nadiad. Hearing of this, I wrote an account of his conduct to the Major in these terms: "When I was at Cambay, the Governor made over to me both Nadiad and Vestnapore; nevertheless, the traitor, resisting this transaction, has sent his vakil and seized my posts. What does all this mean? If your conduct be thus faithless, I cannot remain in Nadiad." The Major answered: "I have sent an account of what happened to the Governor; when his reply arrives, I shall write to you again." With this trifling he amused my vakil four months, when he at length told me not to stir, and that he should do me justice, I then reflected that the actions of the Company Bahadur were upright, but that the sardars of the Company were faithless and deceitful, that it had become their practice to deprive the killadar of his fort, and wrest from the heir his inheritance, and to deal dishonestly on the false representations of his servants. I now fell under a weight of care, perceiving that they listened not to me; but harkening to the falsehoods of servants, would seize on my posts. I saw that I had agreed to remain for a time in Nadiad, but that the sardar's gentlemen had dealt falsely and, not stopping here, would aim at my life to get my country. It occurred to me that I ought not to remain in Nadiad, but that I ought to proceed to Bombay and explain myself thus to the Governor: "You are esteemed a great man, a great Governor on the part of the Company, and yet, listening to the insidious statements, you do not hesitate to seize on my

*Events at
Nadiad*

inheritance; you, the people of the Company, deal falsely. This is not becoming in you. I am but the humble master of my own house. You, however, being great and mighty, from the love of lucre, depart from your words. This is not proper."

*Events in
Kathiawar*

Having thus determined, I set out from Nadiad, with the view of getting to Bombay and first reached the pargana of Limbdi. There I remained five days, and then went to Morvi. There I remained four months. My family at this time were spread at different places. I assembled them and lodged them in the mouja of Rahipur, and then I resolved to pursue my plan of visiting the Governor. My confidence however left me, for I saw that the brother of the traitor was traversing my country with an army, and that, should I proceed single, he might make an attempt on my life. Under this apprehension, I collected a force with the view to make my way to Bhavnagar and there embarking proceed by sea to Bombay. On this plan, I moved off with my party. I arrived at Kuddy, and halted at the mouja of Dhari. At this crisis, the brother of the Prabhu appeared with his army. We had an action, and my troops defeated the traitor. I then hastened to Bhavnagar, and there prepared a vessel to convey me to Bombay, on which I placed my servants and baggage, and afterwards embarked myself, when the desais of Bhavnagar, Rupaji and Jhala Nagaji, and the Parsi belonging to the British party at the port coming to me said: "There are pirates; if you venture to proceed to sea, they will probably destroy you. It is proper that you should go by land." It appeared to me that they spoke truth. I therefore disembarked my servants and baggage, and went to Bhavnagar, and halted there. I then placed my guns in charge of the Raja of Bhavnagar, and taking the road of Cambay, along the coast, arrived there, and had an interview with Mr. Holford, meaning to pursue my journey to Bombay. Here I learned that the brother of the traitor had his army in the neighbourhood and had secured the different avenues of my route. I accordingly resolved to halt for a time and watch when he should draw off, that I might then set out.

*Malhar's
Appeal*

But the traitor came upon me with his army and taking me prisoner conveyed me to Ahmadabad, where he kept me six months in confinement, when the Major, sending an officer and 100 men, conveyed me from Ahmadabad to Baroda, from whence I was forwarded by way of Broach and Surat to Bombay, where I arrived in the month of Jeth, in the year 1860 [A. D. 1803], and to this moment the Governor and the sardar's gentlemen have failed to do me justice. They have not restored my country. They have listened to the false representations of servants and broke with me and, dishonouring me and seizing my country, have cast me into confinement. I sit here without a remedy. What crime have I committed? My country, which they have taken from me, they decline to restore. It is with you therefore to give me my country, Major Maharaj, your decision will be upright. It is not proper in you to act dishonestly on the misstatements of servants. It is proper that you should deliver my perfidious and hostile ministers and servants into my hands. You have combined with my treacherous servants and seized my country. At this time let my clothes, my silver utensils and articles,

which you have deliberately taken, be restored to me, and likewise my country, which has been violently wrested from me. Let my treacherous servants, who to this day continue to enjoy the income of my country, be compelled to give in a correct account of the property they have consumed, and afterwards be made to render back the whole amount to me with fair interest, and let my country be settled satisfactorily by your sarkar and given back to me, on such terms as that no hostile sardar's gentlemen shall be enabled to listen to any treacherous servants in future and act with dishonesty. Affording me the benefits of your friendship, refrain from encouraging my enemies, new or ancient. Should the state of my affairs at any time call for your support, let your friendly aid be granted to me. I shall never break with your Government, but on the contrary act with friendship. Listen not to the suggestions of my enemies; but investigating well the state of the case, write to me confidently. Thus your fame will spread over the country. In your Government let not the tales of servants be attended to, and let the sardars of your Government be withheld from combining with my servants. Examine well what I may represent, and let not the gadi of Baroda and its territory suffer from the misrepresentations of servants. Listen to the case, which I have represented to you. I have sent my confidential wakil, Amin Patel Dessubhai to wait on you. He will lay the state of my grievances before you. Attending to what I have represented, learning fully what he has to state, deign to direct an adjustment of my affairs, to the end that, my solicitation taking effect, I may continue to pray for your prosperity. All that I have submitted is the suggestion of my own understanding, written in the year 1862. Authenticated by my own signature.

No. 17 Remarks on Malharrao's petition by Jonathan Duncan.

1. The history of the Gaikwad family, who are but the conquerors of Gujarat, is not of remote date. Their ancestor was Pillaji, a native of the Deccan, who had two sons; the eldest Damajirao and the youngest Khanderao; to each of whom he assigned certain districts of the province he had thus subdued; but the political superiority lay in the representative of the elder branch, who paying a tribute to the Peshwa, for the whole country, left only few districts to his junior brother; whose son the present Malharrao, was the only one that survived him; nor has Malharrao, himself more than one son, born in 1784, and whose name is that of his grandfather. *Historical survey*

2. Damaji, the elder son of Pillaji, had several sons, Sayaji, Fatesing and Govindrao who were all three by one mother, whilst Manaji was by another. Govindrao made more than thirty years ago some attempts to establish himself at Baroda, during the government of his brothers; in which he was assisted by a loan and other aid from Khanderao, the father of Malharrao, in the manner the latter has alleged; for which, or some other cause, Fatesing took from him the pargana of Nadiad, and raised the rate of his tribute; whilst Govindrao continued unable to establish himself in the government at Baroda till after the death of Manaji, who was the immediate successor of Fatesing.

3. On the death of Manaji,¹ about the year 1793, his mother, Gangabai sent to Kanhoji, the son of Govindrao, to repair to Baroda, an invitation that this turbulent and ambitious son of Govindrao lost no time in availing himself of, notwithstanding which he was unable to prevent the succession, shortly after the death of Manaji, of his father Govindrao, who put him, on that occasion under the restraint; whence effecting his escape he entertained a body of insurgents, with which he proceeded to levy war against his father. But being defeated, he marched off with the remains of his force to join Malharrao at Kadi, who had at that time a strong motive for receiving him, from the serious misunderstandings that had already ensued between himself Malharrao and Kanhoji's father on pecuniary claims and family jealousies, inclusive of the subject of the marriage of Malhar's daughter; whence, instead of visiting Govindrao (as he has incorrectly asserted and his omission of which constituted with his reception of Kanhoji two of the leading causes of Govindrao's increased dissatisfaction) Malharrao prepared for war with his said constitutional superior Govindrao, negotiating for reinforcements on this occasion as far as Jodhpur, whence he procured a large body of Pathans under the command of Ismail Beg, whom Govindrao's army were however able to intercept and defeat before they could effect their junction or otherwise. Malharrao is by his nearest connections said to have been aiming at nothing less than the conquest of Baroda, inclusive of the general reduction of all the petty chiefs throughout Gujarat. But his auxiliaries being driven back, a peace with Govindrao was, after a series of severe actions in the field, at length effected; and a treaty consisting of twenty-seven articles was signed, about the 17th of October, 1794; by which Malharrao was condemned to pay 5,25,000 Rupees for the arrears of his tribute and the expense of the war, united; whilst the payment of Govindrao's former debt to Khandrao was put off to a future day; at the same time that the rate of Malhar's tribute continued fixed at its highest preceding amount, the feudatory duty of military service on his part to the superior State of Baroda being acknowledged likewise to remain in full force. All which Malharrao has thought fit to pass over unnoticed in his narrative, excepting slightly adverting, in the single instance of the opposition at Jambusar, to the most inconsiderable part of this serious and lengthened contention, which has been already shown to have been rendered the more remarkable from Kanhoji, the second son of Govindrao by a Rajput mother, (a point not immaterial here to remark, as such a maternal descent affects prejudicially in this house the right of heirship) taking part with Malharrao against his own father. Notwithstanding which, the said Kanhoji and Malhar quarrelling during the course of those hostilities, the latter was expelled in a

1. Malharrao had been, towards the close of Manajirao's administration, making preparations (with, as he says, the consent of that Prince and even at his invitation) to intercept from Govindrao and his children the regular succession to the supreme government of Gujarat and to enter himself on the possession of it. But the death of Manaji, sooner than was reckoned, appears to have disconcerted that project. [Footnote in the Diary]

disgraceful manner from Kadi, which laid the foundation of a feud between the parties, that is believed not yet to be well allayed.

4. At the period of the death of Govindrao in 1800, Kanhoji was under restraint by order of his father, as he had been several times before on account of his refractory conduct. But he managed nevertheless to get access to Anandrao, the eldest son and acknowledged heir of Govindrao, from whose easy temper he soon obtained the charge of minister. Not satisfied with which, he proceeded to the length of confining Anandrao, on the plea of the latter's imbecility; and disgusting likewise all the former officers of the Government, they determined to release Anandrao, who had found secret means to apply to them; and Kanhoji was in consequence seized without bloodshed, and deposed in the latter end of January, 1801; Anandrao being at the same moment released, and bearing, as is fully acknowledged by Kanhoji's own agents, a willing part in ordering into confinement that usurper of this authority;¹ whence he was transferred for safe custody to a fort on the Narbada; measures concurred in, and applauded at the time by His Highness the Peshwa and his brother, as appears by their letters, yet extant to Raoba (otherwise called Raoji and Raoji Appaji), the Diwan successively of Govindrao and of Anandrao, and equally so by Malharrao, who lost no time in manifesting his joy at Kanhoji's downfall, as well by firing off the guns of his fort, as by addressing congratulatory letters on their success both to Anandrao and to Raoba his minister, with whom he was at that time on very good terms, as he has himself admitted, as per testimony subjoined to these remarks; whilst he feared on the other hand an attack from Kanhoji, had he continued in power; prompted as the latter was to that design by Malhar's being in arrear of his tribute, aided no doubt by the recollection of his disgraceful expulsion from Kadi, facts which are of the most certain notoriety throughout Gujarat.

5. In noticing therefore Raoba's subsequent demand for his tribute, as a cause of irritation to him, Malharrao has fairly adverted to the first occasion of, and motive for, his second insurrection; but, if Raoba had not preferred that requisition, he would have been justly liable to the imputation of sacrificing the rights of his Master, Anandrao, to his own convenience and security, it being impossible to doubt that by his forbearance on that single article he might have continued to enjoy the full support of Malharrao in the same extent as at the period of releasing Anandrao and deposing Kanhoji, who (as above observed) is acknowledged by Malharrao himself to have been meditating a renewal of his father's expedition against Kadi, when that deposition took place.

1. This account of Kanhoji's downfall is much the same as that given in the *Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 486-487 (Edition 1923). From other documents it would seem that this account is not correct, Kanhoji was overthrown by the Arab mercenaries, who dreaded that he would curtail their powers. See *Gaikwads of Baroda*. Vol. IV, pp. 165, 168, 178, 186-187. See also Vol. V, p. 147, and Walker's letter of June 5, 1807, paragraphs 91, 92.

6. With respect to the fictive letters that Malharrao sets forth to have received from Anandrao, the first article of their alleged contents, is known to be contrary to the facts as they occurred, there being nothing of more established notoriety than that Anandrao was an entirely willing agent in the deposition of Kanhoji, as has been already shown to be acknowledged by the latter's confidential agents on record, at the same time that such acknowledgment is superfluous, no proof being necessary to ascertain that a Prince treacherously confined by his younger brother, who had usurped his power, would be ready to give effect to measures restoring him to liberty. There is however reason to believe that Anandrao regretted, at the same time that he was sensible of the necessity for the subsequent protracted confinement of this brother; and if during that struggle between public duty and personal tenderness, the wily character of Malharrao shall appear, as is yet unascertained, to have found means through the aforesaid Gangabai (as might, from the opportunities enjoyed by, and the former acts of this lady, seem possible) or through any others of the less satisfied females of the family, to carry on a clandestine correspondence with this well-intentioned but acknowledgedly weak-minded Prince, to the effect here asserted, such a surprise on his temper ought not in the eye of reason to countervail the uniform tenor of his public acts. In concurrence with the advice of his public officers and especially of Raoba, his own and his father's minister, and to whom, as he owed his liberation from the thralldom, in which Kanhoji had recently detained him, it is not in human nature that in his collected moments he could desire to expose himself by Kanhoji's restoration to a similar fate; and yet this was the professed and singly avowed object for which Malharrao had recourse to arms, as proved by his recorded letters at the time to the Lieutenant-Governor of Surat, to the Resident at Cambay, and to the Governor of Bombay; all these written communications uniformly depicting Anandrao as a madman or idiot, without their comprehending the slightest reference or any allusion the most remote to the correspondence here referred to, every idea of which was also most positively denied by Anandrao himself in the conferences with Major Walker at Baroda before the march of our detachment; on which occasion that Prince reprobated in language, the most unqualified and impressive, the rebellion of Malharrao, and urged that our force should proceed to join the army, which he had himself detached for its suppression, and along with which he had sent his only son; beyond which he could not, as he himself observed, afford a stronger proof of his reprobation of the conduct of Malharrao in levying war; for which act he expressly affirmed to the Major that his said relation possessed from him no authority whatsoever though allowing for argument's sake that he did and meant, as the alleged letters would seem to import, to vest Malharrao with the power of regulating his dominions, it may safely be asserted that such an ill-judged and delusive concession on the part of Anandrao, which must have proved tantamount to the exclusion of his own in favour of Malhar's branch of the Gaikwad family, ought not, in common justice to Anandrao himself and still less to Fatesing and Sayaji, his two next brothers, competent from their birth to the succession, to be considered in any degree conclusive; nor would, with respect to the two last Princes, be consistent on the

part of the British Government with a due discharge of its previous stipulation and guarantee that the succession should be preserved in the Gaikwad Government according to its genuine course.

7. It is on the part of Malharrao but an indifferent argument that, because he proclaimed Anandrao as the sovereign on the reduction of the town of Visnagar, he had therefore no intention to seize the country on his own account. With reference to which, there stands on the records a letter from himself to Mr. Halford under date the 27th of February, 1802,¹ complaining, on the occasion of his being required to restore to Anandrao's Government the town of Visnagar, that the Governor of Bombay appeared to show himself the patron of the said Anandrao, and hoping that he might also be admitted to a share of the like protecting favour, a communication which does not certainly imply any identity of interests between them. such as Malharrao would now wish to have understood to have had secret operation; at the same time that his own associate, Shivram,² has, at a crisis and in a manner the least liable to suspicion of any intention on his part to disguise the truth, assigned motives fully adequate for Malhar's wishing to amuse and deceive as well Kanhoji as Anandrao by the pretext; whilst his (Malhar's) own son, a young prince now past 22 years of age, has not a doubt of his father's object having been all along to over-reach both of his last mentioned relations and to render himself the uncontrolled master of Gujarat.

8. The pretence of Malharrao as to the conference between him and Major Walker near Kalol having terminated in his return to Kadi, as if merely preparatory to his finally complying with the several urgent invitations to him to repair to Cambay, is an untruth too gross and notorious to require farther refutation than by referring to his own letters to Major Walker on the morning of the 17th of March, 1802,³ the day he most treacherously made his attack on our detachment at the same moment that he was designedly holding forth the language of submission and of peace; of a piece with which are his further most barefaced assertions as to Mr. Williams and Sunderji or others beginning on that occasion to fight, when the truth is that he had most insidiously taken care to put that out of these two persons' power, in a manner so deeply perfidious as must ever equally redound to his confusion and disadvantage, since it is to that superlatively base act of Malhar's, in seizing by surprise and the deepest train of circumvention on the persons of Captain Williams and Sunderji, when at his own invitation and entreaty they were on their road to him as the messengers of peace, followed up instantly by the sudden and unlooked for attack which he made on our entirely peaceably disposed and unsuspecting detachment under the command of Major Walker, that Malharrao has so appropriately to ascribe all his subsequent reverses.

9. Like a man who has no story even feasible to relate, Malhar endeavours to crowd together and to pass lightly over the important occurrences connected with that signal treachery, as well as all the

1 & 2. Gaikwads of Baroda, Vol. IV, pp. 244 & 362.

3 Gaikwads of Baroda, Vol. IV, p. 289.

subsequent events that flowed from it during a period of a month and a half, terminating in his surrender to Sir William Clarke on the single condition of personal safety; on which occasion also, as if all procedures must be tainted with some degree of unfair dealing, he failed in his part of the engagement, which included the expected surrender of himself with his son and family, whereas it is now known from the latter that he left orders for their absconding over night, till he himself came out of his fort.

10. Malharrao's next assertions, as to Anandrao's having written to the Governor of Bombay in his favour, and that he (Malhar) had thereon proposed to the Governor to join their means for the punishment of the Gaikwad ministry, neither deserve nor can, it is presumed, require a negative; but if one were necessary, it is to be found in Malhar's own letter to the Governor, as written from Cutch under date the 14th of May, 1803, wherein he urges by way of complaint that on his aforesaid visit to Cambay the Governor did not enter into any discussion with him.

11. Allowing it, for argument's sake, to have been Malharrao's intention to leave in six months the district and funds, which to the amount of one and a quarter lakh of Rupees had been assigned for his support in Nadiad (a provision that being positively guaranteed to him under the Company's security obviates all cavil about the extent of position) and to repair, as he says, to Bombay, it must be admitted that he pursued a strange and tortuous route by proceeding first in nearly the opposite direction into the distant country of Cutch. His pretended motives of collecting a force in which, with a view to enable him to prosecute the journey to Bombay, although obviously too absurd to call for refutation, yet easily admit of it; 1st, by his own aforesaid letter from Cutch, wherein he gives a sort of indignant negative to the Governor's offer to him through Captain Seton of an asylum at Bombay; the very haven he would now wish to be thought to have at the same period been so desirous to attain; 2ndly by Captain Seton's finding (when that officer proceeded in the beginning of May, 1803 to Cutch, with the letter in question) that Malhar lay already prepared with a force collected around him for the express and avowed purpose, (as communicated by Dhondu, a Brahman agent deputed to the officer in question by that Captain) of making inroads into the Gaikwad territories; in which predatory course Malhar accordingly spent the next six months of this time, notwithstanding the warning given to him by Captain Seton, (with the view of guarding against any apprehended perversion by this Chieftain, of the definite offer that had been made to him of a suitable sea conveyance) that the prosecution of any such object, as his agent had thus avowed, or the attempting of any armed or other progress whatsoever by an overland route, could not fail to incur the displeasure of the British Government.

12. Malhar's pretensions of having, during this his last recourse to arms, defeated Babaji, is the very reverse of the truth. That commander expelled him on the contrary out of the stronghold of Dhari, which, in consideration of some desultory aid afforded to its

proprietor, Malhar had been allowed to occupy with his force in the Kathiawar or peninsula of Gujarat, after which he sustained one or two discomfures in the field, and at length got into a boat at Bhavnagar with the intention (as declared by his son, who was on this occasion along with him) of returning into Cutch, or at least to the north-western part of the peninsula, when he was scared by the accidental appearance of one or more English vessels; and relanding and striking inland into the hilly country, he and his son were in a few days discovered in their retreat, on the hill of Palitana by Babaji's scouts, and with his son carried to the fortress of Ahmadabad, where they remained in confinement; as being now, altogether the prisoners of the native Government.

13. The rest of this account by Malhar as to his having proceeded from Bhavnagar to Cambay and had an interview with Mr. Holford for the purpose (as he pretends) of prosecuting his journey to Bombay is, in point of accuracy and truth, of the like description with the greater part of his narrative, as appears by the ingenuous relation of his own son, who was along with him, and by the understated and fully concurrent correspondence with Mr. Holford, the gentleman whom Malhar thus deliberately feigns to have on that occasion visited.

Query addressed by Duncan to Holford on 10th February, 1807.

I request you will report whether you and Malharrao had any personal meeting, or that he came (to your knowledge) to Cambay between the periods of his deserting the provision assigned to him in Nadiad and his being afterwards made prisoner by Babaji in Kathiawar.

Holford's reply to Duncan, dated 18th February, 1807.

In acknowledgement of your letter of the 10th instant I have the honour to inform you that Malharrao never to my knowledge visited Cambay during the interval of his deserting Nadiad and being made prisoner by Babaji in Kathiawar, nor had I ever any interview with him during that period.

14. Malharrao having terminated, as abovenoticed, his last expedition and 3rd insurrection by becoming a prisoner to the native Government, that of the Company had no positive right to interfere further concerning him; but that Chieftain having found means to forward several months after his confinement a private and piteous note to Major Walker, the Resident at Baroda, imploring that he might be transferred to the custody of the British Government, that of the Gaikwad at Baroda yielded to the Major's intermediation for this purpose on condition of our preventing his future machinations or escape; in consequence of which the Chieftain arrived at Bombay in June, 1804; and although considered with his son as prisoners at large, during the continuance of the war with Holkar, they have both been since left entirely at liberty and live now at Bombay without guard or restraint of any description.

No. 17A. Letter from Jonathan Duncan to Anandrao, dated 27th January, 1802.

Duncan's question Considering the situation in which the relation of Your Highness is living here under the Company's protection, and the circumstances that led to his being thus placed as founded on Your Highness's application in the Gentoo year 1858 (1801) to repress his former insurrection, it would be gratifying to me to learn from Your Highness the subject of this late correspondence; and as Malharrao has since the reduction of Kadi occasionally wished to have it understood that Your Highness had, previously to the English coming to your aid, invited his interposition against your late minister Raoba, so as to lead to the war that ensued, it is particularly desirable and requisite that Your Highness should distinctly advise me whether there be any and what dependence is to be placed on these reports, and whether you did in any way instruct or authorise Malharrao to remove Raoji Appaji from the diwanship or to come to your assistance for the regulation of your government at the period in question, and to attempt the same either peaceably or by force of arms.

It will always afford me the greatest pleasure to hear of Your Highness's welfare.

No. 17B. Letter from Anandrao to Jonathan Duncan, dated 6th March, 1802,

Anandrao's reply In the era of Samvat 1858 (A.D. 1801) our senior Malharrao Dada Himmat Bahadur did conspire against our state; and to the object of assuaging that rebellion, I did personally have an interview with Major Walker at Baroda for the express purpose of taking the fortress of Kadi from the Himmat Bahadur.

The late Raoba Baba confidentially presided over affairs since the time of His Highness the late Govindrao, and whose credit and dignity have ever been to me as dear a pledge as that of my senior the late Maharaja (Govindrao Bawa). This is notorious to all. Judge then how could I entertain or premeditate any injury to him or his situation? Take the query to your most mature understanding, for indeed the thought never even entered my dreams. On the subject of those councils I caused two letters to be sent to Cambay through the medium of Raoji Appaji, the circumstances of which must have reached your knowledge.

Subsequent to the fall of Kadi, you did enter into certain discussions for the adjustment of some pecuniary source to meet the expenses and to answer the subsistence of the Himmat Bahadur; whereupon for your satisfaction a nemnuk (a pecuniary establishment or appropriation) of Rs. 1,25,000 a year was assigned on the pargana of Nadiad and under the further ensurance of your guarantee.

Notwithstanding this provision, this personage had again recourse to his bad, irregular conduct; when to prevent its further repetition, and considering the convenience and security of the Port (of Bombay) he (Malharrao) was given over to the charge of the Hon'ble Company's Government.

At present, as to the reports spread by Malharrao, it is only necessary to remark that it is well known to all, the illicit object with which he does promulgate such representations; and indeed the matter also, Sir, must be evident to you.

Baroda, 5th June, 1807 (1807 S. & P. D. 207).

1807

*Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.*¹

Govindrao, the son of Damaji Gaikwad, to be deputed by Raghunath Balajirao to the government of Gujarat; and shortly after that, the father of Malharrao, Khauderao, received intimation of Raghunath's wishes that they should jointly conduct the government, which raised the enmity of Fatesing against Khauderao.

7. This refers to a very disputed part of the Gaikwad history, *Walker's refutation of Malhar's statements.* Damaji Gaikwad, who may be styled the first Gaikwad Sovereign (for his father Pilaji was but a servant of the senapati Dabhade), left on his death five sons, viz., Sayaji, Fatesing, Govindrao, Manaji and Malharrao.

8. Sayaji, the senior, was quite incompetent to govern from mental incapacity; and Fatesing availed himself of his immediate presence at Baroda to assist his pretensions to the management of his elder brother's affairs.

9. Fatesing was by the same mother as Sayaji, and who was also the second wife of Damaji. The seniority in years between Govindrao and Fatesing is disputed; and the latter had claims to the succession from being born of the first wife of Damaji. Manaji and Malharrao were born of the youngest married rani, and were also juniors in years.

10. The law of inheritance among the Hindus would give the preference in the succession to Govindrao, but he was at a distance, while Fatesing being present was able to avail himself of the advantage of his situation.

11. This law however is often at variance with the practice and is not rigidly observed. A similar instance occurred in the Bhonsla family. Janoji, who was the senior in years, but the son of the younger rani, superseded his brother Mndhoji and received also a khilat from Madhavrao Ballal, the same Peshwa who bestowed one on Fatesing Gaikwad. This circumstance occasioned a dispute in the Bhonsla family, similar to that which occurred in the Gaikwad's.

To the diwangiri of Sayaji their pretensions were at least equal, but Fatesing had the superiority in every other respect.

1. Alexander Walker's refutation of Malharrao's accusations is contained in this letter running to 384 paragraphs. Only such paragraphs are here published as are of special historical interest. Malharrao's statements are printed in italics, Walker's comment is printed in ordinary type.

12. For the first ten or twelve years Fatesing continued to transact the Gaikwad affairs in the name of his brother, Sayaji; but at length actuated by ambition, or probably a better motive, he paid a nazranah of 20 lakhs of Rupees to the Peshwa Madhavrao Ballal and obtained the title of *senakhaskhel*. This was the first time of this title being assumed by the Gaikwads; Damaji and Sayaji having borne the title of *samsher bahadur* only.¹

13. Henceforward the name of Sayaji was disused, but this Prince still continued to be indulged with all the appearances of external respect, and he was left to follow his own propensities without being deprived of liberty.

14. In the meanwhile Govindrao availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the revolution, which placed Raghunathrao Balajirao for a short time at head of the Maratha Empire, to obtain the *khilat* of investiture of *senakhaskhel* to which the text alludes; and Govindrao proceeded to Gujarat with an army to dispossess Fatesing.

15. Their respective pretensions were henceforth committed to the decision of arms, and success attended the first efforts of Govindrao and placed him in possession of all the open country with the exception of the fortresses of Baroda, Patan, Vadnagar and Visnagar.

16. Govindrao at length laid siege to Baroda; and it was in the encampment before this place that he was joined by Khanderao Gaikwad, the father of the author of the papers now under consideration.

17. While Fatesing Gaikwad maintained the rights which he had obtained from Madhavrao Ballal, it probably may be of little consequence whether Khanderao did or did not possess the authority of Raghunath for his junction with Govindrao.

18. In all ages of the world ambition has attempted to justify its views by some plea applicable to the state of the times or the prejudice of mankind; but, if the commands issued under the disputed sovereignty of Raghunath Bajirao can add any weight to the cause of Govindrao or his adherent, Khanderao, the actual possession of sovereignty in the person of Fatesing must derive superior consideration from the prior sanction he received from the undisputed Peshwa, Madhavrao Ballal.

19. While however Khanderao was assisting the views of Govindrao, his son, Malharrao, was a partisan of Fatesing and actually in Baroda during the siege.

Several engagements ensued, but Govindrao was unsuccessful in his attempt to take Baroda.

1. Aitchison (*Treaties*, Vol. VI, p. 75, edit. 1892) and R. Wallace (*The Gaikowar* p. 19) assert that Pilaji Gaikwad, shortly after 1731, received the title of *senakhaskhel*. A statement to the same effect is made in the *Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, Vol. I, p. 444. Until documentary proof be brought forward to substantiate this affirmation, it is outweighed by Alexander Walker's assertion that this title was for the first time bestowed on Fatesing.

20. In the meanwhile Raghunath Bajirao being obliged to retire from before the Confederacy of the Maratha Chieftains, known by the name of the Barahbhais, arrived at Baroda in the camp of Govindrao, and they, too, both were soon after under the necessity of retiring across the Mahi into the district of Nadiad.

21. It will be unnecessary to detail the events which occurred; a slight allusion will be sufficient to mark their connection with the subject of the present narration.

22. Raghunath continued his journey to Bombay by the route of Bhavnagar, when Govindrao retreated with Khanderao to Nadiad. It may be necessary to mention in this place that during the siege Malharrao fled from Fatesing and joined the cause of his father, which he had embraced.

23. The object of the preamble in the narrative is to justify the conduct of Khanderao in joining Govindrao with the appearance of the authority of the Peshwa.

But it may be equally useless and unprofitable to argue the subject. The weight of Raghunath's authority must follow his fate, and the actual settlement procured by the power of the sword must be that on which the pretensions of all the Gaikwads rest in Gujarat.

24. The idea of a prince, who had for many years been in possession of sovereign power, and who was acknowledged as a legal sovereign, conspiring against the minister of Khanderao is in itself an absurdity.

Fatesing conspired against Kusaji Sindia and Sumbaji Sindia and caused them to be put to death.

25. The atrocity of deliberate cruelty and perfidy, with which the deaths of Kusaji Sindia and Sumbaji Sindia are attempted to be enveloped, are removed by an examination into facts; many witnesses still surviving in Baroda, who can verify the truth of those Sindias having fallen in an engagement which took place at Umreth some time during the period when Khanderao was engaged in open hostility against Fatesing.

Having effected this, Fatesing seized on our mahal, Nadiad, and levied a tribute from it of Rs. 1,20,000.

26. It has already been mentioned that, on the reverse of fortune which attended Raghoba, Khanderao Gaikwad, his son, and Govindrao took post at Nadiad.

27. When the siege of Baroda was raised, Fatesing marched to that district, and after an engagement dispossessed his rival, Khanderao, who retired to Kadi. Govindrao fled to Ahmadabad; to which place being followed by Fatesing, he retired to Lunawada, whence he gave up the contest and went to Poona.

Henceforward Nadiad remained under the immediate government of the Baroda branch.

28. It may here be necessary to remark particularly on the artful, but unfaithful expression of "our mahal of Nadiad."

This district was not a possession of Khanderao. From the best information I am able to obtain, it would appear that, when Damaji Gaikwad was under the necessity of acceding to the arrangement for the division of the country which took place previous to his release from his captivity in the Deccan, Kadi, Dehgam, and Kapadvanj were also assigned in jagir to Khanderao, who was to maintain 400 horses for the service of the Gaikwad; with the jagir he received the title of himmat bahadur. Independent however of this jagir, the district of Nadiad was constituted as the seat of a subahdari over all the Gaikwad districts north of the Mahi. Some part of the produce appears to have been payable at Baroda, but generally it was supposed to be a grant for the expense of the subahdar. Khanderao Gaikwad administered the government of all the districts to the north of the Mahi, but himself and the officers were appointed from Baroda.

29. Fatesing therefore did not deprive Khanderao of any part of his property when he took Nadiad. He only resumed his own, of which he might at any time have deprived Khanderao without so great a provocation as he had now received.

30. Khanderao Gaikwad in Nadiad was a servant of the Baroda Government; in Kadi however he appeared to have been a subsidiary jagirdar.

31. I cannot ascertain that any precise treaty was executed on the reconciliation of Fatesing and Khanderao. The latter however appears to have retained his jagirdari, still subject to the maintenance of a body of horse for the Gaikwad service at Baroda. The last time that the Kadi troops ever performed tainat duty at Baroda was during the reign of Manaji.

Khanderao writes to Fatesing for the restoration of Nadiad, which he consents to on the condition of a tribute.

32. The proof of the alleged consent of Fatesing to restore Nadiad to Khanderao must rest on the production of the document the text refers to.

33. It is unlikely however that this consent was ever implied, or that Fatesing ever had the intention of restoring this dependency to Khanderao. This consent, if established, would be of no consequence, as it must have been resumed at pleasure.

34. Khanderao, died in the year 1840/1 (1784/5)¹? and Fatesing on the 10th Paus Sudh 1846 or December 26th, 1789.

1. The number 57 is to be added to any year A. D. to find the corresponding Samvat, and is conversely to be subtracted from Samvat to find the corresponding A. D. Fatesing died in 1846 Samvat, or 1846-47 = 1789 A.D. According to the *Gazetteer of the Baroda State* Khanderao, died in 1785 or 1842 Samvat. The same date is given by R. Wallace, *The Guicowar*, p. 69.

Malharrao visits Baroda, and Manaji Gaikwad promises to restore Nadiad.

35. Nor am I able to discover any intimation of this design having ever been intended by Manaji.

36. Shortly after the succession of this prince to Fatesing, Malharrao paid a visit to Baroda. The object, in the general opinion, was a compliment. It might have in view the recovery of Nadiad; but, if Manaji ever meditated this design, the period between the death of Fatesing and the accession of Govindrao was sufficient to have executed the intention. It is proper however to advert to an unjust design, which Manaji, it is confidently understood in Gujarat, had entertained, of causing either Malharrao or his son to succeed him upon the masnad of Baroda. Some correspondence took place, and some preparations were made by Malharrao; but the death of Manaji, earlier than was expected, and the activity of Kanhoji, disconcerted the design.¹

Govindrao Gaikwad on his succession sends a force to Jambusar to prevent the marriage of Malharrao's daughter, at the instigation of Raoba.

37. On the 4th Ashadh Wadi 1847, (1850)? or 27th July, 1793, Manaji Gaikwad died and was succeeded by Govindrao. At this time Govindrao Gaikwad was residing at Poona.

38. It may be necessary to introduce a few marks respecting the behaviour of Kanhoji Gaikwad.

39. This person is the son of Govindrao by a Rajputani of the Rajpipla family. His father was united to the lady by an inferior description of marriage, in which the katar or dagger of the bridegroom is the proxy. The nature of this marriage, as well as the circumstance of his mother being by caste a Rajput, renders Kanhoji illegitimate and excludes him from all the hereditary pretensions of a pure Gaikwad. Kanhoji had frequently exhibited symptoms of a turbulent disposition and disobedient conduct to his father, of which the following is an instance.

40. Some time shortly previous to the death of Manaji, he had quarrelled with Govindrao and fled from Poona to Dharampur in the athavisi, where he learnt the tidings of Manaji's death. Upon the event, being invited and countenanced by Gangabai, the mother of Manaji, he proceeded to Baroda, where by the intrigues of that lady he was introduced into the fort, and the administration placed in his hands.

41. It has generally been supposed that Kanhoji was sent here by his father, but this does not appear to be the case, although it was necessary for him to give that complexion to his visit, the advantages of which Kanhoji had the discernment to observe and the art to effect.

1. "Manaji's death occurred on or about the 1st August, 1793." *Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, Vol. I, p. 481. "Manaji died in August, 1793," R. Wallace, *The Guicowar*, p. 68.

42. During this period some disturbances occurred between Sayaji and Kanhoji, and open hostilities were carried on between them within the fort of Baroda, which were however adjusted by the interference of some friends of both parties.

43. About four months elapsed when Govindrao Gaikwad dispatched Naron Ganesh to Baroda, to prepare the way for his own appearance; and himself arrived at Baroda on the 5th of Magh Sudh, 1850 (1851?) or 5th February, 1794.

44. Kanhoji endeavoured without success to intrigue with the military to exclude his father, who, as soon as he found himself established in Baroda, threw Kanhoji into confinement.

45. Resuming the subject of Malharrao's narrative it must be observed that the marriage, which Malharrao Gaikwad was wishing to effect for his daughter, was resented as a family disgrace by Govindrao.

46. In considering the subject, due regard must be paid to the ideas and prejudices of caste, entertained among the natives of India.

47. The family of Bapkar into which Malharrao wished to marry his natural daughter (born of a slave) was already allied to the Gaikwad family by Manaji's sister being married to one of its members. It was the duty of Govindrao, as sovereign and the senior of his family, to prevent the progeny of one of their domestic slaves being raised to an equality with the Gaikwad.

48. This was the real cause of Govindrao having sent a force to Jambusar, from which the bridegroom fled to Surat.

49. The advantages however, which Malharrao held out to the various avarices of the Bapkar's family induced them to disregard the menaces and measures of Govindrao; and the marriage was effected in the manner pointed out in the text.

Malharrao Gaikwad pays a visit to Govindrao, requires the restoration of Nadiad, obtains a promise of it and the remission of tribute, as soon as Govindrao should recover, but he soon after died.

50. The circumstances which preceded and attended his visit are most artfully suppressed by Malharrao Gaikwad, and a promise of restoration of Nadiad is stated as being received from Govindrao, but who soon afterwards died.

51. To explain the cause of the visit it is necessary to refer to the period of Fatesing and Khanderao Gaikwad.

52. When the former had expelled his rival, Govindrao, and reassumed the district of Nadiad, Khanderao became exposed to the whole power of Fatesing.

53. During this Prince's reign the first demand of a pecuniary nature began to be made on Khanderao upon pretence of assisting Fatesing in discharging the demands made upon him from Poona.

54. It was urged on the part of Fatesing that the jagir had been given on the presumed value of its produce being about 22 lakhs; but,

as it was now double, it was proper that he should contribute a portion of the benefit. Khanderao was unable to resist, and obliged to comply. 75,000 Rupees was paid at first, and subsequently the demand was increased to one lakh.

55. During the subsequent reign of Manaji money-payments, if made to all, were but partially made by Malharrao, who had now succeeded his father; and which caused a large accumulation of arrears on the accession of Govindrao.

56. In consequence of Govindrao insisting upon the payment of these arrears in the month of Bhadrapad 1850, (1851)? or September, 1794, the very year of Govindrao's accession,¹ a quarrel ensued, and Malharrao prepared for resistance.

57. Govindrao's army under the commands of Govindrao Mama, accompanied by Mr. Gossan's brigade, accordingly proceeded to Kadi; but Govind Mama's force was weakened by Gossan, on some doubtful cause, separating from him and returning to Baroda.

58. Unable to carry on his operations against Kadi, he confined himself to the interception of Malharrao's reinforcements. These consisted of a large body of Pathan troops under a chief named by some Najif Khan, whom Malharrao had invited to his assistance from Malwa.

59. Govindrao Mama engaged and defeated them at Sidhpur and returned victorious to Baroda.

60. Being reinforced in the month of Kartik or October, he again proceeded to Kadi, and Gossan being reconciled, returned to the camp, which was fixed at a village named Jessalpur; and there it remained for upwards of ten months.

61. During this period a variety of skirmishes and engagements happened with various success.

62. At length negotiations ensued through the medium of Vakhat Seth. During the negotiation the army encamped at Lichgaum six or seven coses from Kadi, they returned to Baroda on the Dasara of Sur Sun or October, 1795.

63. At this place it may be useful to introduce the participation which Kanhoji had in the hostilities of Malharrao.

64. During the animosities which had arisen from the family jealousy on account of the marriage with Bapkar and the non-payment of the peshkash by Malharrao, Kanhoji effected his escape from confinement at Baroda and by unfrequented paths joined Malharrao at Kadi.

65. The distinction he was received with by Malharrao was an additional cause of dissatisfaction to Govindrao, which was much increased by Kanhoji holding a command of troops in the army of Malharrao.

1. Confer paragraph 43, where Govindrao is stated to have arrived in Baroda in February 1794, though Manajirao had died about 6 months previously, as mentioned in paragraph 37. From a letter of Charles Warre Mallet, written from Poona on December 23, 1793, it is clear that Govindrao left Poona for Baroda on December 19, 1793. (*Gaikwads of Baroda*, Vol. III, p 186). This may explain Walker's statement that 1794 is the year of Govindrao's accession.

66. He had not been long in Kadi before he also there began to evince a troublesome disposition. He demanded from Malharao a consideration for his services, which he refused to grant, and replied that he considered him as an unfortunate Gaikwad seeking an asylum; but, if he wished to be considered as a servant, he desired him to quit Kadi.

67. Kanhoji then attempted to associate with Bhavanrao, brother of Malharao (now deceased), but this person was obliged to discard Kanhoji from the threats of Malharao that he would plunder his house if he did not. Thus circumstanced, Kanhoji was under the necessity of leaving Kadi and was shortly afterwards re-admitted to a certain degree of his father's favour.

68. These circumstances, it is reasonable to presume, must have had their usual effect on the human mind, and throw a strong suspicion of insincerity upon the interest which Malharao pretends to take in Kanhoji's concerns.

69. Resuming the [story] of the negotiation, which had ensued between Govindrao and Malharao, I proceed to notice, that they finally ended in a treaty which on the 9th of Bhadrapad Wadi 1851 or October, 1795 A.D. (1794?) was executed by the parties.¹

70. By this instrument, the arrears of the Peshwa and nazar were compromised and settled at Rs. 5,25,001, and the periods fixed, at which this sum should be discharged by instalments, for which security was also given. Certain conditions for mutual restitution of village prisoners, who had fallen into the hands of the contending parties during the war, were agreed upon. The troops of the Gaikwad Government were to exact hay and grain (ghasdana) whenever they moved through the Kadi territory. Bapkar, to whom Malharao had married his daughter, got a safe conduct for his departure. Security was given for Malharao to proceed with safety to visit Govindrao at Baroda. The amount of the peshkash, as settled by Fatsing, was determined and no more. Malharao was to furnish all his troops for the service of the senior branch, when required.

71. The above were the most prominent stipulations, which were made in this, which consisted of 27 articles and was guaranteed by the principal officers on both sides, among whom were Nasir-ud-din and the Arabs on the behalf of Govindrao.

72. The nature of the connection between the elder branch of the Gaikwad family and that settled at Kadi is fully set forth in this treaty, which establishes the dependent state of the latter.

It affords also complete evidence that the promises, which Malharao has asserted in his narrative to have received from Govindrao, were never made.

73. The visit of Malharao, to which he refers, took place in the latter end of Chaitra Vadya 1852 (1853?) or April, 1796 A.D. and not

1. Confer Wallace's account in *The Guicowar* pp. 71-72, where the peace is stated to have been made in 1794.

without very considerable suspicions and apprehensions on the part of Malharrao. He had advanced on his journey as far as Dakor, a celebrated Hindu temple about twenty kos from Baroda; and although he had two clerks on the part of his guarantee in camp with him at Dakor, yet he not only refused to move from that place, but was prevailed upon with great difficulty to remain at Dakor one night long, upon the assurance that his bhandari or security, Nasir-ud-din, should actually be at the Mahi river the following morning, and which Nasir-ud-din by receiving a camel harkarah dispatch was enabled, though with some difficulty, to perform.

74. These particulars, which are described by Bijnath Pandit who accompanied Malharrao on this occasion, are useful, as they reveal the actual circumstances of the visit and prove that it was made under sentiments of a very different import than from the friendly promise, which the text states Malharrao to have received from Govindrao.

75. It may be admitted that the tenor of Malharrao's conversation with Govindrao was of the same purport as the narrative recites.

76. It is stated that he represented that the assistance, which his predecessor had rendered to Govindrao, was the cause of the injuries he had subsequently received from Fatesing, who had not only dispossessed him of Nadiad, but had also demanded and received money from him. Malharrao might also have solicited that his tribute should be remitted, and that Nadiad might be restored.

77. Govindrao was however far from complying with these requests. The treaty, which has been recited, proves this fact, which is also confirmed by the sudden flight of Malharrao from Baroda.

78. The circumstances of this flight not only disproved the assertion of Malharrao that Govindrao promised to restore Nadiad and to remit his tribute, but also disclosed a trait in the character of Malharrao quite consonant to that which he has exhibited in his communication with us.

79. Govindrao had intended, when taking leave of Malharrao, to proceed to this ceremony with a large and, splendid retinue. Malharrao's fears however took the alarm, he suspected an intention to seize him and fled before the interview.

80. Malharrao Gaikwad fled from Baroda in the year 1852 (1853?) Samvat 1796, A. D., and Govindrao Gaikwad died on the 2nd of Asvin Sudh 1856, (1857?) corresponding with 30th Rabiassani or the 19th of September, 1800.

81. As no further visit of Malharrao took place during the lifetime of Govindrao, it will most fully appear that the whole of the assertions inserted in the margin have been most circumstantially disproved.

82. So far from Govindrao having had the least idea of remitting the tribute imposed by Fatesing, it had actually caused one war, and was nearly causing a second; but which was prevented only by the actual discharge of part of those arrears of tribute which Malharrao had so unfoundedly asserted it was in the contemplation of Govindrao to remit.

83. It is equally absurd to suppose that he could have a separate promise for Nadiad, as one fact disproves both, and which it would probably be unnecessary to notice, were it not to expose the designed misstatement of Malharrao for his sinister purposes, of the death of Govindrao having occurred soon after his visit to Baroda, when an interval of nearly five years occurred between these events.

Anandrao succeeds Govindrao and nominates Kanhoji to be his diwan.

84. The preceding part of this letter has already disclosed the flight of Kanhoji Gaikwad from his father while at Poona, and subsequently his intrigues at Baroda to exclude him from the government. Another instance of his character is however to be mentioned, which occurred about a year previous to the death of Govindrao.

85. The jealousies which existed between the father and son by the ambitious intrigue of Kanhoji, which had even led him in a certain degree to oppose the succession of his own father to the Raj, again burst into action, and this person fled from Baroda and levied arms against his father's authority. He was defeated by Narain Ganesh, and himself was obliged to surrender, previously receiving the bhandari of the Arabs that his life and character should be preserved.

86. On his arrival at Baroda he was committed by Govindrao to the custody of the Arabs, who were at the same time his guards and security.

87. It was in this state of durance that Kanhoji Gaikwad was living, when Govindrao breathed his last.

88. During the illness of Govindrao however Kanhoji was not idle. He managed by bribery to bring over to his interest some of the Arab jamadars, who had obtained that dangerous influence in the State, which threatened its subversion. Through their sufferance he got into the town in disguise and proceeded immediately to Anandrao. That very night, 40 persons were thrown in confinement, and the dewai (*dwahi*, proclamation?) was proclaimed in the name of Anandrao Gaikwad and his Diwan, Kanhoji, (the dewai is a proclamation requiring obedience to the person in whose name it is promulgated, always having a reference to the claims of the party).

89. Anandrao was helpless and must have submitted to the will of the Arab faction, who either did or were to receive an adequate reward from Kanhoji for this service.

90. No sooner was Kanhoji placed in his new situation than he disgusted his adherents by his partiality to Ahmed Haidar, one of the Arab jamadars. This person was not an original Arab, but a native of Gujarat, and the preference shown him was on that account a further object of disgust.

91. The enmity of the Arabs however was raised more particularly against Kanhoji from their aversion to the reforms which he

meditated, and one laudable object of which was by their reduction or discharge to relieve the Government from the licentious control which the soldiery had acquired.

92. The irregularities of Kanhoji, some violations of property committed under the authority of his own, and the further change which he was supposed to meditate, also afforded a cause for general apprehension, and these apprehensions were confirmed by the measures of severity to which he resorted. The administration of Kanhoji soon therefore gave discontent.

93. Anandrao Gaikwad was placed in restraint, and all access to him denied. Gahenabai, the widow of Govindrao, was confined, the women of the Gaikwad family were plundered, the inhabitants of Baroda fined, and one Ishwar, a Bania, was put to death.

94. It was therefore with universal joy and approbation that the inhabitants of Baroda on the 13th of Magh Sudh, 1857 or (1858?) the 27th of January, 1801 again heard the dewai (*dwahi?*) of their lawful sovereign Anandrao Gaikwad proclaimed.

95. Kanhoji's dwelling had been surrounded the preceding night by the Arab troops, and after some slight resistance he was in the morning obliged to surrender, and instantly carried before Anandrao, who with much indignation and resentment ordered him into confinement.

96. Thus was Kanhoji deposed from his usurped power, an act which is ratified, not only by the warm consent and participation of Anandrao, and public opinion, but by the particular approbation of all the Maratha Princes. Among these are reckoned the Peshwa, Daulatrao Sindia and Malharrao himself, whose letters to the Raja and Raoba, approving this act, are yet extant and are dated 28th January, 1801;¹ and this early expression of his approval may be quoted as an instance of its sincerity.

Raoji Appaji Prabhu uniting with the Arabs and Sindhi risalah and acting perfidiously cast Kanhojirao into prison.

97. When, therefore, the cordial approbation of Malharrao is expressed in his letter to Anandrao Gaikwad and Raoba, how can he venture, consistently with any respect for truth, to deliver the sentiments expressed in the margin?

Raoba assumes the power of his Master, demands the tribute of Malharrao's vakil. Malharrao refuses the payment by letter. When Raoba addresses Anandrao, he acknowledges that Manaji and Govindrao remitted Rs. 25,000 of the tribute from Nadiad, but that they (or we) will exact the whole.

98. If Malharrao possessed the means of knowing so precisely the conversation which occurred in the palace of Anandrao, the conversation and conduct of Raoba must have been sufficiently public to

1. See Gaikwads of Baroda, Vol. IV, p. 7. and Index *sub voce* Malharrao (letter to Raoji).

enable me to have confirmed this conversation. Raoba however never addressed Anandrao in this state; and the whole tenor of his conduct, both from information and my personal observation, was incompatible with the address.

99. As it was Fatesing Gaikwad, who dispossessed Khanderao of Nadiad, how could the subsequent Princes, Manaji and Govindrao, remit the tribute from the district?

100. The answer to each of these articles exhibits the truth and purposes of this narrative in its odious and proper colours.

Anandrao writes to Malharrao to the following purport: "The Prabhu refuses to obey my orders, and it is probable he will soon be master of the State. He has treacherously seized Kanhoji and cast him into prison. He has gained the risalah and all the household people, and to me the name only of master is left; and if I venture on any act, I must be exposed to the fate of Kanhoji."

101. Enmity being stated to be excited between Anandrao and Malharrao, it is very unlikely that the letter, which is averred to have been received from the former, was ever written; but, as this presumed letter of Anandrao's is of some consequence, inasmuch as Malharrao founds his subsequent hostilities on the command of the legal Sovereign, it may be advisable, on the failure of Malharrao to produce this original document, to examine attentively the claims it may have to authenticity.

102. The first suspicion of this assertion being unfounded in truth arises from the circumstance of Malharrao having never in the whole course of the conversations correspondence and negotiations, which preceded or concluded the Kadi war, presumed to justify his measures or the hostility on the plea of being in possession of this document.

103. If he had possessed it, it is unlikely that he would have so long retained a secret, essential to his interests; but his ever having received such a letter rests upon his mere assertion, as I cannot with the most zealous and scrupulous inquiry find any person even amongst his late partisans and friends who ever saw such a document.

Anandrao writes: The Prabhu refuses to obey my orders, and it is probable he will soon be master of the State.

104. If however a letter was ever written by Anandrao Gaikwad to Malharrao, it is extremely improbable that it ever contained the sentiments which the narrative covers.

105. The personal opportunities, which I have had of observing the conduct of the Raja Anandrao to Raoba, have firmly impressed me with the conviction that this Prince entertained for his Minister an affection and respect little short of what he would have shown to a parent. The behaviour of Raoba on the other hand was that of a dignified servant, who treated his Master with respect due to his rank mixed with a paternal affection and solicitude.

106. There existed between them a personal regard for each other, founded on that intimate union in which they had been connected since the infancy of Anandrao. I do not therefore conceive it possible that Anandrao would ever have written in these terms of Raoba, especially to Malharrao.

Anandrao writes: He has treacherously seized Kanhoji and cast him into prison. He has gained the risalah and all the household people, and to me the name only of master is left; and if I venture on any act, I must be exposed to the fate of Kanhoji.

107. No part of the Gaikwad history is better established than the personal acquiescence and approval, which Anandrao afforded to the imprisonment of Kanhoji. During that person's usurpation Anandrao was himself a prisoner and [was] treated with neglect and contumely; and it cannot be supposed without some violation to the general operations of human feelings that Anandrao would impute as a crime to his Minister the act, which he had so publicly sanctioned himself, and which obtained his own liberty.

108. The silence of Malharrao respecting the authenticity of the Raja's letter, when it could have proved useful in his justification, is a sufficient proof of its non-existence.

109. In the present case however conjecture may be thrown aside. The positive assurance of Raja Anandrao, which I had the honour to receive in a public conference (Diary, February, 1802)¹ that Malharrao Gaikwad was not in any ways authorised by him to prosecute wars, to commit disturbances, while he lamented the insurrection, which that Chieftain had occasioned, and whose punishment he so pointedly declared he had much at heart, is direct evidence.

110. The letter from the Raja Anandrao, which I had the honour to forward under date the 19th March, 1807,² may also be quoted and received as conclusive evidence of Malharrao never having received the letter which he affirms.

111. There is also the recorded approbation which he gave to the expulsion of Malharrao in his letter to you, Hon'ble Sir, of the 26th April, 1802,³ and a similar letter to my address dated the 8th May, 1802⁴, and the repeated expressions which Anandrao has used, of the merited fate which his uncle had met with.

Malharrao replies to Anandrao's letter and offers, if furnished with cash, to form an army to punish the Prabhu. Anandrao replies that the silver articles and treasure had been removed by the Prabhu, the jewels remain, but Anandrao has no power over them. The desire to raise an army to chastise Prabhu, and release Kanhoji is repeated.

1. See *Gaikwads of Baroda*, Vol. IV, p. 173.

2. This may refer to accompaniments 17A and 17B of Duncan's letter of 15 March, 1807, in this section.

3. See *Gaikwads of Baroda*, Vol. IV, p. 353.

4. This letter cannot be traced. See as an alternative *Gaikwads of Baroda*, Vol. IV, p. 405.

112. The alleged answer, which Malharrao wrote, is equally suspicious in authenticity. It seems introduced purposely to bring forward the charge of Raoba having carried off the silver articles, and treasures from the jamadarkhana.

113. This assertion is not however contradicted by the circumstances only, but the observation contained in Anandrao's letter of the Prabhu having usurped his power. It is not likely that Malharrao could have asked money from a Prince, who had already virtually stated his incapacity of assisting him with it. The impoverished condition of the Government and the distracted state of the administration, while they were favourable to the ambition of Malharrao, would also have prevented him from making an unseasonable request for money, and which he well knew could not be complied with. Malharrao must not be supposed to want discernment.

According to Anandrao's directions Malharrao raises an army, takes Visnagar and proclaims the capture in the name of Anandrao.

114. No part of Malharrao Gaikwad's past conduct will justify the supposition that the Kadi warfare arose from the motives on which this narrative desires to place it.

115. We need look no further than the common spring of human actions to discover that it would not be the ostensible motives assigned by Malharrao, which could have incited him to the dangerous appeal to arms.

116. The release of Kanhoji and his restoration to power was the last consideration that ever was meditated by Malharrao.

He both hated and feared him, and his congratulation at his deposition was dictated by sincerity, as he suspected the enterprising and active mind of Kanhoji had cast an ambitious eye upon Kadi.

117. The deposition of Kanhoji took place on the evening of the 12th of Magh Sudh or 26th January, 1801; and the letter from Malharrao to Raoba, approving of that event, was written on the 12th of Ramzan or 28th January, 1801, thus by the quickness of the approval and congratulation manifesting his sincerity.

118. The real cause of his hostility must have been ambition and a design at least to relieve himself from the payment of the large accumulated arrears of tribute and probably a hope of regaining Nadiad.

119. The proclamation of the capture of Visnagar in the name of Anandrao is a mere pretext, which can deceive no one; and his sincerity in that proclamation is directly contradicted on the evidence of his own acts.

120. So far from yielding protection to the inhabitants of Visnagar, it was the first business of Malharrao to plunder and oppress the subjects of the Prince, whose dewai (*dewahi*?) he had proclaimed as well as to convey part of the public stores to Kadi. Many of the inhabitants of Visnagar were seized and sent prisoners to Kadi, and heavy fines levied from others; the place being thus treated as a conquest, instead of a place of which he had assured the protection.

Amidst these transactions the Prabhu's brother came forward with an army. I engaged and defeated him, and he fled to Ahmadabad.

121. Previous to the breaking out of hostilities by Malharrao's seizing upon Visnagar two respectable persons were deputed to him by the Baroda Government to avert, if possible, the hostilities which he was then meditating.

122. These agents were Bijmath Pandit on the part of Kamal-uddin, and Manur Pandit on the part of Raja Pandhre, both which persons were the bhandaris or the personal securities for the appearance and good behaviour of Malharrao Gaikwad.

123. Bijmath Pandit, who related the subject of his deputation to me, mentions that, when he waited upon Raoba to receive his instructions, Raoba explained to him the difference with Malharrao arose from his demanding Rs. 1,20,000 sibandi while Malharrao would pay 1,05,000 only.

124. Bijmath wished to know whether there was any written document for the former sum, and whether Raoba authorised any recession from the full amount of the demand.

125. Raoba replied, that the amount of the demand was understood, not precisely expressed; and in respect to the second query the vakils were to give no written deed, but Raoba expressed his readiness to agree to an abatement, provided the vakils saw any indication of Malharrao being inclined to an accommodation, on the concession of which they were duly to advise Raoba.

126. Bijmath and his co-adjutor left Baroda on the 8th of November, 1801, and arrived in Babaji's camp which was then at the village of Goruel beyond Mondeh, whence they proceeded to Kadi.

127. The vakils expostulated with Malharrao upon his hostile intentions and the embodying of troops. He pretended that he had not the means of discharging them, and asked where he was to obtain funds for the purpose. If he had not the means of discharging his troops, he of course had not the means of discharging his tribute; and from this answer and other indications it was evident to the vakils that Malharrao had no inclination to an accommodation on the terms on which they were authorised to negotiate.

128. They explained however to Malharrao that they were authorised to negotiate respecting the payment of the tribute, who replied: "Let some blood be drawn, and we will see."

129. The vakils accordingly demanded and obtained their dismissal, and departed on 26th November, 1801, which must be the day preceding the capture of Visnagar, as on the following day, while on their way from Kalol to Ahmadabad, they heard the guns firing to celebrate the event.

130. The preceding narrative is useful, as it exhibits the pre-meditated design of hostilities on the part of Malharrao, which so

THE GAIKWADS OF BARODA

promptly following the departure of the Baroda vakils is also a proof of his having little intention or inclination for accommodation. It also exhibits the moderation of the Baroda Government and their desire to preserve peace and tranquillity.

Malharrao's troops continue to guard the Pargana, Babaji returns with a force, makes indication to engage without success, it then became known to the Prabhu he still had a master. Raoba under the impression that he would not retain his power, addresses Anandrao: Give me some treasure, I will dispatch Kamal-ud-din to Bombay and bring a British force.

131. Hostilities being commenced, they were followed by a variety of skirmishes with various success, but none were of importance or sufficient to establish superiority on either side. The utter absurdity of this address furnishes its own refutation, and in fact it seems brought forward with no other view than to introduce the reply which follows from the Raja Anandrao.

132. If, as in the foregoing part of the narrative it is stated that Raoba had carried off all the treasure, he could hardly have made a demand for what did not exist. Raoba also too well knew the state of the finances of the State and of his Master to make such a demand.

133. If these conversations had ever occurred, there could be no difficulty in ascertaining them; the witnesses of them must still be alive, and there is no impediment to the disclosure of their sentiments.

134. Nor was any public act of the late Raoba supported by greater unanimity than the dispatch of Kamal-ud-din to Bombay. The ambitious design of Malharrao had been evident to all, and every faction consented to an act which was to curb his power.

135. On my arrival at Baroda in the early part of the year 1802 I found that Kadi was extremely unpopular, and few persons imputed the hostility of Malharrao to any other motive than a desire to avail himself of the distracted state of affairs at Baroda to establish his own supremacy in Gujerat.

The Raja replies: You have not left a single Rupee with me; you have carried off the whole of the treasure; the Government is under your direction; you hold the seal, while I have only the name of being Raja.

136. The fallacy of the address equally disproves the answer, but the assertion excites surprise. The violation of the jamadarkhana, which forms the principal feature of this part of the narrative, is wholly unfounded and untrue. Since the deposition of Kanhoji the keys of the jamadarkhana have ever remained in the personal possession of Anandrao, and the whole is secured by his own sentries and personal vigilance.

137. Both the late and the present Diwans have been anxious to convert the resources of this supposed repository of valuables to the public relief, but this has ever been rendered impossible from the character of Anandrao; the contents of whose jamadarkhana have ever been a secret to all but himself.

Section B: MALHARRAO'S PENSION

Malharrao's stay in Bombay became an expensive item for the Baroda Government. The documents give an account of his increased allowance and also mention certain plans of the Bombay authorities to ameliorate Malharrao's position and to restore his son to power in his father's jagir of Kadi.

DOCUMENTS

Bombay, 15th March, 1805 (1805, S. & P. D. 165A)

1805

Declaration of Hasanbhai, the principal servant of Malharrao.

Malharrao gave 2 gold mohurs to Khanderao for the expenses; then Khanderao gave back the 2 gold mohurs and told that was not sufficient for his expenses. Then Malharrao called Hasanbhai and desired him to make him agree that he will take the two gold mohurs for his expenses. Then Hasanbhai made desire to Khanderao that he must take the 2 gold mohurs and live happy; and besides Hasanbhai asked Khanderao why he wanted more money. Then Khanderao answered to Hasan that Malharrao is a aged person, and he got 2 watches, and I am a young man, I must have the watch and besides, clothing agreeable to my wish. Then Hasan did inform the case to Malharrao, but Malharrao did answer to Hasanbhai that he will not give more one ba-dam. Then Khanderao answered I shall go to the Hon'ble the Governor and will inform him all the case; only that he answered. Then Malharrao came to the Hon'ble Governor and informed the Governor that Khanderao gave call-names to Malharrao, but Hasanbhai says that is all false, because Khanderao did not give call-names; and Khanderao has no fault nothing. Therefore Hasanbhai thinks Your Honour take in thought better to give separate allowance to each, son and father; by that they both will live happily, otherwise will be spoiled; and Hasanbhai says he was heard at his country that he was making very much molest to his son, Khanderao, and in the Hasanbhai's seeing Khanderao is very civil and honest.

Remark in the Diary.

Since it was evident that Malharrao and his son could not agree (there being on the contrary the greatest rancour and mortal distrust between them) and it being desirable to both that they should have separate dwellings, the Town-Major was on the 12th instant instructed to hire separate houses for their accommodation, maintaining over each the same superintendence, as had been exercised since their coming to live in town.

1807 *Bombay*, 20th April, 1807 (1807, S & P. D. 203)

Jonathan Duncan's minute, dated Bombay, 14th April, 1807.

Malhar and Bombay Considering that in whatever respects Malharrao may, from the course he appears to have lately pursued, be deemed to have acquired additional consequence, it may be proper to put more fully on the record the particulars of his treatment since his arrival and detention here, under the sanction of the Supreme Government.

On the occasion of reporting the circumstances, under which Malharrao and his son, the present Balaji Khanderao, had without any assistance on our part been last made prisoners by Babaji, an officer of the Gaikwad Government, it was observed by Major Walker, the Resident at Baroda, in his letter under date the 6th of November, 1803, that it would be desirable to remove these prisoners from Gujarat, and that perhaps Bombay was on every account the most eligible place for their confinement; noticing that, although Babaji had in some measure referred this question to him, that person had given at the same time his own opinion that they should be confined at Ahmadabad; under which view of the case Major Walker suggested that, should the Government of Bombay be led either by policy or humanity to wish that the person of Malharrao and his family were placed in charge of the Company's Government, he (the Major) would not advise any direct proposition to be made for that purpose; but that it should be effected by availing ourselves of opportunities and of causes that were likely to make the Gaikwad Government itself seek such an arrangement.

Malharrao and his son were in the meanwhile conducted to the city of Ahmadabad, where they remained six months in strict and probably severe custody, as Malharrao found means at length to let Major Walker know by a short address written in concealed ink; entreating that he and his son might be transferred to the Company's charge; in consequence of which an arrangement was for this purpose concluded with the Gaikwad Administration at Baroda, by which it was agreed in the month of May, 1804, that the prisoners should be removed to Bombay, where they would receive a pension of fifteen thousand Rupees per annum; such allowance being, as announced on this occasion at Baroda, considered as altogether voluntary and not proceeding after his second insurrection from any obligation towards the Chieftain in question.

However this may be, Malharrao and his son were on their arrival at Bombay on the 21st June, 1804, placed in the fort of Surrya, [Sewri] under charge of the Town-Major, through whom their pension was also to be paid to them, and who was instructed to show towards these parties as much attention and indulgence as might be consistent with the security of their persons.

During Malharrao's and his son's detention in the Fort of Sewri they had free permission to walk about within it, and were, after remaining in that situation about a month, transferred to apartments prepared for them at the Town-Major's Quarters within the Fort of Bombay with liberty to go about the town in the day time, besides being

permitted on application to proceed occasionally without it, with one or more attendants. They continued thus to live together till upon a disagreement taking place between the father and son, they were in the month of May, 1805, moved from the Town-Major into separate houses, at the doors of which, sentries were stationed over night, which degree of precaution seemed (as noticed to the Supreme Government under date the 7th September, 1804) necessary "more especially whilst the war was carrying on with Jaswantrao Holkar; whence that Chieftain would no doubt be desirous of affording them every encouragement to resort to inimical measures against the Gaikwad and the British Government in Gujarat;" and accordingly after the peace with that Chieftain had been negotiated and was considered as consolidated, the licence to Malharrao and his son was gradually extended; as for instance carriages were assigned to each of them in the month of August last, since which they have daily driven about the island at their own pleasure; and in October the night sentries were removed from their houses, there remaining still in attendance with Malharrao in the day time two naiks and as many peons of the Government House Establishment; who, although originally placed with this Chieftain in view to his greater security, as well as for rendering him such service as he might have occasion to employ them on out of doors, in like manner as for the latter purpose, the same class of public servants are stationed and very much coveted by other strangers of rank frequenting the place as well as by several of the more respectable of its inhabitants. In pursuance however of the intention completely to withdraw all appearance of restraint, the most remotely construable, from Malharrao or his son, whosoever of this description were attached to either, have recently been entirely withdrawn; so that no persons in the employ of Government, either civil or military, are now about the persons of the father or the son; and I had indeed been for some time past under an impression of this having previously taken place. The duty performed by these naiks and peons will appear by the former's declarations in the accompaniment marked in the margin.

That the precautions heretofore taken, during the continuance of the aforementioned internal war in India, were, besides having the sanction of Government, not superfluous in themselves, will appear from the information delivered to the Resident at Baroda, as copied into the voucher marked in the margin.

Nearly a twelve month ago, Malharrao presented an application (as per the accompanying copy thereof marked in the margin); 1stly, for an increase of his stipend; and 2ndly, to have some allowance extended to his relations in Cutch. The former of these objects depending on the consent of the Native Administration at Baroda, I have been in correspondence with the Resident for this purpose; and with respect to a provision for the part of Malharrao's family remaining in Cutch, I deemed it sufficient to offer some, on condition of their coming to live within the Company's territories. But these reasonable terms Malharrao has not thought fit to accept, as will appear by the report herewith delivered in from Kanji Chatur; since which, news having reached of the demise at Mandvi of Hanmantrao, one of Malharrao's

half brothers, who had the principal charge of his family in Cutch, this Chieftain has recently applied to me for a vessel to bring down his daughter (the same respecting whose marriage to Sayaji Bapkar hostilities formerly ensued between him and the late Raja Govindrao) and land her at Panvel.

Malharrao having been taken ill in July last, the three papers referred to in the margin will explain the medical treatment which he preferred on that occasion, inclusive of some notice of his ailment and recovery.

The house that Malharrao has occupied ever since his quitting the Town-Major's Quarters is close to the Government House, and being unprovided with full convenience for a carriage and horses, those of Malharrao have been allowed the use of my premises.

Some additional expense has been also incurred in gratifying Malharrao in respect to the outward painting and interior accommodation of this house, such as the owner, Ardeshir Dady, declined to defray; since which, Malharrao, having expressed a desire to leave the house in question on plea of its being old and decayed, has been allowed to rent another more to his own satisfaction without the fortifications; into which he is about to remove; for which it became necessary for Government thus to undertake, previously to Malhar's obtaining the goodwill of the proprietor, to occupy the premises, of which he has thus made choice.

It is not intended that any person on the part of the Government should be stationed with Malharrao at this new habitation; not only because under the existing general peace throughout India there is little room to apprehend he could raise any considerable party, should he again desert and have recourse to arms; but in as much as there seems very little probability that he will at present think of leaving us, now that his expectations lead him to look for relief and restoration from our Superiors at home.

It has been already mentioned that Balaji Khanderao, the son and heir of Malharrao, lives separately from his father, who allotted him out of the monthly 800 Rupees 150 Rupees, the accumulated amount of which has been lately reimbursed to Malharrao from the general fund; whilst, in addition to that temporary and in itself insufficient assistance from his father, the further monthly sums of Rupees 150, and thereafter of 100 Rupees, have continued to be disbursed from the same general fund to the said Balaji, whose house rent as well as that of his father have likewise been separately defrayed; notwithstanding which, Khanderao had up to September last incurred a debt of about two thousand Rupees, such as it became necessary to discharge, as well as to increase his stipend from the general fund to three hundred Rupees per month; nor will this suffice without the addition therefrom of the further amount of the 150 Rupees, that till lately his father had, as abovementioned, contributed towards his support, but which he now withholds, not contrary to my consent; as 800 Rupees for Malhar's personal expenses are certainly little enough for his own requisite disbursements.

On the whole these ordinary and extraordinary charges, including the purchase of carriage for the father and the son, and a small monthly stipend for the support of Husain Bora, an old and principal servant of the family, who accompanied them in 1804 from Gujarat, have during the two years and ten months of their residence here exceeded the limited appropriation of 15,000 Rupees a year allowed from Baroda for their entire establishment; as will appear by the general statement thereof herewith submitted making the whole expense Rupees 50,025-2-50 or about Rupees 17,652 per annum. It is not probable the Gaikwad Government will object to this inconsiderable excess.¹

No. 1. Translation of a letter from Khanderao, the son of Malharrao Gaikwad, to the Hon'ble the Governor, dated 9th September, 1806.

I beg leave to represent to you, Hon'ble Sir, the inadequacy of the allowance fixed for my support, and that you will be so good as to add something more to it, as I am now incurring a debt of 200 Rupees monthly, which has accumulated already to the sum of 2,000 Rupees, which amount I solicit you, Hon'ble Sir, to order to be paid, whenever my creditors make their demands, as its hanging over me occasions uneasiness, and I am as one of your own sons, being at all times ready to conform to your directions.

No. 2 Malharrao's account [summarised].

Total expenses:

From July 1804 to April 1807

Rs. 50,025—2—50

Expenses

Baroda, 20th June, 1807 (1807, S. & P. D. 209).

1807

Alexander Walker to the Hon'ble the Governor.

1. I have endeavoured to hold in view the prospect of obtaining from this Government an extension of the sum allotted for the subsistence of Malharrao, and to afford his family every comfort and accommodation consistent with their rank in life, without allowing them the means of using successful intrigues.

Malhar's pension 50,000 Rs.

2. Earnestly desirous and anxious as this Administration is to meet the wishes of the Hon'ble Company in all cases which may be conceived just and expedient, it was not without considerable reluctance that I could procure their consent to an extension of expenditure at a period when the utmost exertion of economy is so imperiously demanded for reducing the expenses of the Gaikwad State within the limits of its income.

3. An extension of the provision for Malharrao formed no part of the projects for the reductions in the expenses of the Gaikwad State, which I had the honour to submit to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council under date the 1st January, 1806, and this Government were

1. Jonathan Duncan's minute is followed in the Diary by a number of accompaniments detailing Malharrao's expenses. Only one of these is here published.

not exactly inconsistent with the principles of economy, which have been so repeatedly and strongly urged upon their attention.

4. Nor is this Government disposed to admit that Malharrao has any claim upon its generosity; it is with considerable justice inclined to impute a very large proportion of its present embarrassments to the turbulent disposition of Malharrao, who has often plunged the State in war, and who actually meditated its subversion.

5. It was to save the head of the Gaikwad family from the danger, to which the ambition or hostility of Malharrao threatened it, that the assistance of the Hon'ble Company was called in.

6. Through the mediation of their powerful aid the hostility of Malharrao was suppressed, and his pertinacious resistance to equitable proposals of accommodation ultimately produced the extremity which attended him.

7. A provision however for his future subsistence, as liberal as was consistent with the circumstances of this Government and with the recent state of hostility in which his ambition had involved him, was assigned; but notwithstanding that the Hon'ble Company were his securitics, even this he abandoned and again preferred the choicc of an uncertain and predatory warfare. After causing considerable injury to the interest of the Gaikwad State, and raising a serious alarm at a period of critical emergency in Gujarat, he was defeated in the open field by the forces of the Gaikwad Government alone, and his person ultimately secured.

8. Under all the circumstances therefore of Malharrao's case the Gaikwad Government do not conceive that he can have any demand upon their justice or even upon their generosity.

9. While however I state these general sentiments of the Gaikwad Administration, as they have been communicated to me in different conferences, yet I have also the honour to intimate their compliance with the measure, which the liberality of the British Government has suggested for the promotion of the comfort of Malharrao Gaikwad, and consistent with their security and reliability to bestow.

10. According to these principles this Government have consented to allot 50,000 Rupees per annum from the commencement of the present Mrigsal or 1st of June for the expenses of Malharrao and his family.

11. Still further to evince their desire to meet the interposition of the British Government in favour of Malharrao, this Administration have expressed their consent to assign a tract of country as a jagir to that amount.

12. From that date accordingly the revenues of a tract of country in the neighbourhood of Surat will be set apart for the future subsistence of Malharrao and his son; and I have the honour to enclose a copy and translate of a formal deed of this Government, authorising

this appropriation before the termination of the year, although the revenues are to be appropriated from the commencement.

13. From this document the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will observe the reluctance with which the Gaikwad Government consent to any extension of indulgence towards Malharrao Gaikwad, and the addition of 35,000 Rupees to the amount of his former pension is made in the name of his son.

14. So far however as this respects Malharrao, it can occasion no difference, as the Company's Government may make such distribution of this amount, as they may deem most advisable to promote the comfort of his family.

15. Although these allowances may be appropriated from the commencement of the Mrigsal of 1864 (June 1807), yet there are certain circumstances which prevent the immediate assignment of this territory.

16. At present the knowledge of this deed is confined to the confidential officers of Government, and it would be prudent to prevent the publication of any transaction that may increase the demand and throw difficulties in the way of an accommodation with Kanhoji Gaikwad.

17. It is also prudent that in a crisis, when we are reducing the establishments of the most meritorious servants of the State, there should be no public exhibition of an extension of favour to so unpopular a character as Malharrao.

18. If this territory was also immediately assigned, there would be a necessity for some persons on the part of Malharrao receiving charge of it, but the Government are not prepared for Malharrao's return to Gujarat under any circumstances.

19. To the return of Khanderao they have less objection, but it would not be advisable that any abrupt measure should be immediately taken in his favour.

20. It is highly expedient that Fatesing's mind should receive as correct a bias, on the commencement of his duties as possible; and his attention should not be diverted by any circumstance of an extraordinary nature.

21. Upon the unsuspecting mind of this young man the liberal interference of the Hon'ble Company in favour of Malharrao might be represented as an undue support to the ancient enemy of his family, and it is peculiarly necessary to guard against any injury to the arrangement, we are now raising, however apparently remote.

22. It would therefore be advisable for Khanderao to wait until the present order of things becomes more settled at Baroda. He may then be permitted to leave Bombay and be placed in the immediate management of the district assigned for the maintenance of his family, and be charged with the duty of remitting such part for his father's expense to the Presidency, as may be deemed adequate to that purpose.

23. With the handsome establishment, which has thus been provided, Khanderao will be able to live in a style of respectability equal to the immediate brothers of the Raja, and by continually associating with his family he may gradually assimilate his interests with those of the elder branch.

24. In forwarding this deed, providing for an increase to the sum allotted to the family of Malharrao, I am under the necessity of observing with regret proportionate to my anxiety to meet your wishes, Hon'ble Sir, that this Government were extremely indisposed to make this additional provision. It has been granted only from a desire to meet the sentiments of the British Government; and they conceive that in acceding thus far they have provided for the amended article of the definitive treaty, and have discharged the eventual obligation, which that amendment implies.

No. 1. Translate of yad or memorandum.

Grudged It being now intimated through Major Walker that the Hon'ble
Gift the Governor is desirous that an establishment should be fixed for their expenses, accordingly to meet the wishes of the Hon'ble the Governor an annual nennuk is established for them and their families to the amount of 50,000 Rupees from the commencement of the year 1864 [A.D.1807]:

For the said Himmat Bahadur	Rs. 15,000
For Khanderao Gaikwad	„ 35,000
	<hr/> Rs. 50,000

And for the said 50,000 Rupees, certain villages will hereafter be appropriated before the termination of the year.

1807 *Bombay, 23rd July, 1807 (1807, S. & P. D. 209)*

Jonathan Duncan's minute on increasing the pension of Malharrao.

Duncan's 1. On the occasion of recording the letter from the Resident at
kindness Baroda of the 20th of June, respecting a permanent provision for Malharrao and his son, Balaji Khanderao, I beg leave to record the following remarks.

2. It is very true that, as I have uniformly entertained, so have I often expressed to Major Walker an anxiety to improve the situations of this fallen branch of the Gaikwad family, without deeming it necessary or advisable to let them know my intention in their favour.

3. But, although in the uncertainty of being ultimately able to effect the provision I had in view for that family, I deemed it thus expedient to avoid any premature disclosure to them of my intentions, it had, as Major Walker notices, been a frequent theme of my communications with that officer and had moreover been especially enjoined by me to his principal officer, Gangadhar Shastri, when in the early part of the year 1806 that Brahman was deputed on the business of the Gujarat province to the Presidency...

There are thus living testimonies and the evidence of known facts and events to prove that my wishes in favour of Malharrao's family subsisted previously to, and was by no means the effect of, his latter murmurs; as must likewise, from my occasional intimations at the meetings of the Board, be within the general knowledge of my colleagues; one of whom (General Nicolls) might, if called upon, be probably able to speak to this purpose in England. Neither shall the manifestation (however unexpected) of Malharrao's tardy recourse to complaint alter in any degree what I am thus known to have meditated in his behalf or rather in that of his son, Balaji Khanderao; for, whatever may be the result of those remonstrances, any resentful feeling, they may be supposed calculated to rouse in my breast, is overbalanced by the satisfaction I shall experience in preserving a family of some note from what under all the circumstances of the case I deem unnecessary and in some respects an impolitic degradation; concurring as I entirely do in those sentiments of humane and conciliatory policy, announced in the 11th paragraph of a letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to the Government General under date the 28th November, 1804, as to the disinclination our Hon'ble Employers would (except under particular circumstances) feel to push the rights of conquest to the entire subversion of any prince who had been originally possessed of a legitimate title.

4. Under impressions analogous to those which have been thus more recently promulgated from such high authority, and disposed as I was to make, in consideration to Malharrao's then entire want of acquaintance with our manners, some allowance for that procrastinating and evasive course of diffidence and tergiversation, which in the early part of the year 1802 contributed in concurrence with his ultimate treachery to induce, how reluctantly soever on my part, those hostilities that led to the loss of his town and limited territory, it was nevertheless my earliest suggestion after his reduction (as is well known to Sir Miguel de Lima e Souza, who was then in confidential communication on my part with Raoba, the Gaikwad Minister) to have, after dismantling his said town of Kadi, allowed to him to continue in possession thereof and of its single pargana, supposed then to yield a gross revenue of about four lakhs, transferring thereon its two smaller districts of Kapadvanj and Dehgam, valued in like manner at Rupees 1,15,000, to the superior State of Anandrao.

5. Unable however to prevail on Raoba, the Minister, to accede to the former proposition, I suggested to him in the next place the resumption of Kadi and to leave with Malhar the two last mentioned districts; but on account of their situation chiefly he demurred likewise to that alternative, preferring to allow to Malhar a territory in Nadiad, which was then considered as yielding rather a superior revenue, which besides procuring for him under the security of the Hon'ble Company's guarantee, I prevailed on Raoba to allow of the insertion of a clause in the engagements, that were mutually changed on that occasion, such as left a hope of, for, future amelioration in Malhar's circumstances, his continuing to deport himself during a few years in manner.

6. But Malharrao disappointed the hope I had entertained of his good conduct by escaping (under whatever impulse of alleged needless fear, but certain unquenched ambition) in a few months thereafter from Nadiad; and recurring once more to a weak renewal of war, which terminated in his last discomfiture by the Baroda native force alone and in his own and his son's consequent imprisonment at Ahmadabad, whence from motives chiefly of humanity they were at his own earnest entreaty transferred to Bombay, where they now live, if not in affluence, yet at ease, and latterly without either the semblance or reality of the smallest restraint upon their conduct.

7. During their abode at this place I have from frequent intercourse had ample opportunity to form an opinion of the characters of the father and son, on which is partly founded what I would propose to have ultimately done for each.

8. First then, as to the father, I am after the experience of his second insurrection, and in view to the repeated disappointment that must no doubt have produced and will continue to foster resentful feelings in his mind, sensible of the inconvenience and risk that would probably attend the allowing of him to return into Gujarat, especially under any restoration to his former possessions and power. But he should, I think, have a pension that might be gradually increased, so as not ultimately to exceed fifteen hundred or two thousand Rupees per month, payable as at present, by periodical instalments, which with the gradual approach of old age would probably constitute sufficient security for this Chieftain's future quiet behaviour.

9. But with his son, Balaji Khanderao, the case is widely different. The only quality, which may on general principles be deemed exceptionable in this young Prince, now about twenty-two years of age, is the apparently settled aversion that he entertains towards his father; which renders him however the safer object of our kindness and through him to his father's family and posterity.

10. Under whatever light his parent's case may be considered, it would, I conceive, amount to too severe a retribution to render this unoffending son and his descendants the victims of their father's misconduct. Nor in the confidence he entertains, and in the goodwill he already harbours, and the permanent attachment that would naturally result from so conspicuous a mark of beneficent indulgence, am I aware of any solid or sufficient objection to his being, if not immediately, yet ultimately replaced in Kadi with the enjoyment of a greater or less share of the former revenues of that single pargana, which from later accounts I conjecture to have become considerably more productive than the amount of the former estimate adverted to in the 4th preceding paragraph, or in such manner as to enable him to live in a style in some degree suitable to the expectations of his birth and under such restrictive regulations as shall be deemed advisable by the British Government with reference to the force he might be allowed to keep up, the principal part of which might also continue to be composed as at present of a detachment from the subsidiary force at Baroda, whilst his ministers might with his own

full consent be nominated under the approbation of the Company's Government.

11. At the same time that Khanderao's restoration on these terms need prove but little burthensome to the general revenues of the State of the Gaikwad and still less dangerous in my judgment to the peace of the Province, the act considered in itself must be corroborative of the mildness and professed generosity of the British character and prove in that light acceptable and grateful in a general point of view to all the Hindu and other Princes in India.

12. In recording this minute I cannot avoid expressing the regret that I sincerely feel that there should (almost for the first time) appear in it an implied discordancy of sentiment on the subject it treats of, between me and Major Walker, in which there is however this advantage that the merits of the case may be the better judged of by being exhibited under differing views.

13. When Major Walker adverts in the letter before us to the reluctance of the Gaikwad Administration to relax in their severity towards Malharrao, he must almost exclusively refer to the same inimical disposition in, and family interest of, the acting Native Administration at Baroda, the like influence of which I thought it my duty to resist on the occasion of the negotiation of the permanent treaty with the Gaikwad State.

14. On that occasion I felt it incumbent on me to state my conviction that the decidedly hostile sentiments, thus avowed against Malharrao and Kanhoji, were founded more on the personal feelings of Raja Anandrao's ministers than his own; to which it may be sufficient now to add that I continue in the same sentiments, without entertaining a doubt that the whole Gaikwad family, including their aforesaid present Chief, would concur and feel a reasonable degree of gratification in such an adjustment of their intestine differences (an object which under the powerful and benign influence of the British authority ought not to be deemed forever impracticable), as might induce and, if necessary, oblige each member of it [*the Gaikwad family*] to remain quiet in his situation. Whilst looking all of them up to the Hon'ble Company as their common protector, its superiority must ensure the means of happiness to their general body, realising ultimately by its paternal superintendence the end and aim, as far as respected them, of our original interposition in consequence of the dissensions and troubles that ensued among them after the death in the year 1800 of the late Raja Govindrao.

15. There remains another motive of policy for the very qualified reinstatement, I have suggested, of Khanderao in the seat of his patrimonial possessions, as derivable from the growing years of Fatesing, the brother of Anandrao, and who, as his heir apparent, may be expected ere long to become on the demise of Anandrao, the Raja in chief; with reference to which change of circumstances, the utility of possessing in Khanderao's branch of the family a salutary check on the yet untried disposition of Fatesing is sufficiently obvious. To which consideration it may be here added that, should neither Fatesing nor

his younger brother, Sayaji, the son of Govindrao, leave any issue, competent according to their customs to the succession, Khanderao, the son of Malharrao, would thereon be the general inheritor of all the Gaikwad territory in Gujarat.

16. The restitution of Kadi to the family of Malharrao, on the limited terms thus generally suggested, is likewise the less objectionable, as in the operation of the reforms now in progress that stronghold and its district are, I hear from Major Walker, to be shortly relinquished as a matter of course on the part of Babaji, whose son has hitherto been in the possession of it as a collector of its revenue and in effect its discretionary manager, a local charge which it is desirable on several accounts that he should voluntarily relinquish in the manner that is thus soon to take place.

17. Meanwhile and until a decision can be come to on the subject of the preceding remarks, Malharrao and his son ought to be well satisfied with the relief extended to them by the arrangement recently concluded by Major Walker with the Gaikwad Administration, as will, I am confident, be the sentiment of the son; though I have never yet noticed to him or to his father the benefits in prospect for either; as to which it will be proper to persevere in this silence for at least some time longer, in compliance with the views indicated in the 16th paragraph of Major Walker's letter; not perhaps that the principles of the impending adjustment with Kanhoji ought to be affected by the present arrangement, were it ever so public; the rights of each resting on the distinct grounds, as belonging to different branches of the Gaikwad family.

18. However this may be, Khanderao will no doubt be content to remain as hitherto at the Presidency, till every local or other objection be removed to his leaving it, either on the footing I have suggested, or that proposed by Major Walker, which latter may likewise become usefully introductory to the former, in the event of the purport of my preceding remarks meeting with approbation.

1807 *Fort William, 25th August, 1807 (1807, S. & P. D. 212)*
Culcutta to Bombay.

Malhar's future We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch under date the 24th ultimo, enclosing copies of a dispatch from the Resident at Baroda, dated the 30th of June, and of a minute of the Hon'ble the Governor on the subject of improving the situation of Malharrao Gaikwad and his son in pursuance of the intention announced in your address to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the 25th of February, 1807.

Adverting to the observations stated by the Hon'ble the Governor in his minute, on the subject of his having entertained the intention to propose an improvement of the condition of Malharrao antecedently to the detection of his meditated remonstrance to the authorities in England against the measures of the Government of Bombay, we deem it our duty to express our most unqualified conviction that the arrangement recently proposed by the Honourable the Governor, is

exclusively the result of his original intention respecting the improvement of Malharrao's condition.

With a view to your satisfaction we further deem it proper to state (although the observation appears to us to be entirely superfluous) that even before the receipt of the Hon'ble the Governor's explanations and those of the Resident at Baroda on the subject of Malharrao's intercepted memorial of remonstrance, no part of that memorial affected in the slightest degree the judgment, which this Government had entertained and recorded of the justice and propriety of the measures adopted with respect to Malharrao during the whole course of the transactions in Gujarat, which terminated in the seizure of his person, and subsequently to that event.

In reply to the reference contained in your dispatch now acknowledged we consider it sufficient at the present moment to state the general principles which in our opinion should regulate any arrangement for the improvement of Malharrao's condition and that of his son; leaving for future consideration the specific points of detail on which you have desired that communication of our sentiments.

By accepting the custody of Malharrao's person we consider the British Government to have become responsible to the Gaikwad that Malharrao shall not be enabled by his enlargement or escape to give any further troubles to the territories of that Chief.

This leading principle therefore cannot with propriety be lost sight of in any arrangements that may be adopted for his maintenance and treatment. We are of opinion on this principle that such personal indulgences and accommodation may be fitly extended to him, as are consistent with a vigilant observation of his conduct, but not beyond that limit. We are also of opinion on the other hand that no greater degree of personal restraint should be laid upon him than is necessary to secure the object we have described, but that the control should not be released beyond that point.

Under the same considerations we are not disposed to disapprove such augmentation of Malharrao's allowances as appears to have obtained the assent of the Gaikwad Government, and as may at the same time not be so considerable as, by affording the means of great accumulation, to encourage or assist Malharrao in the prosecution of those hostile designs and intrigues to which his character and habits seem naturally to incline him.

Having explained in these general terms the considerations, which we think ought to be kept in mind on this occasion, we commit with great confidence to the prudence and liberality, which have been uniformly united in the conduct of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council on this subject, the application of these views to the details of such arrangements as are to be established for the future residence of Malharrao under your protection and custody.

The measure suggested by the Hon'ble the Governor of assigning the pargana of Kadi to Khanderao, may perhaps ultimately be advis-

able, but adverting to the reluctance, manifested by the Administration of the Gaikwad to the arrangement actually concluded in favour of Malharrao's family and to the nature and progress of the reforms in the expenditure and establishments of the State, we are satisfied that the present is not a fit opportunity for the agitation of the plan recommended by the Hon'ble the Governor; and we are of opinion that the arrangement adopted by the Government of the Gaikwad should be allowed to operate until a season shall arrive when the objections, which now appear to oppose the expediency of suggesting a change, shall have ceased to exist.

1807 *Camp at Sarajdar, 14th November, 1807 (1807, S. & P. D. 216)*
Alexander Walker to G. C. Osborne.

Malhar's pension I am forcibly called upon respectfully to suggest to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the manifest expediency of limiting the advance to Malharrao within the funds remaining for that purpose. It may be necessary respectfully to repeat what I advanced on a former occasion, that the Gaikwad Government expect that the liberal provision which they have so recently made for the family of Malharrao will cover every expense incident to that person's situation, and that this Government will not again be called upon to supply any deficiency in this extended salary.

1808 *Baroda, 19th March, 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. 227)*
Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Malhar's pension The Gaikwad Government likewise observe that they have provided an annual sum of 50,000 Rupees for the maintenance of Malharrao and his son; and they conceive that they cannot be required to exceed that expense.

1808 *Baroda, 14th October 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. 248)*
Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Malhar's brothers It is now some time since Devirao Gaikwad, the brother of Malharrao, has been at Baroda; and my attention has been directed to obtain a settlement for him and his brother, Apparao Gaikwad.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council however, being fully aware of the circumstances between this Government and Malharrao, renders it unnecessary to explain the difficulty with which I have been able to obtain for each of them a provision of 100 Rupees per month. When this Government made the assignment for Malharrao, it was intended to cover the expenses of himself and his connections. If therefore the allowances, proposed to be given to Devirao and Apparao, could be increased from this fund to the amount of 200 Rupees each per month, it would be sufficient to cover their expenses, and provide them with the means of livelihood, by which the benevolent intentions of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, in respect to providing for the members of the Gaikwad family, will be realised.

Bombay Resolution.

In acknowledging the above recorded letter from the Resident at Baroda, Major Walker is to be advised that, considering how generally the ruling branch of the Gaikwad family in Gujarat have benefited by their appropriation of the appanage of that of Malharrao, there seems nothing unreasonable in expecting that it should at least make towards all the members of the latter a due and adequate allowance for their support. *Request granted*

Notwithstanding which, rather than the adjustment, which is very desirable to be effectively completed and maintained with the brothers of Malharrao, should not be found available, it is probable that the fund, already assigned for the support (as was understood) of Malhar and his son, may admit of Rupees 4,800 per annum being deducted from it so as to afford 200 Rupees per month to each of the brothers in question during their quiet abode at Baroda, or otherwise under the protection of Anandrao; and the fund in question may accordingly be debited to that amount by the Resident at Baroda, who will attend to the same being duly disbursed for the purpose of making up to each of the said brothers the net stipend of 300 Rupees per mensem to each.

Baroda, 19th Dec., 1808. (1808, S. & P. D. 257)

1808

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

I have much satisfaction in reporting a final adjustment in behalf of all the members of the Gaikwad family, who have recently returned from exile, and who are henceforward with an adequate provision from this Government. *Gaikwad family*

Mukundrao Gaikwad, a son of Govindrao by a mistress, and Murarrao, another son by a different mother, were invited to Baroda at my request by Kanhoji. They both arrived a short time since, and the Government have assigned them a maintenance, the former of 5,000 Rupees, and the latter of 4,000 Rupees per annum.

The Government have also consented to an establishment of 1,800 Rupees per annum each in favour of Devirao and Apparao, the natural brothers of Malharrao, and the necessary papers for their personal security and for the satisfaction of Government are executed under this date.

The only Gaikwad, now living, remote from his family, is Ganpatrao, the late killadar of Sankheda; and this person would form no exception to the general arrangement in favour of the collateral branches of the Gaikwad, were he in a state of mind to enjoy comforts which would be allowed. But Ganpatrao is unfortunately in a state of idiotism and living under the protection of his relations at Dhar. His wife and family however are supported at Baroda at the expense of this Government.

I trust therefore that this report which intimates the completion of the humane wishes of Government, as expressed in the letter from

the Secretary in the Political Department of the 16th May, 1808, will prove satisfactory to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

1810 *Baroda, 11th October, 1810 (1810, P. D. 364)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Return to Baroda In the course of some recent intercourse with His Highness Fatesing Gaikwad and the Minister Babaji I have discovered an inclination on their part to restore Malharrao and his son, Khanderao, to the society of his relations at Baroda, if such an indulgence should meet with the concurrence of the British Government.

His Highness Fatesing pointed out the propriety of this Government seeing the marriage of Khanderao performed with suitable attention to his consideration in the family; that the presence of Malharrao was desirable on such a particular occasion; and that it would afford the world at large an unequivocal demonstration of the oblivion of the past misdeeds of this person and the anxious desire of the Gaikwad Government to extend towards him every comfort and attention consistent with prudence.

Babaji has remarked with equal candour and liberality that the ameliorated condition of the Gaikwad Government and the complete subordination of the various branches of the family, conjoined to the tranquillity and contentment which now happily subsist generally throughout their possessions, would render the return of Malharrao Gaikwad to his relations less objectionable now than at a former period.

Although the conduct of Malharrao, Babaji added, has forfeited any pretensions on his part to indulgence from the Government, it would nevertheless prove an act worthy of the Administration still to afford him fresh proofs of their goodwill by inviting him to reside peaceably on his pension in the midst of his own family at the seat of Government.

Many observations were casually made on the character of Malharrao, which it is not necessary to detail in this place; but the essence of the conversation consisted in an expression of the mutual wishes of Fatesing and Babaji that Malharrao and his son, Khanderao, should now be permitted to return to Gujarat under the assurance of his being treated with every becoming attention and respect by the Gaikwad Government.

As the Administration are however desirous that Malharrao should be placed under the immediate superintendence of the Resident in the same manner as Kanhoji Gaikwad, I beg to add that it will be an object of much solicitude on my part to make him contented and happy in his new situation.

Should your Hon'ble Board therefore resolve in concurring with the wishes of the Administration, it may be proper to observe that some arrangements will be necessary before Malharrao and his son can be brought to Baroda, and that these will become discussed with Babaji when I am honoured with your commands on the subject of this dispatch.

Remark in the Diary.

In acknowledgment of the above letter it is to be signified to the *Approval* Acting Resident that Government entirely concur in the expediency of the measure therein alluded to, and will be happy to see it speedily carried into effect; the more especially as, notwithstanding all the kindness shown towards Malharrao, his intrigues here are unceasing; excited, as he is by Dessu Patel, in resentment for the latter's unavoidable exclusion from the office he held at Broach, and also at the joint instigation of Said Edroos at Surat, and of others who were disappointed in the turn that affairs took in the year 1802 in the repression of the then ambitious views of Kanhoji, which they had prematurely committed themselves, in a considerable degree, towards the interested support of, as fully enough appears by the papers on record of that period.

Under these circumstances both Malharrao and his son will, Government feel persuaded, be better placed with the rest of their family at Baroda, and their designs also more narrowly watched there than they can be here, in a manner more contributive also to their own peace and quiet, and to the saving themselves of the money they are from time to time induced to lavish on Dessu and other parties, professing to work for their restoration, which can (as deducible from the correspondence hitherto passed) be the effect only of time and of the goodwill of the superior State at Baroda, should these misguided members of the family ever betake themselves seriously to the means of conciliating its good will, as has been so often recommended to them.

Baroda, 31st October, 1810 (1810, P. D. 365)

1810

J. R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch under date the 22nd instant, communicating the sentiments of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council on the expediency of Malharrao and his son being brought into Gujarat. *Preparing Malhar for change*

The Gaikwad Government fully concur in the advantage of this proceeding for the conclusive reasons which are detailed in your letter now acknowledged, and it will constitute their care to render Malharrao as happy in his new situation as his conduct and circumstances shall admit.

It is however a subject of earnest solicitude with the Administration that Malharrao should be placed under the superintendence of the Resident, who will be the medium of communication with the Gaikwad Government and its officers.

This precautionary measure arises from the well known disposition of Malharrao to embark in any intrigues in the delusive expectation of obtaining advantages by such misguided conduct, nor can the Government be reasonably expected to place confidence in a man whose favourite object has been the subversion of their legitimate authority.

It will be agreeable to the Administration that I should personally undertake the charge of Malharrao, while it would not be unacceptable generally to the Gaikwad family to see some attention bestowed on a person, whose pretensions from birth may merit distinction, though

from his character and proceeding he has forfeited every further personal claim on his family.

Under these circumstances I would therefore respectfully suggest to the consideration of the Hon'ble Board that I should myself proceed to the Presidency for the purpose of receiving charge of Malharrao and to prepare him for a change to which he may at first feel reluctance under a false idea of the Gaikwad family being inimical to his interests and welfare.

As Malharrao will be subject to my individual supervision in concurrence with the wishes of Government, many advantages will also be derived from a previous intercourse with him and his son, tending at once to satisfy their minds that the kindness and consideration, which the British Government have manifested to him at the Presidency, will not be abated so long as his proceedings here may be worthy of similar indulgence and attention.

The happy termination of the negotiations in Cutch, the universal tranquillity which now reigns throughout the province, and the cordiality subsisting at Baroda may render my absence from this station unobjectionable; and with the permission and sanction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, I will deliver the temporary charge of the Residency to my Assistant, Lieutenant Ballantine, on his expected return from Kathiawar, the health of my Senior Assistant, Captain Greenwood, rendering it indispensably necessary that he should proceed to sea.

Bombay resolution.

Approval Ordered that the Acting Resident at Baroda be advised that the Board approve of the intentions expressed in the above letter, and shall be glad of Malharrao and his sons having the opportunity of returning along with the Acting Resident, who will accordingly deliver over charge to Lieutenant Ballantine, and repair to the Presidency whenever it may suit his own and the public convenience at Baroda, and be in concurrence also with the sentiments of the Native Administration.

1812 *Bombay, 9th September, 1812.*

Death of Khanderao.

Khanderao N.B.—Malharrao's son, Khanderao, died on the 9th September, 1812.
dead See letter from Prithabai, his widow, to Sir Evan Napier, dated March, 1813.

1812 *Baroda, 27th November, 1812 (1812, P. D. 390)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Malhar's I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated
pension 12th September regarding the pension of Malharrao Gaikwad.

In my communications with His Highness on this subject, he has always professed a wish on every occasion to conform as much as possible to the suggestions of the British Government; but in the present instance His Highness has expressed a little reluctance to extend much indulgence to Malharrao, when it was finally decided, on his being delivered over to our charge, that the claims of his pension on the Gaikwad Government should be limited to the amount of his

present stipend and under the circumstances of his having no pretensions to the favour of his family.

At the same time, in the state of this Government and the probable loss that it may experience in its revenue in the current year, the reversion of the late Khanderao's pension is not an object of trifling consideration, though His Highness added that, with the knowledge of all these circumstances, he was willing to leave the decision of the case to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Fatesing in conclusion remarked that there were other members of Malharrao's family whom he felt himself bound in duty to support, as their application for assistance to Malharrao or his late son had proved in vain. His Highness presented me with a list, translate of which is enclosed; adding that, whatever amount might be determined for the further maintenance of Malharrao, it was fairly chargeable with the proposed stipends to his near and distressed relatives.

Statement of those persons of the family of Malharrao Gaikwad and Himmat Bahadur, who have no maintenance from that person, are now living in a state of indigence, with the monthly sums proposed to be granted to them.

	Rs.
The widow and daughter of the late Hanmantrao Gaikwad, a brother of Malharrao	150
Gopikabai, the widow of the late Madhavrao Gaikwad, elder brother of Malharrao	100
The widows of Trimbakrao and Prataprao, now living in indigence in the Cutch country, it is proposed to recall them	200
Ramji Gaikwad, a chela of the late Khanderao Gaikwad Himmat Bahadur	100
	<hr/>
	550

Bombay minutes, 11th December, 1812.

The Government having fully deliberated on the subject of the above recorded dispatch ordered the Resident at Baroda be informed that in addition to the pensions, proposed to be given to persons belonging to the family of Malharrao Gaikwad, and which amount to 550 Rupees per month or per annum	<i>Proposal</i>	6,600
The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council proposes a further pension of 200 Rupees per month be settled on the widow of the late Khanderao in the event of her returning to her family or Rupees 250 if she prefers remaining at Bombay, making in the latter case per annum.		3,000
		<hr/>
		9,600

As the widow of Khanderao is not a person of high caste, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is disposed to think that

the allowance proposed would be quite sufficient for her maintenance; and as there appears to be some apprehension that she may form improper connection in Bombay, it seems advisable that she should be prevailed upon to leave the Presidency.

The above arrangements after making provision for the relations of Malharrao, as proposed by Fatesing, will occasion a saving of 25,400 Rupees per annum; and it is hoped will afford a satisfactory proof to the Gaikwad Government that this Government feels disposed to meet its wishes in the expenditure of its resources.

Ordered also that the widow of Khanderao be advised of the preceding resolution and arrangement, which has thus been made in her favour; and that the Town-Major be directed to ascertain what her intentions are in respect to her future residence, that notice may be given to the Resident at Baroda, and the necessary measures adopted for the payment of her pension.

1813 *Bombay, March 1813 (1813, P. D. 395)*

Prithabai to Sir Evan Napier.

Khanderao dead P. S. She further prays unto your wisdom be so merciful as to order to pay her this monthly allowance from the date of her husband's death, viz. 9th September last, including the sum of Rupees 250, which her father-in-law, Malharrao, received from the Government and never paid to your petitioner up to this day.

1813 *Baroda, 9th March, 1813 (1813, P. D. 395)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Pension As this Government had in contemplation, when my letter to your address of the 27th November was written, to give Malharrao, the whole amount of his original pension or Rupees 15,000 per annum, not subject to the deductions as formerly, on account of his brother or Husanbhai, I have deemed it necessary with a view to perspicuity to furnish you with a statement of the pension as it stands by the new arrangement, subsequent to the death of Khanderao.

Statement of allowance to Malharrao and his relations, subsequent to the death of Khanderao Gaikwad.

Malharrao at 1,250	Rs. 15,000	
Husanbhai's allowance	„ 2,400	
		Rs. 17,400
Widow of the late Khanderao	„	3,000
Devirao and Apparao Rs. 300	„	3,600
Ganpatrao at Rs. 100	„	1,200
Statement of the allowance to the persons of Malharrao's family, as per report to Government dated 27th November, at Rs. 550, as settled by letter dated 11th December, 1812		
		„ 6,600
		Rs. 31,800
Saving from Rs. 50,000, the original pension to Khanderao and Malharrao	„	18,200
		Rs. 50,000

B. KANHOJIRAO GAIKWAD

Kanhojirao Gaikwad, who had long been up in arms against the Gaikwad State, at last made up his mind to come to terms with the Baroda authorities and the Company. But shortly afterwards he was once more conspiring against them. The documents referring to these events are divided into two sections:

*Section A: KANHOJI'S SURRENDER**Section B: KANHOJI'S CONSPIRACY*

In both instances, it was the Resident at Baroda, who took upon himself the deal with the wayward Prince: Alexander Walker arranged the terms for the surrender, and James R. Carnac meted out punishment for the attempted rebellion.

Section A: KANHOJIRAO'S SURRENDER

The documents clearly show to what an extent the Company was able to interfere in Baroda affairs. Alexander Walker settled matters, and the Baroda Administration were asked to give their consent to his proposals.

DOCUMENTS

Bombay, 10th January, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 154)

1804

Bombay to the Company.

Your Hon'ble Committee were apprised in our address of the 31st *Kanhoji's* ultimo of the assistance, which we had authorised to be extended to the Gaikwad Government to enable them to prepare a power such as might be sufficient to keep Kanhoji¹ in check during Colonel Murray's proposed expedition into Malwa; and the indications, which we had since had of that Chief's pretensions, fully justify that precaution. In a communication to Colonel Murray under date the 7th ultimo, Kanhoji shows that his views still continue (notwithstanding his being in a state highly unpropitious to their realisation) to be directed to his elder brother's masnad and to the subversion of the subsisting Administration at Baroda. But the prospect, which now exists, of a speedy termination of the Maratha war will enable us to guard effectually against that Chief's henceforth disturbing the tranquillity of the province of Gujarat, at a considerable distance from which this inconsiderate man is at present wandering with a very uncertain force,

1. See the documents about Kanhoji in *Gaikwads of Baroda* Vol. VI, pp. 95—151,

in a state little, if at all, superior to that of a decided exile; whilst, were even the Senior, the present Raja Anandrao, out of the question, we have now Fatesing, the next legitimate son of the late Govindrao, residing at Baroda, and whose title to the eventual succession is allowed to be in all respects superior to that of Kanhoji, a man of so turbulent and unruly a disposition that he was several times detained prisoner by his own father, and on whose character no reliance can be placed, were it otherwise allowable to take at all into consideration his hints of superior terms, should he experience our support.

1804 *Poona*, 22nd February, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 156)

Major-General Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

*Policy to-
wards
Kanhoji* When carrying on the operations of the late war against Daulatrao Sindia and the Raja of Berar, I found that the rebellion of Kanhojirao Gaikwad was very inconvenient, as it kept in employment a large body of troops, which at the period, to which I am attending, were equipped for service, and which might have marched towards Ujjain, and thus have carried the war within the heart of the territories of the most powerful of our enemies, and have created a most seasonable diversion in favour of the troops in this quarter. I therefore requested Major Malcolm, who was at Bombay, to suggest to you the expediency of endeavouring to reconcile Kanhoji by making to him some concessions. I was not aware that any former attempts with these same views had been made, or that they had been treated in the manner in which it appears by your dispatch of the 14th that Kanhoji received and answered them. If I had had that knowledge, I should have been very certain that, under the circumstances of the moment at which the fresh offers would be made, Kanhoji would not accept them, and that the effect of the offers would be to show [in] him additional insolence. Much less was I aware that you had fixed the amount of the concession to be made to Kanhoji; and indeed upon that point, which I considered to be in a great degree referable to the Resident at Baroda, as the Gaikwad Government would pay the expense, I never formed any decided opinion.

The circumstances of the times are much changed, but still it is my opinion that it is desirable that you should have in security the person of Kanhojirao Gaikwad. He is a legitimate pretender to the government of the Gaikwad State; and I am sorry to observe that in the present state of the military establishments of all Powers in India a person of that description will never fail to have numerous followers, for whom he will gain subsistence by the plunder of the country of which he claims the government. You must employ your troops against him, and they must be strong and equipped in such a way as to be enabled to act at a distance from their magazines and in exhausted countries, as they must be prepared to pass the boundaries of the Gaikwad State, and to follow Kanhoji into those of Holkar, or wherever he may go. The operations against Kanhoji then come to be of considerable importance, and they involve financial and political considerations, upon which it is necessary that you should take the order of His Excellency the Governor-General.

The question is in which manner is Kanhojirao Gaikwad to be reconciled? My opinion is that too much has been already done with the best intentions to carry into execution that object, and that we shall not succeed in it as long as he will believe, as it appears he does, that the Company's Government are anxious to reconcile him. His vakil reports in his letter to you the number of offers, which had been made to Kanhoji through various channels only for the purpose of founding thereon his own insolent answers and of introducing an account of an insolent debate, which, if it ever took place, is the strongest proof of an indisposition to accept the terms which you are disposed to grant. In fact Kanhoji's views have been raised by these offers; and he must be troubled in some degree, before he will accept any terms, which to a man in his situation can be called reasonable.

I therefore take the liberty of recommending to you to answer the letter from vakil in very few words, stating that you are concerned to find that Kanhojirao Gaikwad is not disposed to accept the terms which you had intended to grant to him, and that you desire that he (the vakil) will quit the territories of the Gaikwad without loss of time. I recommend that you should apprise Colonel Murray of the contents of this letter and order him to have no communication with Kanhojirao Gaikwad, which shall not be commenced by Kanhojirao, and no negotiation till Kanhojirao shall have manifested a disposition less haughty and shall use language less insolent.

In giving this recommendation I am not cavilling about words; but from some experience and an intimate knowledge of the Maratha character, acquired by having conducted a variety of negotiations with many Chiefs, I am of opinion that no progress can be made in any negotiation that is not founded upon a respect for the character of the British Government, and which is not carried on in cordial and civil language.

After having sent away this vakil, Colonel Murray must of course be (instructed) to attack Kanhoji, if he should venture into the territories of the Gaikwad State; and I do not doubt but that he will conduct his operations with such rapidity and vigour as will induce that Chief to regret his conduct and to refrain from future invasions. The arrangements for the military in Gujarat, which I proposed to you in my letter, will give Colonel Murray the means of carrying on these operations.

If Kanhoji should make no overture to renew the negotiations, and he should persist in keeping his troops collected on the frontiers in Holkar's territories, the Governor-General must decide upon the measures to be taken against him, and the attack upon Kanhoji must be one connected with other military operations and movements to provide for the safety of the corps making it, and to show Holkar the danger of treachery towards it.

Baroda, 7th May, 1805 (1805, S. & P. D. 167)
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

1805

I have the honour to inform you of a conspiracy which was detected in Baroda, and which would appear to have had for its object the invasion of Gujarat by Holkar's officers, *Conspiracy*

The business was detected by a karkun, who is kept to attend at the Raja's Darbar, and to whom the affair was betrayed by the people who were entrusted with letters from the conspirators, addressed to Holkar, Kanhoji Gaikwad and Harnathsing.¹

Although this intrigue would have probably produced no consequences, yet its detection does credit to the karkun, and as a reward for whose vigilance I beg leave respectfully to recommend an addition to his pay of 15 Rupees a month to the 30 Rupees he already receives, which may operate as a stimulus to future exertion in the service of the Company.

Bombay comment.

Reward It was on the 13th instant ordered that the receipt of the above letter should be acknowledged, and the Resident advised that the recommendation submitted in the latter part of the concluding paragraph in favour of the karkun, to whom the affair was betrayed, is confirmed, having effect from the beginning of the official year.²

1806 *Bombay, 30th October, 1806, (1806 S. & P. D. C. 193).*

Jonathan Duncan's minute.

Proposed policy 1. When the British Government first interposed in the year 1801/2 in the affairs of the Gaikwad State, it was among other points an object to effect the release of Kanhojirao, one of the sons of Govindrao, the late Gaikwad Chieftain of Gujarat, from the confinement in which he was at that period detained under charge of the Arabs; inclusive of some provision for his future support, as well as generally for that of the other members of Govindrao's family.

2. It will however appear from the 4th paragraph of my letter to the Government General of the 26th of February, 1802, that the intended measure of Kanhoji's release was not then safely practicable; but still the Supreme Government desired it to be kept in view in concurrence with the further desiderata of establishing the British troops within the fort of Baroda, and of thereby providing effectually for the protection of Anandrao's person and Government, to the exclusion of the Arabs, who had too long domineered in that part of India.

3. The proceedings for the attainment of these objects terminated however in Kanhoji's being released by the Arabs, upon which occasion, unapprised or doubting perhaps of our favourable intentions towards him, he took part with some of them in the hostilities against the

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1. For further details see *Secret and Political Department Diary*, 1805, No. 167, p. 2489, and pages immediately preceding. These details comprise the depositions of the people involved in the conspiracy, which was a hare-brained scheme.
 2. In the *Secret and Public Department Diaries* for the year 1804 No. 169-172, it is several times stated that Kanhoji is with Holkar. This information is as a rule derived from kasids in the service of the Company. Much of this information supplied by the kasids is here omitted, because most of it merely stresses the fact of Kanhoji being with Holkar without adding any reliable details.

established Native Government and the Company's interests as therewith connected; under which circumstances, it was judged advisable to place under restraint Ganesh Pant, his Diwan, then residing at Surat; from which place the latter was on that occasion brought down, and has till lately continued in the custody of the Superintendent of Police, as during the periods of the wars with Sindia and Jaswantrao Holkar, with whom Kanhoji had connected himself, it would not have been prudent to leave this active agent of his at large; at the same time that the restraint, in which he has been kept, has been easy; and as soon as time had been allowed for the peace with Holkar to become quite confirmed and consolidated, and that Kanhoji had evinced any consequent wish to remain quiet, the custody in which this servant of his had under the authority of Government thus long continued, was on the 6th of September last altogether withdrawn; his allowances being however still continued at the rate of Rupees 336 per month; and as during the period of this person's abode at the Presidency I have availed myself of his frequent visits, to induce in his mind what I trust will prove a fixed abandonment of all his former views of objectionable aggrandisement either for himself or Kanhoji, his late Master, I should like to be able to confer on him for the remainder of his days (and he must now be 50) a pension of 250 Rupees a month out of the saving that has occurred from the death of Gajrabai, who had 500; an act that would, I am persuaded, be also popular and creditable to us in the eyes of the natives and attach this person to us unalterably.

4. Ever since Ganesh Pandit has been here, he has been (not perhaps at all times with entire sincerity) writing to his Master to give up the vain idea of opposition to us; but Kanhoji's hopes were kept alive by the war that the Maratha Chieftains were waging, and are now proportionally low, as these contingencies are no longer in operation; whence is to be accounted for, the accompanying overtures, which, from the period of their receipt in September last, I have considered as affording grounds for negotiating with, or rather for admitting this troublesome pretender to certain terms as well as the other parties in whose behalf he solicits, by which we may so far accomplish the plan originally in view, when we interfered in the affairs of Gujarat, which had for one principal object the quieting of the family broils that then existed in the Gaikwad family.

5. Kanhojirao is certainly a turbulent character and was no less than three times at war with his own father; of all which I have received an unsuspicious detailed narrative from Ganesh himself. He should therefore be required, I conceive, to take up his abode at Bombay or at Poona, and not to live in Gujarat; in conformity to which idea, I have desired Ganesh to return the Brahman Ambaram with an answer, explanatory in substance of what may be allowed to Kanhoji; furnishing likewise this messenger with a passport under my own signature for Kanhoji's safe approach to this place, in the event of his choosing to avail himself thereof. In which case, as what this letter purposes to promise him in point of monthly allowance, exceeds only by Rupees six thousand per annum the provision, already allotted in view to his

return by Major Walker's letter of the 1st of January, this small surplus cannot prove burthensome to the Company's Government to adjust, or even (considering their whole situation from the acquisitions made in Gujarat) contingently to take on themselves, in the event of the Administration at Baroda objecting to exceed in any degree their original estimate; whilst peace with Kanhojirao on such terms appears to be desirable, the more especially as it must lead to the restoration of all the other branches of the dispersed family, which, although from the illegitimacy of most of them (all the sons of Govindrao competent to rise to the inheritance of the Government being already at Baroda) they may not be objects of primary political attention, are nevertheless entitled to a subsistence, in search of which it is not for our credit that they should be obliged or have occasion even in their own estimation to resort to other countries.

No. 1. Translation of a letter from Kanhojirao to Ganesh Pandit, dated 22nd June, 1806, from Gowali near Udaipur.

Ambaram's mission

I formerly dispatched Ambaram to you, and the thirty-four Rupees you sent I have received. I have now sent Ambaram Bhat to you again, and you will settle the business and dispatch him with a letter. You are not to give any written voucher, you will act as Ambaram Bhat shall inform you verbally.

You will send to my mother twenty or thirty Rupees for the Gondhal ceremony by Ambaram, and take his receipt for it. This Gondhal ceremony is to be performed in execution of a vow for Daulatrao (a son of Kanhoji's now at Ahmadabad of about six years of age) and is to take place on the day of Vijaya Dashami. You will therefore quickly dispatch Ambaram, after having speedily settled there the business I have committed to you, and which he will relate to you. What more need I write?

These 34 Rupees were, Ganesh Pant explains, for the redemption of a fire-arm of Kanhoji's, which had been pledged at Baroda by the widow of a servant of his, into whose hands it had fallen. It was considered worth 200 Rupees. The money did not reach Kanhoji, but the firelock did.

No. 2. Ganesh Pant's narrative of what had been related to him by Ambaram Bhat, as alluded to, in the above letter.

Kanhoji's doings

Kanhojirao was in Malhargarh, a place belonging to Jaswantrao Holkar in Maheshwar. Shivram was there with him, with three or four thousand people and six guns. They made an irruption from thence, and Shivram plundered 3 or 4 villages of Daulatrao Sindia; upon which Bapu Sindia was detached several months ago by Daulatrao and completely discomfited the whole party, taking their guns, elephants, etc. and making Shivram prisoner, who was carried to Ujjain, where he remained 2 months and a half.

Meanwhile, Bapuji Sindia advanced to Malhargarh, whence Kanhoji fled and proceeded to Akrodi, a place of reputed sanctity in the province of Udaipur, carrying with him fifty horsemen, and one

elephant, and one hundred footmen. The Gosain of the temple advanced him something for his subsistence; and Kanhojirao sent thence an emissary to Holkar, who sent his officer to Sindia with a letter to remonstrate against this treatment of Kanhoji, and requiring a restoration of the latter's effects and the release of Shivram. Daulatrao denied any particular intentions against Kanhoji and wrote to Bapuji, who thereupon released Shivram and restored to Kanhoji two elephants, and two hundred and fifty horses, and a few tents, and two palanquins; but all the rest of the plunder was irrecoverable. Shivram then proceeded to Holkar's army, where he has 125 horses, under a sardar called Garwa. Holkar wrote also to the Udaipur Raja, desiring him to allow Kanhojirao to remain in his country; in consequence of which the Rana gave Kanhojirao the sum of Rupees 10,000 and Gowali for his abode. Holkar has five villages in jagir from the Udaipur Raja, the produce of which he has assigned to Kanhojirao, which yields him a revenue of about half a lakh of Rupees, on which he is living quietly.

But still he (Kanhoji), uneasy at living in a foreign land, and foreseeing that there is no real unity between Jaswantrao and Daulatrao, and desirous as he is to provide for his daughter's settlement in marriage (now fifteen years of age) he wishes under these combined motives to return into his own country, and the terms on which he is willing to do this are (as separately explained by Ambaram to Ganesh Pant) as follows.

1st. To receive annually a stipend of 75,000 Rupees to be secured to him by a landed assignment so as not to leave him at the discretion of the paymasters.

2nd. To be allowed to reside on his jagir to be thus assigned to him; or if that be not likely, that he will reside at Baroda, under the joint consent of the English and of Anandrao.

3rd. That he be allowed to keep up out of the above establishment 100 horses and 200 footmen including servants of every description.

4th. A subsistence to be given to Ganpatrao of Sankheda and to Murarrao, who are both with him (Kanhoji) or connected with him in interest, the amount of which to be left to the discretion of Government.

5th. Kanhojirao having three or four principal people with him, he will provide for them out of his aforesaid means, but requests they may remain free from molestation.

6th. The Hon'ble Company and Amin, Jamadar, and Pandhre Raja (the two latter on the part of Anandrao) to be security for this agreement.

7th. Upon these conditions he professes that he will remain with true fidelity towards the Company's and the existing Baroda Government without harbouring inimical designs against either, depending on and hoping further favour, and such of his people as are now confined being released,

Kanhojirao desired to be added to these articles that, although he had thus stated what were his wishes, yet he requested to be furnished with the Governor of Bombay's ultimate resolves, having nothing more at heart than to return to his own country and to be able to attend the paternal duty so incumbent on him for getting his daughter settled in marriage, and being determined to resign all thoughts of opposition and foreseeing (as Ganesh Pant added) that nothing was to be expected from attaching his prospects to Jaswantrao Holkar or Daulatrao Sindia, who would soon, he prognosticated, be at war with each other.

No. 3. Ambaram's declaration.

Kanhoji's movements Ambaram being called before the Governor on the 23rd October, 1806, says that he left Kanhoji on the 23rd June at Gowali in the Udaipur country, and that Gowali is situated at about two kos from the Raja's capital.

Ambaram having above said that he left Kanhoji at Gowali, he now explains it to be a Mewasi village, the thakur of which is Harban-sing, situated at about 2 kos from Kankroli; and that he has there from Holkar an assignment on the Udaipur Raja of 2,000 Rupees a month for which the latter gets credit in the amount of his tribute to Holkar.

It being here objected to Ambaram that he had explained to Ganesh Pant on his arrival that Kanhoji had 5 villages assigned to him by Holkar, he says these latter are for the maintenance of his people; but that from their local circumstances little is derivable from them and nothing without force. The 2,000 Rupees in ready money are, he says, for Kanhoji's own personal support.

Ambaram being asked where Shivram now is, he answers that he is with the Pindaris of Holkar, and has a relation in Holkar's army called Dillon, and has a sister's son (the brother of Dillon) remaining with Kanhoji, which last is named Balwant.

No. 4. Remarks by the President.

Doubts On the whole Ambaram speaks so indistinctly and with such apparent uncertainty of his narration that it is to be inferred he has wished to represent Kanhoji's situation in a more favourable light than its real circumstance would justify; and he may be equally inaccurate on other heads of his information, either as first announced through Genesh Pandit, or as now delivered personally; on which therefore no full reliance should be placed, till further opportunities occur of corroborating its correctness or of detecting its fallacy; all that can perhaps with safety be at present relied on, being that Kanhoji is tired of his uncertain situation, and that seeing little or no prospect of improving it by maintaining any longer resistance, he is desirous of ascertaining the extent of his prospects through a return to his own country.

No. 5. A letter from Ganesh Pant to Kanhojirao, dated 24th October, 1806.

Advice to Kanhoji By Ambaram Bhat you have favoured me with a letter which I have received. In that letter your command was that what Ambaram will

relate to me verbally, I must tell the same to the Governor, and to make an adjustment for you. I have accordingly represented the same to the Governor. The Hon'ble the Governor replied to me that, if you desire to be at amity with the Hon'ble Company's Government, it is disposed to consider you with a favourable eye; in pursuance of which the Governor has instructed me to write this letter to you; and as to any adjustment, it appears to me that towards 2,000 Rupees monthly may be allowed to you. No jagir will be granted to you, but cash every month paid to you through the Company; and you may reside either at Poona, or Bombay, or occasionally at both, and in perfect freedom. Should you come here (which I strongly recommend for your good and that of your family), you are not to come by the way of Gujarat, but through other roads. When you are about to descend the Ghat on your way to Bombay, then you must leave all your retinue in Poona and proceed here only with 25 attendants, and after your arrival, if you find things to your liking, then you may continue to abide in this quarter, or otherwise you will be quite at freedom to return without obstruction or hindrance on the part of the English Government.

The English behave to me here very kindly; and I am sure, if you had been well informed, you would have come to them at first and not gone to with the Arabs. But now what has happened cannot be helped. It is fit to be wise for the future.

In the event of your acting on this salutary advice, Ambaram has been furnished with a bhandari for you for your safely coming. If you do not come, I have promised the Governor that Ambaram shall carefully bring back this bhandari with your answer. Therefore attend to this, and let not my word to the Governor be broken. You are also to keep secret the said bhandari and show it to nobody, unless when necessary during your journey; nor are you to mention that the Governor is so favourably disposed to you as above recited.

Ambaram Bhat will relate to you by word of mouth everything you may desire to know.

No. 6. Passport.

In the event of Kanhojirao's being quietly on his way to Bombay, *Passport* with a few followers, I request that all British officers will admit him and them freely to pass, provided that they take not their route through the Gaikwad's country, and that permission to remain in force four months from this date and no longer.

This is sent to Kanhoji by 2 persons one a Brahman, by name Ambaram, and the other a Maratha, called Setwaji.

Bombay, 30th October, 1806 (1806, S. & P. D. No. 193)

Jonathan Duncan to Sir George Barlow, Governor-General-in-Council.

1806

We beg leave to submit to your perusal and consideration the *Letter* accompanying copy of a minute and accompaniments from our President respecting Kanhojirao and his Diwan, Ganesh Pandit.

1806 *Fort William, 27th December, 1806 (1807, S. & P. D. 198)*

The Governor-General to Bombay.

Approval We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th October, enclosing a copy of Mr. Duncan's minute and accompanying papers relative to the proposed adjustment with Kanhojirao Gaikwad and with his Diwan, Gancsh Pant, and we have the honour to state to you our opinion that the terms of that arrangement are extremely advisable and are calculated to promote the security of the joint interests of the British Government and the Gaikwad State in Gujarat.

1807 *Baroda, 20th March, 1807 (1807, S. & P. D. 201)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Holkar pleads I have now the honour to intimate for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the communication which Jaswantrao Holkar's vakil has verbally made to the Administration. It will appear that one object of his mission has been to open a negotiation for the return of Kanhoji Gaikwad to Gujarat with others of his adherents.

This opening on the part of the vakil has been answered in very general terms by this Administration. They replied that Gujarat was Kanhoji Gaikwad's native country, but that every measure relative to that person must be taken in concurrence with the British Government. They did not however conceive that there would be any obstacle evinced to his return, whenever he indicated a desire to do so, but that it not appears from the vakil's credentials that this was a concern which his Master had authorised him to discuss.

For the present, the vakil of Jaswantrao Holkar will continue to remain at Baroda, as it is not usual to dismiss him upon the first interchange of letters. In the meanwhile, I respectfully beg leave to solicit the instructions of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council how far this medium of accommodation with Kanhoji may be encouraged. The Gaikwad Government by no means wish to avail themselves of Holkar's interference, which, I am aware, may in many considerations be impolitic, but they will be implicitly guided by the counsels of the Hon'ble Company.

Remark in the Diary.

Orders In acknowledging the receipt of the above letter, the Resident at Baroda was on the 27th instant advised that Governor-in-Council was of opinion it would by no means be agreeable to the Supreme Government that the State of the Gaikwad should readmit Kanhoji upon any interference of Jaswantrao Holkar or of any Foreign Power not in alliance with it. An intercourse to the same effect between this Government and Kanhoji began at the latter's instance; but, as an answer might shortly be expected from the Supreme Government to the first intimation from the Resident of the arrival of Holkar's vakil at Baroda, it would be sufficient to keep all negotiations to this effect suspended, till those expected instructions arrive.

Baroda, 22nd March, 1807 (1807 S. & P. D. 228)

1808

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

I request you will have the goodness to acquaint the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I have received information of the arrival of Kanhojirao Gaikwad at the village of Umreth, situated about 15 kos from Baroda; and that I have dispatched Vithoba Pilaji, accompanied by Navji Gowli, to conduct that person to Savli, which is a convenient distance, and where I propose Kanhoji shall remain, until his affairs are finally adjusted.

Baroda, 6th March, 1807 (1807, S. & P. D. 201)

1809

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

I request you will have the goodness to submit to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the accompanying translate of letter from Shivram Jagdish (otherwise called Shivram Gardi) to Babaji Appaji. In concurrence with my advice, Babaji returned a favourable answer to this overture, and I have the honour to forward the translate of a further letter from Shivram.

The arrival of this person's nephew at Baroda will probably be the means of obtaining a more correct account, than is possessed at present, of the circumstances of Kanhoji Gaikwad, and may suggest some favourable opportunity of opening a negotiation for a final settlement with that personage. I need not assure the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that every endeavour shall be made to promote an adjustment equally now desired by the Company's and Gaikwad's Government.

No. 1. Letter from Shivram Jagdish to Babaji Appaji, dated 20th December, 1806.

Having learned the circumstances of your being at Baroda has afforded me the greatest pleasure. The nature of my departure from the seat of Government of the Gaikwad sarkar is a serious matter, in no item unknown to you.

What has passed, is to be attributed to the revolution of my stars and the will of the House of God for what is to be, and evades in all cases the precautions of mortal man.

Babaji, you are a great man, whom it would befit to forget what has passed and, having done so, to call me unto you. This will require that the past should be buried in oblivion. It will require to dismiss mutually all kind of doubts; and this done, if you will then write me a satisfactory letter, I will send unto your presence my nephew Dulabram. This person being with you, will render all kinds of satisfactory assurance that may be deemed necessary to obtain and enter into.

Entertain no apprehension for me; for be convinced my conduct shall in all things be consistent with your wishes, when it only then requires that you should convince yourself that my assertion is true,

rendering to me therefore your suitable protection. But you are wise and experienced. Why should I say more?

For the present I send to you Sundersing jamadar. Any information you may require, this person will afford you; and I have now only to request that you will lose no time in writing to me some satisfactory intelligence of this purport.

Letter from Shivram Jagdish to Babaji Appaji, dated 20th February, 1807.

I have received your favour of the 11th January and have derived most material satisfaction therefrom.

Dulabram

You write that, if I have confidence in you, to send Dulabbhoy, when a personal meeting will enable you to verbally discuss all objects and particulars in view. Wherefore, conformably to this your writing, I now depute Dulabbhoy unto your presence, who has proceeded to Godhra, and will from that place address you. On the receipt of that letter, write him in answer and call him to you. He will repair to you, and personally and respectfully acquaint you with all particulars in question under the idea that you are willing to befriend me, I need not enlarge on that head. On the receipt of your letter of assurance, I have sent Dulabbhoy unto you. Except yourself, I know of none who would be my friend, or protect me under my present exigencies. My soul witnesses the assertion.

1807 Baroda, 7th April, 1807 (1807, S. & P. D. 203)

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

*Holkar
intercedes*

I have the honour to submit for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the translate of a letter from Jaswantrao Holkar, accompanied by translates of a letter from the same Chieftain to the Raja Anandrao and Sitaram; and of another from Sarjirao Ghatke to Sitaram on the same subject.

I have also the honour to forward a copy of the English versions of the reply to Jaswantrao Holkar, which, I trust, the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will approve. In answer to Jaswantrao Holkar this Government will civilly acknowledge his letter and notice the communication from the vakil, to whom he is referred for particulars.

The vakils have been informed in answer to the overtures they have made in respect to Kanhoji that this Government entertain no enmity towards the son of the late Govindrao, but that in this case they cannot take any measures unless under the mediation and with the concurrence of the British Government.

Navji Gowli (also called Navji Patel) is entrusted with a separate communication from Kanhoji himself. In a conversation with this person I have pointed out to him the advantage of expecting from the Company's mediation the adjustment which he is solicitous to obtain on behalf of his Master. He has assented to this observation and promised to separate his expectations from the interference of Jaswantrao Holkar.

No. 1. Letter from Jaswantrao Holkar to Alexander Walker, dated 27th March, 1807.

The faith, friendship and good understanding, which has *Vakils* happily been established between the Hon'ble Company's Government and me, requires no public proof, because it is well known to the great and small over all the world.

Ramchandra Bhut and Navji Patel are now dispatched to your quarter. Having arrived, whatever they may say to you, you may believe in it. Conceive me always anxious to hear accounts of your health, and favour me with pleasing letter.

No. 2. Letter from Jaswantrao Holkar to Anandrao Gaikwad, dated 16th December, 1806.

We request your more frequent communication for our satisfaction *Vakil* and pleasure. A mutual friendship and amity has ever been extant between the two States, and it becomes desirable that its relations should be cultivated, and that they increase, through which we may expect to consummate under one impression of unity our objects for the future. With this view we have dispatched unto you Ramchandra Bhut. On his arrival, he will communicate with you.

No. 3. Letter from Jaswantrao Holkar to Sitaram Chimnaji, dated 16th December, 1806.

You are acquainted with the relations of amity that existed between this State and that of the late Govindrao Gaikwad; and it is desirable that friendship should still be preserved and cultivated. Such objects however not being altogether practicable through the medium of writing, wherefore we have deputed from this camp Ramchandra Bhut. On the arrival of this person with you, he will communicate with you on the heads of particulars.

No. 4. Letter from Sarjirao Ghatke to Sitaramrao, dated 31st January, 1807.

Kanhojirao Gaikwad under certain differences with you unfortu- *Kanhoji* nately came to these parts, where he has had a meeting with their *for peace* Highnesses Sindia and Holkar, as well as revolving in his own mind on various counsels for his future demeanour.

Considering however that in pursuing such measures at present it is to be feared a material ill may come to the State and mutual connections, it became desirable to recommend in each consideration such a line of demeanour as would be beneficial to the State, and be praiseworthy in the eyes of the world; whereas, by a contrary and inimical demeanour injury is brought upon the State and public censure unavoidable. Actuated accordingly under these impressions I have held many councils with Baba (Kanhoji), and I have brought him at last to look upon a pacific demeanour as the most eligible.

I have held out to him of his own good understanding; I have spoken of the present reputation of the State, acquired through the endeavour of its Ministers, and that at present he ought not to entertain

any other sentiment than that calculated to work its general good, forgetting the past, to make peace and cultivate unity and concord with its Sovereign and members.

Having suppressed his present intentions, Ramchandra Bhut Guruji and Navji Patel have been deputed by Holkar; making yourself acquainted with the particulars of their representations, be speedy in giving satisfactory replies thereto, enabled therewith to bring matters to a crisis, and after this manner prosperity and public reputation will indubitably ensure this.

No. 5. Letter for Alexander Walker to Jaswantrao Holkar, dated 7th April, 1807.

Hopes Your letter, dated 27th March, was received in due time, and the persons therein mentioned have verbally communicated the objects of their mission. This subject I have accordingly reported for the information and cognisance of the Hon'ble the Company's Government. May the relations of friendship and good understanding, so happily established between your Government and that of the Hon'ble Company, gain strength by cultivation.

1807 *Baroda, 11th April, 1807 (1807, S. & P. D. 203)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Kanhoji's 1. I have the honour to forward for the information of the
wakil Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the translate of the letter from Kanhojirao Gaikwad, adverted to in my letter of the 7th instant, accompanied by a translate of one to the address of the Raja.

2. Although this letter is neither so full or satisfactory as could have been wished, yet Navji Gowli, the wakil of Kanhoji, has assured me of its being the sincere desire of Kanhojirao to accept from the Gaikwad Government such a maintenance, as under the mediation of the Hon'ble Company's Government may be deemed adequate to his situation.

3. I have deemed it my duty to encourage this overture, and I have generally suggested to Navji Gowli the advisability of Kanhoji relinquishing the idea of obtaining an adjustment through the mediation of Jaswantrao Holkar, and that there would be no objection if unattended, for him to approach nearer to the boundary of Gujarat.

4. Dungarpur or Banswara were suggested as advisable places, but the subject is left open for such directions as the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will be pleased to communicate.

5. Navji Gowli was asked whether Kanhoji had recently received any communication from the Hon'ble the Governor or through the medium of Ganesh Pandit, and if he knew the object. To this he replied that, when he left Kanhoji, he had not; but that he had since heard that messengers had arrived from his former adherent, the Pandit (Ganesh Pandit).

6. It may be necessary to remark upon the titles and seal, which Kanhoji uses in his letter to me, merely to show that they have not

escaped observation. But no notice has yet been taken of this circumstance; and at this circumstance and at this early stage of the negotiation any objection to what may appear to be only a formality, might be improper.

7. In his letter to the Raja no title or seal (except the mortabsood) are used, which may also be an additional reason for permitting the circumstance to pass unnoticed.

Translate of a letter from Kanhojirao Gaikwad to his Senior, Dada Sahib (Anandrao Gaikwad), dated from near Amboli in the province of Mewar, 2nd January, 1807.

Much time has elapsed without a single blessing from my Senior. *Overtures* I ask therefore his more frequent and gratifying communications. Ramchandrarao Guruji on the part Holkar and Navji Patel Gowli from this place are deputed to Baroda, who will respectfully communicate (the objects of their mission) on reaching your place. It remains only therefore that my Senior submit his orders to these persons.

Remark in the Diary.

It is already known to Major Walker that, in consequence of a *Terms* written application from Kanhoji to Ganesh Pandit, a letter has been written to that Chieftain, offering him an asylum at Bombay or Poona with an allowance for his support, provided he finally relinquishes all ulterior views of ambition or of enmity and opposition towards the Government either of his brother Anandrao as now subsisting, or of the Hon'ble Company, as being in alliance with that State.

The sum that has hitherto been offered to Kanhoji for his support has not exceeded two thousand Rupees per month; but, if he should in the course of the present overtures through Navji Patel Gowli represent this as inadequate to its object, the Governor-in-Council will have no objection to such addition being made to it, as the Government at Baroda may accede to, and may be compatible with the general financial arrangements now in progress.

The suggestion to Kanhoji's agent, as reported in the 3rd and 4th paragraph, of the above letter from the Resident, appears to be entirely judicious; and the Governor-in-Council will be disposed to concur in the future sentiments and disposition of Anandrao's Government as to the place where it may be most advisable for Kanhoji to reside.

Baroda, 30th April, 1807 (1807, S. & P. D. 204)

1807

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

I have had a further interview with Navji Gowli, in which *Kanhoji for peace* I endeavoured to induce him to explain more circumstantially his views of Kanhoji. It is with much satisfaction that I have now the honour to report that the result of this conversation exhibits a favourable view of the pacific sentiments now entertained by Kanhoji. Navji Gowli represents it to be the earnest wish of Kanhoji that his past demerits, in respect to the Company's Government, which he freely

acknowledges, should be buried in oblivion; and that his conduct should rather be judged of from what it will hereafter be than from what it has hitherto been.

Occasion was taken in this conversation to point to Navji Patel and Sadashiv Pandit the predicament in which Kanhoji had hitherto stood towards the Hon'ble Company and the Gaikwad State, and the disturbances which through his means had been created in Gujarat; and they were asked what proof or security they had in their power to produce of the pacific intentions of their principal.

To this observation the vakils replied that the proofs of Kanhoji's security must be drawn from his future dutiful behaviour. It was now the object of Navji Patel to solicit assurances of protection and safety from the Company's Government; and upon receiving from me a letter to this effect, Kanhoji was ready to proceed to Dugarpur or Banswara, and there to await the result of the further conferences which he would carry on through the medium of Navji Patel.

The vakils further state that Kanhoji was even ready to come to Baroda; and if through the mediation of the Company a provision could be made for his character, every action of his life should be conformable to their wishes.

Navji Patel was here required to explain what he meant by a provision for the character of Kanhoji, which, he observed, comprised a forgiveness and oblivion of past offences, a provision for himself and his family, sufficient for their expenses and to enable them to live happily together and receive and return intercourse of civility.

The place of Kanhoji's eventual residence was next adverted to, in respect to which Navji Patel and Sadashiv Pant expressed the most unlimited obedience to the pleasure of the Company.

Having received from these emissaries, the above satisfactory declaration of the pacific intention and wishes of Kanhoji, I communicated to them that on the part of the Company there was no obstacle to the return of Kanhoji to Gujarat; but, considering that Jaswantrao Holkar was in Hindustan, and removed from the sphere of communication with Gujarat, it was unnecessary for Kanhoji to use his mediation to obtain an adjustment for his affairs, which all parties wished to see effected.

To this observation the vakil assented and remarked that Holkar, having accommodated his own differences with the Company, was now anxious that those who had been connected with him, should also accommodate theirs, implying that Jaswantrao was not desirous to interfere further than might be found necessary to promote this adjustment.

As this conversation with the vakils of Kanhoji has disclosed sentiments, which appear to open a prospect that an accommodation with that person may be effected in conformity to the views of the Hon'ble Company and the Gaikwad Government, I have given to the vakils such a letter as they required, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

In the conversation, which I have had with Navji Gowli, I have not been able to ascertain whether Kanhoji has or has not received the letter, which is intimated to have been written to him in consequence of the application he made to Ganesh Pandit.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will also observe, that the sum proposed to be offered for Kanhoji's maintenance composed no specific part of the conversation, which I have held with Navji Gowli, although he generally comprehended that it would not be less than the sum necessary to provide that degree of comfort which he expected. It may also be useful to observe that this Government will not be averse to increase the allowance eventually to be granted to Kanhoji as may, on an equitable consideration, be deemed expedient and compatible with the financial arrangements now in progress.

Letter from Alexander Walker to Kanhoji.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and have *Ready to help* understood its contents.

Your dependant, Navji Patel Gowli and the old servant of the Gaikwad sarkar, has acquainted me with your earnest desire to comply with the wishes of the Company's Government, and to avoid a repetition of the past, and that you are desirous that an arrangement with the sarkar of Anandrao Gaikwad, Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur, may be effected through the mediation of the Hon'ble Company.

Navji Gowli having satisfied me that this is your serious desire, I address to you this satisfactory communication, recommending that you repair to Dungarpur, Banswara, or any other place more satisfactory to you, being on the boundaries of the Gaikwad territories, from where you may be able to depute to this place Navji Gowli and Sadashivrao Deshmukh Mama, and at which place you may also await the result of the settlement they may adjust.

In regard to the going and coming of these persons this letter is a sufficient security. For further particulars I refer you to Navji Gowli.

Remark in the Diary.

Ordered Major Walker be advised that we shall wait the receipt *Approval* of his report of the further progress of the negotiation above noticed; having in the meantime no objection to the course in which it is now proceeding; excepting that, in as far as respects the mediation of Jaswantrao Holkar, it is to be civilly declined and as far as possible avoided, as, in the event of any adjustment taking place apparently through his means, he would not fail to convert such a circumstance hereafter into a plea for interfering and maintaining an influence in the affairs and interior interest of Gujarat.

Baroda, 5th May, 1807. (1807, S. & P. D. 204)

1807

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Upon the dismissal of the vakils from Jaswantrao Holkar and Kanhoji's Kanhoji Gaidwad I presented them, according to the usual etiquette, *vakil*

with the presents mentioned in the accompanying list, to which I respectfully solicit the sanction of Government.

Navji Gowli also having represented his distress for the means of maintenance, and circumstances of policy rendering it necessary that he should have every reason to be satisfied with his reception and treatment at Baroda, as well as that the means of his maintenance should appear to proceed from the Company's Government, I have with a view to the important object of his mission advanced him the sum of Rs. 700; which advance, I also trust, will be sanctioned by the orders of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Bombay resolution.

Gaikwad to pay In reply to the preceding letter, the Resident was on the 11th instant informed that the mission from Jaswantrao Holkar as well as the agency from Kanhoji bearing reference to the State of the Gaikwad, every expense incurred on that account should be placed to the debit of Anandrao's Government, and not become chargeable to the Company, whose good offices towards the amelioration of the condition of its Government constituted certainly a sufficient obligation without our burthenshing ourselves on its account with further pecuniary outlay.

These instructions were the more applicable under the present urgent necessity for the observance of economy in every department, as recently and so repeatedly enjoined by the Supreme Government, that we could not but be anxious to avoid every occasion to contingent expense, however minute or inconsiderable.

The Supreme Government was also ordered to be advised of the proceedings.

No. 1. Letter from Jaswantrao Holkar to Jonathan Duncan, dated 23rd April, 1807.

Envoy At this period the friendly and trusty Shamrao Vithal is dispatched to your quarter (Baroda). He will remain in your presence, and keep me apprised of the tidings of your health, and also will acquaint me with accounts of the Gaikwad. As the friendship, subsisting between the Hon'ble English Company and this friendly person, is daily increasing in firmness and stability, do not therefore conceive that any difference exists; and make me happy with the repetition of your kind communications.

No. 2. Letter from Jaswantrao Holkar to Alexander Walker, dated 23rd April, 1807.

Envoy At this juncture the friendly Shamrao Vithal has been dispatched to your quarter; where he will remain and write me intelligence of your health, as also, ascertaining the circumstances of the Gaikwad, represent them here.

As friendship and good understanding have been established between the English Company's Government and me, and is daily happily increasing for the comfort of mankind, may the Almighty give

strength to these circumstances, and it is proper that you should consider me as yourself and make me happy with favourable communications.

No. 3. Letter from Jaswantrao Holkar to Anandrao Gaikwad, dated 23rd April, 1803.

In object to preserve and promote the long existing amity between *Envoy* the two sarkars, as well to obtain an unintercepted channel of communication, wherefore it was we deputed to your place Shamrao Vithal. It is probable you may have learned particulars from the verbal communications of this person; it becomes however unnecessary under this consideration to enlarge through the medium of letters.

The two States are but to be considered as one; and daily to promote the relations of amity keep us acquainted with anything new or momentous in your quarter.

No. 4. Letter from Jaswantrao Holkar to Babaji Appaji, dated 23rd April, 1807.

Being engaged for the last three years in continued movement with *Friendship* our army, has prevented us from communicating, or meeting (our friends). It was from this reason we did depute to your place Shamrao Vithal, and who, it is probable, may have communicated with you on particulars.

The States are the same as one; besides, to promote a similar retinue of amity as hitherto, Shamrao, remaining with you, will be the mutual channel of communication between the two sarkars. Considering the situation of our army as distant from your place, as well as the separated state of our territories, let this person receive your protection and aid in every respect, and be communicative on all points.

Camp at Gutu, 18th July, 1807 (1808, S. & P. D. 221)

1807

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter *Holkar's* of the 11th June last with its enclosures from the Secretary to the *interference* Supreme Government.

2. The proceedings, which had taken place in respect to Kanhoji Gaikwad since my letter of the 11th April, I had the honour to report on the 20th of that month, and intimated the departure of Navji Gowli from Baroda.

3. It may however be necessary to explain for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that with the most respectful concurrence in the sentiments expressed in the letter from the Secretary to the Supreme Government it appeared to me advisable that, previous to rejecting the first direct advance to submission and accommodation, which had yet been received from that person, it should be ascertained how far it was intended that the interference of Jaswantrao Holkar should operate in obtaining an adjustment for the affairs of Kanhoji.

4. In the conversation with Navji Gowli, which I had the honour to report on the 30th of April, it appeared that the recommendation of this Chieftain had on the first instance been adopted from the desire of Kanhoji to leave no avenue untried to effect an adjustment, and under a conception that, the relations of peace and amity being restored between Holkar and the Company, the latter would be the more inclined to listen to the friendly request of that Chieftain on his personal behalf than if the application came immediately from himself.

5. Under this interpretation therefore of the wishes of Kanhoji I did not deem it proper or advisable to reject his advances, the more especially as they came immediately from himself and were made under circumstances that indicate considerable sincerity and desire of accommodation.

6. Navji Patel Gowli is a person who is well known among the Marathas as a man of respectability and talents, although his fortunes have been connected with those of Kanhoji Gaikwad; and he is also known to possess in a considerable degree the confidence of the latter.

7. The deputation of Navji Gowli therefore to Baroda as the agent of Kanhoji seemed to indicate a real desire on the part of this person to accept such terms of accommodation as the Hon'ble Company might be inclined to dictate.

8. Under the circumstance therefore of Navji Gowli disclaiming every mediation that could be disagreeable to the Company or tend to impede a settlement of the concerns of his Principal, and assuring me that he would relinquish every connection with Holkar, I was induced to adopt the measure which I had the honour to report in the letter above referred to.

9. Should therefore under this explanation the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council still conceive this channel of negotiation undesirable, [*I propose it*] to be continued at the Presidency and the medium of Ganesh Pandit to be adopted, either separately or conjointly with Navji Gowli, as the Hon'ble Governor-in-Council may deem fit.

10. If on the other hand, Navji Gowli should return from his Principal with those professions of moderation and submission, which his first overture induces me to expect, there probably may be some advantage in concluding this negotiation with the immediate concurrence of the Gaikwad Government and with an agent directly authorised from Kanhoji himself.

11. In either case however there is still time to receive the instructions of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, and either mode may be followed which may be deemed most conformable to the view of the Company Government.

Bombay's reply, letter from Francis Warden to Alexander Walker, dated, 31st January, 1808.

Reply. In acknowledging the receipt of your letter, under date the 18th of July last, I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to

inform you that under the explanations contained in it and, more especially, supposing the vakil of Holkar to have intermediately taken his departure from Baroda, the objection against negotiating with Patel Gowli as the vakil of Kanhoji no longer operates.

It is expected however that you will always be careful not to allow the least weight to Holkar's previous recommendation, but on the contrary to impress on the mind of the said Gowli that in a domestic question of this kind all exterior influence is inadmissible.

Camp at Gutu, 24th July. 1807 (1808, S. & P. D. 222)

1807

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Having received information of the sudden arrival of Navji Patel Gowli at Katoli [*Kalol?*] in Gujarat on his return from the mission with which he was dispatched to Kanhoji, I request you to have the goodness to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I conceived it would be advisable for him to proceed at once to the Presidency. *Navji arrives*

I have accordingly recommended this measure as the most advised course to pursue under present circumstance, and have the honour to forward for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the copy of a letter which I wrote to Navji Gowli on the occasion.

I have been induced to take this course from seeing that there would be not only much delay but many inconveniences in that person proceeding to join the Camp in Kathiawar, and that it would be improper to permit him under his undecided hopes to remain at Baroda during the present transactions, particularly while I am absent from that city.

On the other hand by proceeding to the Presidency there may be a considerable advantage, as both Kanhoji and Navji Gowli have opened a correspondence through Ganesh Pandit, and given a fair opportunity for discussing the merits of an adjustment with him under the immediate superintendence of the British Government.

Letter from Alexander Walker to Navji Gowli, dated 24th July, 1808.

I have received information from Baroda of your arrival at Katoli, a circumstance which has occasioned me much satisfaction, in as much as it exhibits a proper degree of earnestness in settling the business which you have so well commenced. *Advice to Navji*

I was not however prepared to expect your return so quickly, or I should have taken measures to have obviated the inconvenience attending my absence from Baroda; but this is a matter of no consequence. It will no doubt be more satisfactory to you as well as to the Hon'ble Company's Government to prevent the occurrence of any further delay. I would therefore recommend you to proceed immediately to Bombay and have the pleasure to enclose you a letter of introduction to the Hon'ble the Governor, who will in that case personally be able to decide on the business you are come to adjust.

This mode must be in all respects desirable, especially as Kanhoji Gaikwad has already resorted to that more direct and preferable channel by opening a correspondence with Ganesh Pandit, to whom you also have sent an agent. This recommendation is made to you under assurances of every protection and attention to you during your stay at Bombay.

Baroda, 1st August, 1807 (1807, S. & P. D. 213)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Vakils I request you will have the goodness to submit for the information to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the enclosed copy and translate of a letter from Navji Gowli, stating his arrival in the vicinity of Baroda with Sadashivrao Mama, deputed as vakils on the part of Kanhojirao Gaikwad.

I have accordingly informed Major Walker of this circumstance, and await his instructions. It may be necessary to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that Sadashivrao Mama is allied to His Highness the Raja by marriage with the daughter of the late Govindrao Gaikwad, and is attended with a few people of description of servants and domestics.

Letter from Navji Gowli to James R. Carnac, dated July, 1807.

Arrival Major Walker having dispatched the unlimited bhandari of the Hon'ble Company Bahadur as a permission to Sadashivrao Deshmukh, he has accompanied me here. Major Walker has however proceeded on the mulukgiri, and you are in his situation. My encampment is at the village of Harni, and it will be requisite to have meeting with you. What more can be written?

1807 Camp at Gutu, 11th August, 1807 (1808, S. & P. D. 221)

Navji Patel Gowli to Alexander Walker, letter dated 30th July, 1807.

Request You, Sir, did afford guarantee in the name of the Hon'ble Company to me; whereupon I came off and reached here [Baroda] on the 23rd July, 1807.

As you had gone on an expedition, we sent a letter to the Shastri Bawa. The Shastri Bawa answered us that he had written to you, Sir, and that he would communicate your orders, without which he possessed no power of acting. Accordingly it is now 8 or 10 days since we came to this place and suffer much from the excessive rains.

If your retinue should not quickly return, let letters be written to Messrs. Carnac and Urquhart to the Shastri Bawa and Babaji to appoint us a place of residence, and to provide us pecuniary means for our expenses.

If this, Sir, should be inconvenient, and you should wish us to repair to you, let a letter be sent to this purport, and provide us with the necessaries from Baroda. For this undertaking we have come here, Sir, on the strength of your word, and our necessities of course are your care,

Camp at Gutu, 18th August, 1807 (1808, S. & P. D. 221)

1807

Alexander Walker to Navji Gowli.

I have been favoured with your letter of the 30th July and understood its contents. Before this, I hope that my letter of the 24th July will have reached you in safety, by which and from the communication of Mr. Carnac you will have been apprised of particulars. *Advice*

I am sorry that the circumstance of my absence from Baroda and your sudden arrival prevent the possibility of my adjusting your business at this distance. I can therefore only recommend the expediency of your proceeding as expeditiously as possible to Bombay, as formerly suggested, and according to the indications which your Principal and yourself have already manifested in opening a communication with the Presidency.

Baroda, 22nd September, 1807 (1807, S. & P. D. 213)

1807

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to transmit a duplicate of my letter of the 1st ultimo, announcing the arrival of Sadashivrao Mama and Navji Gowli in the vicinity of Baroda. On this occasion I beg leave to observe that Sadashivrao Mama has not been deputed as a vakil from Kanhoji Gaikwad. The information to this effect from Navji Gowli has since been corrected by him, which, I request, you will have the goodness to state to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. *Vakil*

Camp at Sadulka, 23rd October, 1807 (1808, S.&P.D. 221)

1807

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

1. I have to resume the subject of my letter of the 18th and 24th of July, which related to the negotiation with Kanhoji Gaikwad through Navji Gowli. *Navji Gowli*

2. In the last dated letter I had the honour to intimate the arrival of Navji Gowli at Kalol on his return from the mission, on which he had been dispatched to Kanhoji, and to forward the copy of a letter to this agent, stating the reasons on which I had recommended him to proceed to Bombay.

3. Since that period Navji Gowli, as the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has been duly apprised, has arrived at Baroda, where he received my letter, which was delivered to him by Mr. Carnac.

4. I requested Mr. Carnac at the same time to direct his attention to observe the conduct of Navji Gowli, but to treat him with every kindness, and to afford him every encouragement in his power to proceed to the Presidency, which it was presumed was equally desirable to the agent and to his Principal.

5. It was foreseen that Navji Gowli would be in want of money, and Mr. Carnac was instructed to endeavour to obtain a supply from the Gaikwad Administration; but, in case they should discover any backwardness in affording this assistance, I thought it most advisable to

remove any plea which Navji Gowli might urge on this score for delaying his journey, by authorising an advance to be made for his expenses, and which would be charged to the Gaikwad account.

6. I have now to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the failure of these measures, and that Navji Gowli first evaded the proposal, and at last declined to proceed to Bombay.

7. As soon as I was informed of this refusal, I conceived it proper to write again to Navji Gowli, and instructed Mr. Carnac to receive any communication which he might have to make on behalf of Kanhoji Gaikwad, and required that he would accordingly deliver without reserve to that gentleman any proposals or message with which he might be instructed.

8. I have the honour to enclose a copy of the letter to Navji Gowli on this occasion and also the translation of one which he addressed to me on his arrival at Baroda together with my reply.

9. In consequence of my letter to Navji Gowli, dated the 29th ultimo, he delivered to Mr. Carnac a letter from Kanhoji Gaikwad to my address, investing him with full powers to discuss his Master's interests, a copy and a translation of this letter is enclosed for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

10. Two remarks will immediately occur to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council on this letter:

11. The assumption, of the style of Senakhaskel Samsher Bahadur and the intercession which Kanhoji makes in favour of the vakil of Jaswantrao Holkar.

12. The former is the exclusive title of the reigning Gaikwad Raja; and the interest which Kanhoji takes in favour of Holkar's vakil would seem to indicate some dependence or connection still subsisting with that Chieftain.

13. The style of Senakhaskel, which Kanhoji assumes, has been always objected to by the Gaikwad Administration, and urged either as a proof of his insincerity or criminal ambition.

14. In the course of a former correspondence with Kanhoji Gaikwad these objections were stated to him, and he was desired to discontinue this name of sovereignty.

15. It would probably be proper on this occasion that these objections were peremptorily repeated, and that the disuse and rejection of these titles by Kanhoji Gaikwad should be insisted on as an indispensable preliminary to the Hon'ble Company becoming the guarantee of any arrangement in his favour.

16. On the part of his Principal Navji Gowli has intimated through verbal channels that his Master expected to take precedence of the illegitimate offspring of Govindrao, but that he desired only to be put on a footing of equality with them in respect to indulgence. It

would be very satisfactory to find these declarations established by actual facts; but unfortunately their moderation and equity form at present sufficient reasons for declining to afford them implicit credit.

17. The Gaikwad Administration have hitherto been disposed to allow Kanhoji Gaikwad a salary of 2,000 Rupees a month; but this would not be the extent of their liberality, provided they could obtain from him any unequivocal proof of a disposition not to disturb the public tranquillity; and with respect to the amount of this salary, as well as the future arrangements for the person of Kanhoji, they are inclined to pay every respectful attention to the sentiments of the Hon'ble Company's Government.

18. In the interval of waiting for such instructions as the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may deem necessary on this occasion, I have instructed Mr. Carnac to continue to receive any communication which Navji Gowli may be disposed to afford; and since he has refused to proceed to Bombay, to leave it to his option either to treat with the Administration on the spot, or to repair to me, or to await my arrival at Baroda.

19. Navji Gowli may be expected to adopt one of these methods of negotiation; and it appears to be immaterial which of them he may prefer, provided his motives are sincerely directed towards an accommodation on such principles as the British Government may be able to approve and the Gaikwad to acquiesce in, without danger to any of its acknowledged rights, or risk to the future of the country.

No. 1. Letter from Major Walker to Navji Gowli, dated 29th September, 1807.

Although I have not received from yourself an answer to the letter I wrote, recommending you to proceed to Bombay, yet I have understood from Mr. Carnac's intimation that this recommendation does not correspond with your wishes. I conceived your proceeding there would have promoted a speedy conclusion of the object of your mission, and that from the communication, which had been opened with that place, it would have proved equally desirable to you and your Principal.

Under the circumstances however of your declining this proposal, I have instructed Mr. Carnac to receive any communication which you may have to make on behalf of Kanhoji Gaikwad, and request that you will accordingly deliver without reserve to that Gentleman any proposal or message, with which you may be entrusted, to whom I refer you for further particulars.

No. 2. Letter from Kanhoji Gaikwad (styling himself Senakhaskel Samsher Bahadur) to Alexander Walker, dated 11th May, 1807.

I have not received any favour from you recently, which does not become friendship. You should therefore make me happy by your frequent communications.

I have dispatched Navji Patel Gowli to your place. Knowing this person to be long attached to the interests of the State, I have deputed and invested him with full powers. He will discuss matters with you and do you in return speak to him with an open, and candid heart. Let no difficulty or evil occur to him or to the vakil of Jaswantrao Baba Holkar on account of their expenses, and favour me from time to time with your gratifying communications.

1807 *Baroda, 28th October, 1807 (1808, S. & P. D. 221)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Walker's directions I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 5th instant, desiring me to report what instructions I may have received from Major Walker on the subject of the mission of Navji Gowli.

2. The Major's sentiments to me have been transmitted in the course of a frequent and almost daily correspondence. But, as these are repeated, and the whole subject brought under the notice of Government in detail in the Resident's dispatch of the 23rd instant, a copy of which I have been favoured with, I beg leave to refer to that dispatch as capable of affording the information required by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Vakils 3. Navji Gowli and Sadashivrao Mama have only occasionally visited Baroda, chiefly for the purpose of intercourse with this Residency, and do not appear to have any particular employment further than to obtain their respective objects, apparently through the influence of the Hon'ble Company's Government.

4. These agents have since their arrival in this quarter resided at Harni, a village about 3 miles east of Baroda.

1808 *Baroda, 22nd January, 1808 (1808 S.&P.D. 221)*

James R. Carnac to Jonathan Duncan.

Kanhoji and Kolis 1. On the 17th instant Babaji communicated to me a prevalent report of Kanhoji Gaikwad having approached the borders of Gujarat with a small body of horse and some infantry, the numbers of which were not defined, but considered unimportant.

2. On the 18th a letter was received from a Bharat [*Bhat*], named Gulab Kakuji, residing in Lunawada, which confirmed these reports; and on the ensuing day two communications were made by the kama-visdar of the Panch Mahal, corroborating his account.

3. The copies and translates of these letters, I have the honour to enclose.

4. It may be proper here to remark that the statement of the forces of Kanhoji and his adherents appears to be exaggerated by the latter person, from the circumstance of 100 camp followers being only allotted to party of 500 men.

5. Although Kanhoji is said to have been invited by the Koli Bhataji of Amliyers, whose forces are ascertained to be in a reduced

state, the facility, with which an active adventurer may collect adherents in this country, has induced this Government to observe every precautionary measure to repel any eventual incursion.

6. With this view Babaji has transmitted the most positive injunctions to the several local authorities to be in a state of defence and to support those districts to which the attention of Kanhoji may be directed. A body of horse and infantry have been ordered to be in readiness to move from hence at the shortest warning.

7. In a conversation with Navji Gowli, he professed a total ignorance of the movements or intentions of his Principal. It was with some difficulty that this person would give credit to the intelligence which had been received; but he voluntarily proposed to address a letter to Kanhoji, which, he had every reason to hope, would induce him to suspend any hostile views at the instigation of the Kolis.

8. In consequence of having been promised the reply to this letter with all practicable expedition, I have delayed to represent to Kanhoji the absurdity of his designs and the inevitable ruin which must attend his adherence to the counsels of low and discontented people.

9. The distressed condition of Kanhoji and his sojourn at Mogur, on the bounty of a petty Raja during many months, may however have occasioned him to accept of an asylum with the Kolis for his personal convenience, while his approximation to the confines of this province might have appeared calculated to accelerate the object of the mission of Navji Gowli.

10. At the same time the natural propensity of this person to excite commotion and his association with the disaffected people to this Government are strong evidences of improper designs.

11. I shall have the honour to communicate the authentic intelligence, which I may receive of this Chieftain and his partisans.

12. The information, which has been obtained, was transmitted to Major Walker without delay.

No. 1. Letter from James R. Carnac to Kanhojirao, dated 23rd January, 1808.

Always continue to refresh my heart by the accounts of your health. Current reports state you to have joined the rebels to the *Advice to Kanhoji* Government of Shrimant Rajasri Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur, the Kolis of Amliyara, and Lohar, with an intention to commit depredations and injure the country of the Senakhaskhel.

In the meantime a Gosain has arrived and conversed with me; all of which I have understood, but I am not satisfied that this man belongs to you, as he had not a letter. For this reason a pair of sarkar kasids are dispatched with this letter to inform you that Navji Patel is here in the capacity of your vakil. This person having arrived subsequent

to the departure of Major Walker Sahib, Resident Bahadur, to Kathiawar, the objects of his mission has been necessarily delayed.

As Major Walker is now on his return to Baroda and will quickly arrive, your affairs shall be settled on the principles of justice by his interference with the Government of the Senakhiaskhel. The sarkar of the Hon'ble Company is at all times prepared to the performance of acts of justice, and on this head you may be satisfied; but Navji Gowli writes on this subject to you.

It is only necessary to observe that the Hon'ble Company are also anxious to see the whole of the Gaikwad family in those comfortable circumstances to which their relative pretensions may entitle them; and on the return of Major Walker, he will conclude some equitable arrangement with your vakil. Let me however advise you to discard the pernicious alliance with low people. For the commission of bad designs and such ends will assuredly occasion distresses and injure those desirable objects, the consolidation of which must depend on your own actions.

No. 2. Bombay resolution.

Directions The following instructions are issued to Major Walker, who is supposed by this time to have arrived at, or near, Baroda, and to be forwarded express to Captain Carnac for the purpose of being opened by him in the event of the Major's absence.

No. 3. Letter from Francis Warden to Alexander Walker, dated 31st January, 1807.

Orders 1. I am directed to intimate that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is at a loss to conjecture what may have led to Kanhoji's present entrance into Gujarat, but must suspect it to be connected with ill designs on his part, since even his vakil Navji Gowli appears to be entirely ignorant of his Master's motives for it; which, joined to his junction with the malecontent Kolis on the frontiers, precludes in great measure the idea that the Governor-in-Council might have otherwise indulged of his approach that far being in pursuance of the former intercourse between you and Navji aforesaid, by which Kanhoji was encouraged to approach nearer to the frontier for the purpose of promoting more efficaciously an amicable adjustment of his affairs.

2. In as far however as this last surmise may prove possibly well-founded, you will of course act upon the basis of it, or otherwise, repel Kanhoji if he be merely come with the view of fomenting disturbances in his brother's dominions.¹

3. On these general grounds the Governor-in-Council approves entirely of the precautions that have been taken by the Native Administration at Baroda, to which you will be careful to give effect, as far as may prove eventually requisite for the purposes above expressed.

1. In the Secret and Political Department Diary of 1808 No. 221, there are a number of letters dealing with Kanhoji's designs of fomenting trouble in conjunction with a certain Bathaji, a Koli Chieftain, accordingly the troops were kept ready to interfere as recorded in a Bombay letter of 2nd February, 1808, quoted in the next entry.

Bombay, 2nd February, 1808 (S. & P. D. 134)

1808

Bombay to Major-General John Bellasis, Commanding Officer of the forces.

I am directed to inform you that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has, in view to certain commotion-raising by Kanhoji in Gujarat, deemed it necessary to authorise the Resident at Baroda to retain in that province, if he thinks it expedient, the battalion now on its march from Kathiawar to Bombay. His Honour is pleased to direct that you order Colonel Holmes to return to his post without delay. *Troops*

Bombay, 2nd February, 1808 (S. & P. D. 134)

1808

Bombay to Major Alexander Walker.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, adverting to the advices that have been received both yesterday and today of commotion-raising by Kanhoji in Gujarat, thinks it necessary to authorise you to retain in that province, if you deem it expedient, the battalion now on its march from Kathiawar to Bombay. I am further instructed to intimate that Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes has been ordered to return to his post. *Troops*

Baroda, 15th February, 1808 (1808, S.&P.D. 224)

1808

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

2. On this subject [*Kanhoji's appearance on the frontier of Kanhoji Gujarat*] I desired the attendance of Navji Gowli on the 12th, the day of my arrival at Baroda, in order to ascertain the views and intentions of Kanhoji and to explain distinctly to the vakil the extent of his expectations from the Gaikwad Government. *amenable*

3. At this interview the professions of Navji Gowli on the part of Kanhoji were entirely pacific and submissive; and when he was required to specify the terms which Kanhoji might be disposed to expect, Navji Gowli afforded the most unequivocal assurances that he would accept of any pecuniary allowance sufficient to support his rank and to enable him to live in comfort. As Navji Gowli however expressed himself unwilling to enter into further particulars and stipulations without the presence of Sadashivrao Mama, I consented to receive their joint visit, and they called at the Residency yesterday.

4. On this occasion Sadashivrao repeated the same professions and sentiments which Navji Gowli had made in the name of Kanhoji.

5. In order to prevent every possibility of misconception on the part of these agents, and that they might not hold out delusive hopes to their Principal, they were repeatedly informed that Kanhoji was to relinquish every expectation and pretence to any participation in the administration of his brother's government; that he would receive a salary for his support, which the Company would guarantee; and that the Gaikwad Government positively rejected any other mediation or interference in his favour.

6. To these terms Sadashivrao and Navji Gowli fully agreed, over and over again expressing their acquiescence, and that the views

of Kanhoji were confined to this provision. In testimony of Kanhoji's moderate and pacific views, his agents represented that he had not above a hundred attendants of every description, and had not formed any connection with the Kolis, inimical to the Government; preferring to rely for the attainment of his ends on the justice and favour of the Company.

7. Under this favourable appearance and in order to ascertain directly the sentiments of Kanhoji without relying on any intermediate agency, I conceived advisable to inform Sadashivrao Mama and Navji Gowli that Kanhoji was at liberty to repair to the neighbourhood of Baroda, where he might personally discuss and finish this negotiation.

8. The agents repeatedly assented to this measure and observed that Kanhoji would have no hesitation in accepting a proposal calculated for his advantage, but he might probably require a person of respectability to accompany him into Gujarat and to inspire him with confidence.

In the meanwhile Sadashivrao and Navji Gowli proposed to apprise Kanhoji of the result of this conference, and promised in a few days that I should receive his answer. They more than once declared that Kanhoji expected the Company's support only as a son of the late Govindrao and disclaimed every interference in the administration of the Government.

9. While Kanhoji was desired to confide in the justice of the Company and their regard for his family, his vakils were distinctly apprised that means of coercion would be adopted, and every hope of favour lost, if he allowed himself on the present occasion to be misguided and to commit a transgression against any part of his brother's possessions.

10. I had taken care, previous to this interview with Sadashivrao and Navji Gowli to ascertain the sentiments of the Administration respecting Kanhoji, and I was happy to perceive that they concurred in the propriety of affording him suitable provision with very appearance of cordiality.

11. Should Kanhoji repair to this neighbourhood, it would afford a strong proof of his sincerity; and should he be actuated by improper views, he will be more easily and effectually restrained in their recesses.

12. The attendants with Kanhoji consist of about 50 horsemen and 150 foot, which would appear to be his usual retinue, as I do not find that he has entertained any new people.

13. It may be proper also on this occasion to remark for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I have received an application from Bathaji, who was supposed to have united himself with Kanhoji for the purpose of exciting disturbances, soliciting a bhandari for permission to send a vakil to Baroda; and I trust that this may be the means of effecting such an arrangement with this Koli Chieftain as will prevent him in future entering into schemes of disaffection.

14. Under these circumstances I have deemed it unnecessary to detain the second battalion of the 2nd Regiment, and the commanding officer is instructed to pursue his route to Bombay, which was for a few days suspended.

15. I am however led on this occasion to bring to the notice of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the still deficient state of the corps, composing the Gaikwad subsidiary force.

16. Until the negotiation with Kanhoji is determined, it will be prudent to retain draft cattle and carriage sufficient for the equipment of a small field-detachment.

Baroda, 4th March, 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. 226)
Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

1808

2. The arrangements, which Major-General Jones has placed in *Troops* a train of execution, are well calculated to provide an effective force, but ready the information concerning Kanhoji Gaikwad confirms my former accounts of his situation and shows the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the number of his adherents is too few to excite any serious apprehension.

3. The exchange of the battalions between Baroda and Kaira, with the addition of the troop of cavalry, will enable Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes to provide a sufficient force for the coercion of Kanhoji, should be resort to hostilities.

4. I beg also that you will have the goodness to represent to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the publicity of the present arrangement for bringing into the field a detachment to act against Kanhoji would revive a jealousy and apprehension for his personal safety, which would most probably defeat the present efforts for an accommodation.

5. The provision of a small field-force, and holding it in readiness, but without avowing the object of its preparation, would secure every advantage of the arrangement without alarming and exciting the jealousy of Kanhoji.

6. Having consulted with Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes on this subject, and finding that he concurred in these sentiments, I have addressed a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Keith, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, intimating that it would be unnecessary at present to detach the two flank companies from Surat.

7. I request you will assure the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that, on the event of a detachment actually taking the field against Kanhoji, every attention will be bestowed to select an officer of talent and discretion for the command; and should it be necessary, Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes with his usual zeal will superintend its operations.

8. I have much pleasure in acquainting the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that Kanhoji has not indicated a disposition to excite commotion in the country. In my late communications with this

Chieftain I have moreover discovered a favourable inclination to conclude an adjustment.

9. With a view to promote this object, and in concurrence with wishes of Navji Gowli and Sadashivrao Mama, I have dispatched Bhau, jamadar, and a pair of jasus belonging to the Gaikwad sarkar to accompany Kanhoji to this neighbourhood.

At the same time I have notified to Kanhoji that the jamadar was intended as a safeguard to his progress through the Gaikwad territories, and that, in the event of his not agreeing to the proposed plan for his future subsistence, the same person would conduct him to his former station.

10. Under the present appearance of circumstances, I have every reason to hope that the negotiation with Kanhoji will terminate to the satisfaction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council and for the benefit of the Gaikwad State.

1808 *Virpur, 9th March, 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. 227)*

Bhandin to Gangadhar Shastri.

Kanhoji amenable Having obtained leave from you, I set out and arrived here. On the 7th March, I had an interview with Kanhoji, to whom I delivered your letter; and I informed him of everything. Hearing the whole, he was pleased, and in consequence of the letter he had a desire to move, but he had stopped on account of the Holi, during which time he cannot march. He is however determined to march on the 13th March, and he will encamp at Harni. Thus he has informed me.

On your account he has shown me much favour; and when I saw him, he gave me a turban. Daji Sahib, there is no cause for fear on any account, he will march at the time appointed. Inform the Major of this, and return to me an answer.

1808 *Baroda, 24th March, 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. 228)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

At Savli I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that, agreeably to my suggestion, Kanhojirao Gaikwad marched from Umreth on the 23rd instant, and arrived at Savli the same day, where he will wait until some decisive measures are adopted relative to him. Kanhoji's professions are those of obedience and expressive of his dependence on the Hon'ble Company's Government.

1808 *Baroda, 28th March, 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. 229)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Kanhoji pleased With reference to my letter of the 24th instant, intimating for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the arrival of Kanhoji Gaikwad at Savli, I have now the favour to report that he was supplied with an advance to the amount of 2,000 Rs. by the Gaikwad Government to answer his immediate necessities, and I have afforded him the use of a tent.

2. Kanhoji has expressed himself extremely gratified by this attention, renewed his professions of unlimited obedience and dependence on the Hon'ble Company's Government, through whose means he hopes to obtain an ultimate arrangement in his favour.

Baroda, 1st April, 1808, (1808, S. & P. D. 229)

1808

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

1. In consequence of Sadashivrao Deshmukh and Navji Patel having expressed an earnest wish that a confidential person from this Presidency should be sent to him, I deputed Gangadhar Shastri to Savli on the 29th in the evening. *Shastri's mission*

2. At the time of the Shastri's arrival Kanhoji was unwell, but he was admitted to the formality of an interview, and in the course of the morning of the 30th was waited upon by Sadashiv Deshmukh and Navji Patel.

3. These deputies answered the inquiries of the Shastri by renewing the general professions of confidence and obedience to the commands of the Company and the perfect contentment with which Kanhoji would receive any provision that Anandrao Gaikwad might assign; but they concluded with a remarkable expression of the wish of Kanhoji receiving some employment, even if that of carrying the Raja's slippers.

4. The remote application of the allusion was however understood rightly by the Shastri as expressive of a hope of being admitted to a share in, if not entrusted with, the administration of the State; but their hope or expectation was instantly checked by a candid exposition of his past conduct, present situation and ultimate hopes, which could never extend beyond a liberal provision for himself and family.

5. The above deputies agreed to those observations fully and pointedly remarked that the recent delivery of the mutalik sicca to Fatesing had been to them a convincing proof that Kanhoji could have no hopes in respect to the administration, but he was nevertheless anxious to prove the sincerity of his repentance for his past conduct, and was desirous on that account of residing in Baroda under such circumstances as would place his future department under the control and constant inspection of this Residency.

6. Many reasons centred at the same moment to point out numerous inconveniences, if not improprieties, which might arise from Kanhoji's residence in Baroda. But the measure was so earnestly pressed, and the entire consent of Kanhoji to live under any restraint that the Company's Government might think necessary, that the Shastri begged to refer to me for their final answer in this point.

7. Subsequently to this conversation another visit was made to Kanhoji by the Shastri, who then received his dismissal and returned to Baroda yesterday morning in company with Sadashiv Deshmukh and Navji Patel.

8. This morning Navji Patel and Sadashiv Deshmukh called to receive my sentiments respecting the place of Kanhoji's future residence.

9. I took this opportunity to impress them with a conviction of the impossibility and impropriety of his residing in Baroda. It was explained that Kanhoji was personally obnoxious to the Gaikwad family as well as to many other persons in this city. His own character and credit also could not be maintained under such circumstances, but he might have the option of Broach, Jambusar, Nadiad, Dholka, or Cambay.

10. In reply to this observation the deputies relinquished the idea of residing within the city of Baroda; but said, if they were excluded from thence, they would prefer the British Residency, which also being stated as objectionable they mentioned the British cantonments, which would afford the fullest proof of Kanhoji's sincerity and the best means of inspecting his conduct, and refuting the aspersions of those who might defame his character misrepresent his conduct; and they also engaged that he would never enter Baroda. This proposal on their part was made with much apparent sincerity and warmth; and they were desired to transmit, for the sentiments of their Principal, the substance of the above conversation and, on the receipt of his answer, the subject would again be resumed.

11. The sum to be allowed to Kanhoji for his expenses was also discussed generally without any express stipulation, saving the expectation that the Hon'ble Company would ensure the regular payment of the sum eventually settled, which was admitted.

12. A note was afterwards produced from Kanhoji, expressive of his illness and requesting permission to proceed to the village of Sokra, situated about 5 kos from Baroda on the road to Fazelpur [?] being a more open and healthy encampment than Savli.

13. As this request appeared liable to no particular objection, the deputies were generally given to understand that it would be complied with.

14. From the preceding observations, the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will observe that this negotiation has not advanced so far as to enable me to anticipate the exact tenor of its eventual conclusions. It will probably appear that the effect of any evil intention on the part of Kanhoji may be as effectually guarded against by assigning some place in the neighbourhood of Baroda as his residence as at a more remote situation. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may however be assured of such measures being adopted, in concurrence with the sentiments of the Administration, as may be deemed most essential to the public tranquillity and advantage.

1808 *Baroda 30th April, 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. 233)*

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

Kanhoji settlement 1. I have the honour to report the result of the proceedings relative to a settlement with Kanhojirao Gaikwad.

2. My last address on this subject was dated the 1st of April, in which I submitted to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a general view of the state of the negotiation with Kanhoji at the period of the visit of Gangadhar Shastri to him at Savli.

3. At that period the difficulty existed in fixing a place for the residence of Kanhoji. His wishes led him to hope that he might be permitted to reside in Baroda, but the evident inconvenience and the very strong aversion of the Gaikwad family and the Administration induced me to nominate Broach, Jambusar, Dholka, Nadiad or Cambay.

4. Kanhoji however positively rejected the proposal through his agents; but willing to use every means of obtaining his consent to an arrangement, which would have afforded the means of more effectually controlling the future conduct of Kanhoji, I deputed Mr. Carnae to Savli with directions to use his best endeavours to obtain his assent to this arrangement.

5. Kanhoji, finding that he could not be permitted to reside at Baroda, was desirous that Chhani or Kirni[?] might be assigned for this purpose; but his aversion to any of the places above-mentioned could not be overcome; and the proposal being persisted in as far as prudence warranted, without an absolute interruption of the negotiation, I directed Mr. Carnae to return to Baroda with the vakils to receive the ultimate answer of the Government.

6. On a point of this delicacy the Administration would not determine without a full consultation with the Gaikwad family; and their own sentiments, which were extremely averse to conclude an engagement with Kanhoji on any terms, were strongly against his being permitted to reside near the Gaikwad capital.

7. The case possessed some difficulty, and it seemed to have arrived at crisis, when it was necessary to determine whether it was better that Kanhoji should be permitted to return to the place whence he came, or a residence be assigned to him at a moderate distance from Baroda.

8. At length it was agreed upon that for the present Kanhoji should take up his residence at Padra, a place about 6 kos west of Baroda, better situated than either Kirni or Chhani for observing and controlling his conduct.

9. With this determination Mr. Carnae was again sent to Kanhoji, and was also charged to obtain his consent to a kalambandi or paper of articles prescribing his future conduct and to determine the amount of his future subsistence.

10. After some discussion and modification, the kalambandi was agreed to, in the actual form in which I have now the honour to submit it to your notice and consideration; and it will, I trust, be found to contain every essential acknowledgement to which we could reasonably expect Kanhoji to subscribe.

11. In respect to his nemnuk or establishment, his demands were extravagantly high. He demanded no less than 7,500 Rupees per month. He adhered to this demand with much tenacity and perseverance, and it was not until after considerable discussion and conversation that he came down successively to 5,000 Rupees per month and ultimately to 36,000 per annum, to which Mr. Carnae was limited, but Kanhoji said, although he thus gave his assent, yet he would reserve himself, until he should have an opportunity of personally speaking to me on the subject.

12. Every material point being thus adjusted and the kalambandi executed, Kanhoji moved from Savli on the 24th and arrived at Padra on the 25th.

13. On the 29th I paid him a visit, and during the course of the day he did not fail to agitate the question of his nemnuk.

14. I had previously settled with this Government that 50,000 Rupees should be appropriated for the purpose of Kanhoji's maintenance, inclusive of every expense attending his person, family and dependants.

15. When therefore he revived the subject of the nemnuk, I agreed to an increase of 4,000 Rupees being allowed for his son; which, with 4,000 Rupees for his mother, included in the 36,000 already agreed upon makes a total provision for Kanhoji and his family of 40,000 Rupees annually. The remaining 10,000 Rupees is reserved to cover such eventual contingencies as may be found necessary.

16. On the occasion of this visit to Kanhoji the parwanah of the Gaikwad Government with the bhandari of the Hon'ble Company was delivered to him, a translate of which I have the honour to enclose, preceded by the application which Kanhoji made for this security.

17. Having submitted my proceedings in respect to Kanhoji in every state of their progress to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, any recapitulation may be unnecessary in this place; but the negotiations being now concluded and a permanent settlement made, a few general remarks may not be superfluous.

18. The past experience we have had of the behaviour of Kanhoji and the history of his life will fully evince that, notwithstanding his present submission and professions, implicit reliance must not be placed on his sincerity.

19. We may however conceive that Kanhoji would not without some very great inducement subject himself to the popular odium that must infallibly attend a breach of his present engagement so solemnly and deliberately contracted.

20. While Kanhoji may be fully alive to the instigation, which ambition or interest may dictate, we must also recollect that he is not deficient in understanding and is fully competent to comprehend the distinction between the hardships and privations of a penurious exile

and precarious subsistence to the enjoyment of the society of his family and a handsome establishment in Gujarat.

21. Kanhoji must be fully confident that the comforts of his present situation must be the sacrifice of any breach of conduct on his part; and without putting more confidence in him than we are authorised from a knowledge of the past, it may be presumed that a sense of his own interests will induce him to keep his engagement.

22. At present Kanhoji appears anxious to establish himself in a house in Padra and enjoy the society of his family. If he should be really insincere in his present professions and conduct, the presence of his family must prove a very considerable embarrassment to the prosecution of any evil intention, while it is not likely that, were this the case, he would wish to encumber himself with their society.

23. The secret guarantee of these engagements however must consist in constant vigilance and circumspection on our part, and some care may be required to prevent him from agitating this Government with his intrigues.

24. The urgency with which Kanhoji pressed to be permitted to reside within Baroda or in its immediate vicinity may cause some suspicion relative to the motive which dictated the request; and it was therefore conceived a desirable object to fix his residence at a station more distant than Kirni or Chhani.

25. In the conversation which Kanhoji had with Gangadhar Shastri a remote allusion was made to the hopes which he had entertained of obtaining some situation in the Administration; and the Gaikwad Ministry were probably not insensible to this wish on his part, and although really desirous to secure the peace of Gujarat by a provision for Kanhoji, yet they did not wish that this provision should extend to him the means of injuring their influence or situations.

26. The hopes of Kanhoji in this respect were however immediately negatived, and it is fully understood that with the provision assigned him his claims in Gujarat are finally closed.

27. This provision it must be observed provides for the number of people which Kanhoji is by the kalambandi allowed to keep for the purposes of ceremony and respectability. They are fully sufficient for ostentation and too insignificant for any purpose of an improper tendency.

28. The hopes of the few men, who have accompanied him from Hindustan, will be disappointed in the small amount of the establishment that is assigned him; and they will leave his service to improve their situations.

29. Hence it is easy to perceive that Kanhoji really possesses no means to render him an object of apprehension. By subscribing to the engagements, now reported on, he has actually disarmed himself of every circumstance that rendered him either dangerous or formidable; and those who formerly adhered to him from hope of advancement on

his ultimate success, must now observe that he has irrevocably resigned every pretension by the successful prosecution of which only they could have derived advantage.

30. Had Kanhoji availed himself with ordinary address of the advantage he once possessed, to secure his ambitious projects, it is difficult to say what might have been the condition of Gujarat at this day. But his conduct during his usurpation lost him the confidence of every partizan. He has now by his own voluntary deed put his pretensions at rest; and it would be difficult, were he inclined, to obtain the support of any man who would be willing to commit his fortune and prospect to Kanhoji's conduct.

31. His residence at Padra also is less objectionable than Kirni or Chhani, being more than double distance of either of these places from Baroda and less favourable for any intrigue, while it is also farther removed from the fords of the Mahi than lie on the roads out of Gujarat. Although it was desirable to fix Kanhoji either at Broach or the other places above alluded to, yet, on the failure of this, his residence at Padra may be attended with some advantage over a more distant station. In this situation, from being at a convenient distance for our observation or control, he will be less exposed to the seduction and influence of those with whom he has been connected; and he cannot adopt any measure without our becoming immediately apprised of it.

32. In pursuance of the tenor of the seventh article I have adopted every precaution that may be necessary in consequence of his living at Padra, and for the present have deemed it proper to continue Vithoba Pilaji with Kanhoji, until he becomes more settled in his present situation, and I also stationed a guard of a native officer with 35 rank and file.

33. It will be improper to close this letter without noticing, Hon'ble Sir, the attention, judgment, and discretion which Mr. Carnac evinced in the course of this adjustment with Kanhoji. The preceding observations will have shown that it was under this Gentleman's immediate superintendence that all the difficult part of the negotiations was carried on; and the ultimate success, which has attended it, in Kanhoji's having acceded to as perfect an arrangement as circumstances would admit, must be ascribed to that Gentleman's exertion, temper and discretion.

No. 1. Translation of a memorandum between Anandrao and Kanhojirao Gaikwad.

Terms of agreement *Article 1:* The Gaikwad sarkar shall give to Kanhojirao, yearly provision consistent with his character. Kanhojirao has no claims on the said State of the Gaikwad, so long as is the Senakhaskhel, or Fate-singrao, or Sayajirao, or their respective heirs surviving through the favour of God.

Article 2: Kanhojirao Gaikwad shall not be prosecuted with any unjust oppression by the said sarkar, who might be actuated from a remembrance of the past, whereupon Kanhojirao is provided with the perpetual guarantee of the Company's Government, and in like manner

is their surety to the Gaikwad sarkar that the said Kanhojirao does not hereafter commit any irregularity or depredation; and consistent herewith, if after this time Kanhojirao Gaikwad shall countenance any conspiracy or disturbance, all claims to the Company's guarantee will be void, and arrangement thereof will be made according to the pleasure of the Company's Government.

Article 3: Kanhojirao Gaikwad did formerly conduct the affairs of this State for four or five months. At that time, whatever injury the treasury may have suffered, should any part thereof now be forthcoming, it is the right only of the Gaikwad sarkar.

Article 4: Since the Gaikwad sarkar have provided him with the means of subsistence, Kanhojirao is called upon to attach himself to the welfare and interests of the sarkar of the Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur.

Article 5: Wherever Kanhojirao may live in the neighbourhood of Baroda, he shall not deceive the ryots amenable to his orders or cause them any oppression. Whatever articles he may require he must fairly purchase.

Article 6: That Kanhojirao's attendants, etc. shall consist of Jecleet people, palanquin hamals, besides personal servants and other inferior servants, as far as one hundred persons with fifty horsemen.

Article 7: That some respectable person shall remain with Kanhojirao on the part of the Hon'ble Company's sarkar, who will be accompanied by a respectable guard. Any new person going or coming must do so in the presence of the Hon'ble Company's agent.

Article 8: Writes Kanhojirao Gaikwad that I do agree to the above written articles done, 28th April, 1808.

No. 2. Letter from Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur to his Junior, Kanhojirao Gaikwad.

You were for a long time a fugitive; but having come to a proper *Consent* understanding, you have repaired to the Presence. A memorandum hereof, comprising seven articles of arrangements has been settled upon through the medium of the Hon'ble Company's Government. Be you satisfied to live according thereto. You will suffer no unjust injury from the sarkar on any consideration. On this score is Major Alexander Walker on the part of the Hon'ble Company's sarkar guarantee to you.

Dispatched on 24th April, 1808.

No. 3. Letter from Kanhojirao Gaikwad to Anandrao Gaikwad.

I was a fugitive; but making my dutiful request through the *Confession* medium of the Hon'ble English Company, I have passed a written deed of memorandum of seven articles of arrangement, and according to the same I shall act without default. I do give as security to this effect, Major Alexander Walker on the part of the Hon'ble Company's Government, Done on 26th April, 1808,

No. 4. Letter from Kanhojirao to the Hon'ble Company, dated 26th April, 1808.

Promise

I have nominated you to the sarkar of my senior, Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur as security for my good behaviour, I therefore request this of you. On my part my conduct shall be guided without fail by the seven articles which have been executed. In order to prevent a deviation from the tenor of this engagement, I have pledged my faith to you.

1808 *Baroda, 8th May, 1808 (1808, S. P. D. No. 233)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

*Other
Gaikwads*

I request you will have the goodness to supply an omission in my letter to the address of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of the 30th ultimo.

In enumerating the advantages of Kanhoji Gaikwad's settlement and the probable effects which might result from it, it escaped me to notice that it is likely to be attended with a permanent settlement also for all the other indigent and at present exiled branches of the Gaikwad family.

Indirect applications have been made in favour of these persons to be restored to the favour of their Government and to be provided with the means of subsistence.

I am confident the humane solicitude of the Hon'ble Company's Government in favour of these persons would induce a wish to see them permanently settled in comfort with their families, and I beg you will assure the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I shall constantly keep this desirable object in view.

1808 *Bombay, 12th May, 1808 (S. & P. D. 233)*

Letter from Bombay to Gilbert Lord Minto.

*Kanhoji
Settlement*

We have the satisfaction of transmitting to Your Lordship the accompanying copy of a letter from the Resident at Baroda under date the 30th April, descriptive of the successful termination of the long depending negotiation with Kanhoji, in pursuance of which that Chieftain is to be allowed to reside at Padra on an annual allowance for himself and family of 40,000 Rupees with a further amount of Rupees 10,000, which is reserved for contingencies.

The advantages of this arrangement are to be estimated with reference not only to the reasonable prospect thereby opened of future quiet to the country, but as completing the accomplishment of one of the material objects that led to our first interposition in the year 1802 in the affairs of Gujarat; whence it cannot fail to reflect considerable credit on the justice and generosity of the British Government which has not been deterred by a long series of inimical and mistaken conduct on the part of Kanhoji from persevering in its original intention in his favour, having for object precisely such an adjustment as has after so long an interval been realised,

We are aware that in the 54th paragraph of the instructions from the Supreme Government under date, the 15th of December, 1802, an expectation is intimated that upon any settlement with this member of the Gaikwad family the expressed views of Anandrao at that period should be conformed to, for fixing his brother's residence within the Hon'ble Company's territories. But, as that requisite was not probably attainable, and as the town of Padra at a convenient distance from Baroda has been selected for this purpose with the consent of Anandrao, it is not supposed that this degree of deviation from the letter of the aforesaid instructions, will be considered as material, especially when compared with all the other advantages of the present result of this able negotiation, which does great credit to Mr. Carnac, the Assistant to the Residency, who is mentioned by Major Walker as having been chiefly instrumental in overcoming Kanhoji's first objections, and bringing the subject to its present fortunate and very desirable issue.

Baroda, 21st June, 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. No. 238)

1808

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden

I request you will have the goodness to represent for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that Shivram Gardi *Shivram Gardi* having preferred an earnest and humble request to the Gaikwad Government to be permitted to repair to Dakor and to end his days at that place of worship, this Government granted the permission which he solicited, and this person has accordingly arrived there.

Shivram Gardi is now approaching his sixty-fifth year and is worn down with infirmities; and in addition to motives of compassion I anticipated the sanction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to a measure, which is in consistence with moderation, and the object of which is to destroy and bury in oblivion those sources of animosity and enmity which have so long disturbed this country.

Baroda, 4th October, 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. 248)

1808

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

5. The most proper person for this duty (*the agency at Paliyad in Kathiawar*) from past experience would have been Vithoba Pilaji; *Agent with Kanhoji* but his presence could not be conveniently withdrawn from Kanhoji, and his age and infirmities are unfavourable to the active life which would be expected.

6. It is proper to mention that this will not be attended with any additional expense to the Company, the Gaikwad Government having consented to defray the expense of the agency with Kanhoji.

Section B. KANHOJIRAO'S CONSPIRACY

The documents show that the conspiracy was discovered by James R. Carnac, that the conspirator was arrested by Carnac's orders, that his removal from Baroda, though opposed

by the Gaikwad authorities, was insisted on by Carnac whose policy was approved in Bombay and Calcutta, and that at last the Gaikwad authorities had to yield.

DOCUMENTS

1812 *Baroda*, 3rd April, 1812 (1812, S. D. 277)

F. Ballantine, Assistant-in-charge, to Francis Warden.

*Ballantine's
measures*

It is my duty to report with the least delay that in consequence of a special application to me from the Native Government, (the same emanating from the superior authority of His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad, and also with the concurrence and knowledge of the Resident) it was finally determined, on the first instant, to adopt immediate measures for the apprehension of the person of Kanhojirao Gaikwad at Padra, engaged in a serious and complicated conspiracy, by a body of Gaikwad troops, immediately selected and appointed for the service, aided by an appropriate detail at my requisition to the officer commanding the subsidiary.

2. This extreme measure and decided line of conduct, called for as the only probable prevention of evils of the first magnitude to the safety and general tranquillity of the State, will, I most respectfully hope, meet the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council for the time being and until the final report of the Resident, who has been duly furnished with circumstantial details to that purport, accompanied by the same also from the members of Government at Baroda for the notice and intermediate consideration of His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad.

3. Enclosure No. 1 of this dispatch will apprise the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, of the arrangements adopted under the concurring support of Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes; and Enclosure No. 2 of the successful result of the service which has been effected without any casualty or the least disturbance to the public tranquillity or peace.

*Kanhoji
in Baroda*

4. Kanhoji is for the present disposed of, with every possible security towards his person, within the town of Baroda, where he was brought yesterday evening, at the same time that he is suffering no personal inconveniences; and which will be followed up with every practicable precaution on my part, until the Native Government receive the pleasure of His Highness Fatesingrao, and myself further instructions from Captain Carnac.

5. As the state of the information however on this serious conspiracy tends to implicate others as concerned at Baroda, I beg to assure the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that every possible search is carrying on with the utmost secrecy and vigilance as well as with every practicable precaution to preserve order and quiet.

No. 1 Letter from F. Ballantine to Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, dated Baroda, 1st April, 1812.

The Native Government having deemed it indispensable to adopt *Ballantine's* measures of an extreme tendency with regard to extend a just preservation to the public interest and general tranquillity at the capital, having in view on a well-founded suspicion the temporary apprehension of Kanhojirao Gaikwad residing at Padra, I have therefore to request, at the particular instigation of the Native Government, your aid and co-operation with the Gaikwad troops, to march on this enterprise, with such a detail as may appear to you, on the information furnished, adequate to the service.

With due reference to the peculiar considerations under which this personage resides at Padra, I shall deem it indispensably necessary to be present, as affording the most probable inducement to an amicable surrender. I beg this may be made known to the officer commanding with such other instructions for his guidance as may seem necessary to you to ensure the fullest compliance and cordiality in a probably delicate service.

I am informed the number of Gaikwad horses to be employed will be about 300; and with the number of infantry, you may decide on sending, it is suggested to me as desirable to be accompanied by a fieldpiece, for which, if necessary, I will probably be able to procure draft cattle from the Native Government.

During my temporary absence I have requested Lieutenant-Colonel Urquhart to remain at the Residency; and as the guards in the fort and pura will be alert, there may not (unless in your estimation) seem to want any additional arrangement in town, or immediate augmentation to the guards. The present state however of the independent company, which does not exceed 78 rank and file, and with a desire to afford every prudent security to the Residency and the Hon'ble Company's treasury, I beg leave to submit whether in your judgment it might not be desirable to reinforce the company at the Residency by a detail of a subaltern's party.

You are already acquainted that I have at your suggestion, with a view to the public exigences at this capital, requested Mr. Crow to expedite the march of the detachment of the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Regiment at Surat; and under the same considerations, it having appeared to you also advisable, I have this (31st March) day addressed the officer commanding the northern division of Gujarat to direct to be held in readiness to march to Baroda with the least delay a squadron of His Majesty's 17th Dragoons.

No. 2. Letter from F. Ballantine to Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, dated Baroda, 3rd April, 1812.

With reference to my letter to you of the 1st instant, I have the *Kanhoji's* honour to apprise you of the entire success of the enterprise for the *arrest* apprehension of the person of Kanhojirao Gaikwad; and on its being

finally arranged with the Gaikwad Government as to the residence, having in view every possible security, I shall have the pleasure to further communicate with you.

It is at present in the opinion of the Administration and myself, and in which I feel satisfied also I shall have your continued concurrence and support, that the guard should not consist of less than 100 rank and file, with the requisite proportion of officers and non-commissioned officers. The present detail at Padra will of course be immediately relieved.

No. 3. Letter from F. Ballantine to Nathan Crow, at Surat, dated Baroda, 26th March, 1812.

Troops needed Having understood from the officer commanding the subsidiary that the detachment of the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Regiment at present at Surat is likely to march early the ensuing month, I am induced, from reasons of an apparently prudent and important nature to the public interests, to request that through your acquiescence and good offices the detachment may be ordered to march to Baroda with all convenient dispatch.

I should trust there may be no objection to this measure in your estimation, the ordinary duties of the station would seem to call for it in the absence, on extraordinary duty, of several detachments from the corps at Baroda, independent of the causes above alluded to.

No. 4. Bombay minutes, dated 10th April, 1812.

Approval The Governor-in-Council awaits Captain Carnac's report before the final orders are issued in regard to the disposal of Kanhojirao Gaikwad.

The effectual measures Lieutenant Ballantine has adopted for the apprehension of that restless and ungrateful young man as communicated in the preceding dispatch, meet the full approbation of the Governor-in-Council as well as the applications made by him to obtain the aid of reinforcements from Kaira and Surat.

No. 6. Bombay resolution.

Kanhoji to Surat With reference to the events which have lately occurred at Baroda, it seems not improbable that the Gaikwad Administration may find it desirable to remove Kanhojirao Gaikwad from thence, in order more effectually to break the length of connection between him and his adherents in that city and its vicinity; in which case the Resident's Assistant should have authority to send him under such an escort as may appear to be necessary for his safety to the Castle of Surat, there to remain in close custody until the further orders of Government for his disposal. The Chief of Surat should accordingly be apprised of the probability of such an occurrence and direct to prepare with as great secrecy as possible for his accommodation in the Castle.

Camp at Lalwar, dated 10th April, 1812 (1812, S. D. 277)

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will have already been apprised of the seizure of Kanhojirao Gaikwad and his present personal restraint within the town of Baroda, through the channel of my Assistant in charge of the Residency; and I have now the honour to submit for the information of the Hon'ble Board the grounds on which this measure has been authorised.

*Kanhoji's
treachery
discovered*

2. During the latter part of my stay at Amreli, whither I had proceeded to meet the vakils of Junagarh, I received a communication from Captain Ballantine in a private shape, acquainting me of a person, formerly in the service of Kanhoji, having come forward to represent that his late Master was engaged in an extensive conspiracy against the allied Governments in conjunction, as a principal, with the Chieftain of Navanagar.

3. The tenor of this man's information will be found in the accompanying paper, and it will be perceived that means were said to be in progress to raise troops on the borders of Gujarat for the purpose of joining Kanhoji, and that Jam Jasaji was to furnish a certain sum of money in promotion of this object.

4. The reasoning which could be deduced from this intelligence, combined with the circumstance of the informant being the sole instrument of developing the conspiracy, which from its avowed extent, it was natural to conclude, might otherwise in some shape have been exposed, was by no means calculated to impress my mind with implicit reliance on his representation.

5. The character of Kanhoji however, the well-known want of principle which generally governs the actions of the Chief of Navanagar, and the confidence with which the information was preferred, as well as the consideration that, though the informant was a disappointed man in the service of Kanhoji, it would be difficult to reconcile his motives for acting with dissimulation to any ordinary principle of conduct, neither would his revenge, if that passion operated, become satisfied, nor his interests answered, unless the delinquency of Kanhoji was put beyond doubt by some overt act of proceeding, induced me to adopt without delay every precautionary measure.

6. I accordingly addressed my Assistant in the terms of the accompaniment and took steps in this quarter for the complete detection of the conspiracy.

7. On the morning of the 28th ultimo a further communication was received from my Assistant, repeating the information previously dispatched, with the additional important intelligence of troops having actually advanced to the borders of Gujarat, and that Kanhoji had been during several nights in a state of preparation. I beg to enclose a separate paper detailing these circumstances.

8. The inquiries, which I had also instituted, had at this time given me some clue to the intrigues at Baroda. The doubts, which I had entertained, began to vanish; and a private conversation with the principal agent of Jam Jasaji, Raghunathji Amarji, which I had prefaced with a declaration of my perfect knowledge of a connection between that Chief and Kanhoji Gaikwad, clearly established that the latter had been for some time engaged in a conspiracy, and that he was still prosecuting his purpose with all the vigour and address in his power.

9. I have the honour to submit the deposition of Raghunathji, respectfully observing that the condition, on which he gave me the specific intelligence it contains, was the concealment of his name.

In all leading points this information precisely concurred with that obtained from Baroda with the additional disclosure of agents from Kanhoji being at Navanagar 4 days preceding our interview.

10. After such a communication it was obvious that the prosecution of some decided measures was calculated, either to crush the conspiracy, or from its immature state to provide against its having any extensive operation. Delay was not only giving time to the conspirators, but the encouragement, they would receive from such a course, might prove highly prejudicial; whereas a prompt example of the principal conspirators would dissolve or mutilate the union, which it was now certain had for some time subsisted between the Jam and Kanhoji and, it is avowed, other persons of respectability.

11. Under these impressions I did not hesitate, on the confidential disclosure of Raghunathji, to direct Captain Ballantine, as per accompanying extract, to apprehend Kanhoji Gaikwad; and to aid that Gentleman in this duty and subsequent investigation I availed myself of the penetration and assiduity of Gangadhar Shastri, who immediately proceeded by dawk to Baroda, accompanied by a body of horse, with a view of pursuing Kanhoji Gaikwad in the event of his escape.

12. The necessity for my continuance in this country seemed more imperious than my presence at Baroda; the latter might have alarmed Kanhoji and induced him to fly, while it would impress the disaffected in all quarters with an idea of the conspiracy having assumed a formidable aspect. The participation of Jam Jasaji rendered it also desirable that my presence here should have the effect of controlling his actions or disguising the proceedings at Baroda, which my abrupt departure from Kathiawar could not be calculated to produce. On other considerations, too, this course appeared decidedly preferable, particularly from my confidence in the discretion of Captain Ballantine and of the aid which Gangadhar Shastri would afford to that Gentleman.

13. Subsequent to the orders which I had sent to my Assistant with the full concurrence of the Gaikwad Government, my inquiries tended clearly to confirm the active participation of Kanhoji Gaikwad in a dangerous conspiracy. I have the honour to enclose a paper containing the substance of a further conversation with Raghunathji, more in detail than his former communication; and it will, I trust,

fully determine the justice and expediency of the extreme measure of apprehending this restless and unprincipled person.

14. I have not been able hitherto to discover that Jam Jasaji had implicated himself with Kanhoji since his acquiescence to the demands of Government, but it is important to observe in this place that his dependants now with me openly acknowledge a connection between their Master and Kanhoji Gaikwad during my negotiations with the Jam, and that the object was to raise disturbances in all parts of Gujarat, and eventually to establish Kanhoji on the gadi at Baroda.

15. The secret intelligence of Vithoba Diwanji adds that a treaty had been executed between the Jam and Kanhoji, wherein certain mutual advantages were stipulated, the former to receive territory, when acquired; and the latter to be provided with pecuniary means for that acquisition. It is proper however to state that too much dependence cannot be placed on this information; but that I shall continue, in conjunction with the Diwanji, to use my endeavours to obtain every intelligence connected with the conspiracy in question, presuming at the same time in the earnest hope that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will be satisfied of my having acted with sufficient testimony for the extreme measure of seizing the principal at Baroda.

16. In proceeding to communicate that the instructions, which had been given by Vithoba Diwanji with my concurrence to the members of the Gaikwad Administration at Baroda to act with Captain Ballantine for the seizure of Kanhoji Gaikwad, have received the entire approbation of His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad, to whose authority there was no time for reference from Amreli, I have also to notice that His Highness will be happy to attend to any suggestions for the disposal of Kanhoji Gaikwad, which the Hon'ble Board may be pleased to offer.

17. The security of Kanhoji's person is particularly essential, and the experience of his repeated escapes from restraint would in prudence require that he be subjected to strict confinement or removed to a distance whence his return to Gujarat would be impossible.

18. The ingratitude of Kanhoji, who had been admitted to a liberal provision after his rebellion during many years against the Gaikwad Government and his dangerous character would perhaps entirely justify the most rigorous measures.

19. His claims to consideration of any kind can no longer exist; and if he meets with indulgence, he must owe it to the feelings of humanity and not to the exercise of justice.

20. For the present, with a view of overawing those who may still be disaffected and to show a becoming example, it is proposed by the Gaikwad Government to place Kanhoji in confinement at Ahmadabad, where he will be removed from the immediate scene of his intrigues, and his security will under proper means be amply provided for. I am induced from my personal knowledge of Kanhoji Gaikwad respectfully to remark that, whatever course it may be proper to pursue

to ensure his security, the utmost vigilance will be requisite. His family, which consists of an aged mother, a son about 12 years old and some other females, will be shortly conveyed to Baroda, and every attention shown to them conformably with propriety.

21. With a view of securing the public tranquillity I request you will suggest to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that a squadron of Dragoons, which I have understood were in readiness to proceed to Baroda in consequence of an application from me to that effect, may eventually be ordered to remain at that station for some time longer.

22. A body of mounted Europeans will produce an excellent effect, and other circumstances may yet be developed, which from their tendency may require the presence of this description of force. In this view I have directed my Assistant to acquaint Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes of my wish that the detachment of Dragoons continues at Baroda, until orders may be received from the Hon'ble Board.

23. The apprehension of Kanhoji and the disclosures, which, it may reasonably be expected, will follow that event, may render it unnecessary for me to leave this country until all the objects of Government are obtained. At the same time, should any necessity be apparent for my presence at Baroda, or the execution of my instructions from hence seems inadvisable, I shall lose no time in expediting my departure.

24. Before I conclude, the discharge of my public duty requires me to notice the able execution of the plan for the apprehension of Kanhoji Gaikwad, which is to be attributed to the judgment and promptitude of Captain Ballantine, and the support and assistance which that Gentleman received from Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, the officer commanding the Gaikwad subsidiary force.

No. 1. Letter from Captain Ballantine to James R. Carnac, dated Baroda, 20th March, 1812.

*Plan of
conspiracy*

The plan of conspiracy, which has been for some time talked of, has been at length exposed to me by a dependent of Kanhoji, who followed him through Hindustan, and has now quitted him with some unadjusted claims, but declares that he will be responsible with his life for the truth of what he states.

It appeared that some Banias had been dispatched to Navanagar by Kanhoji to realise the sum of 80,000 Rupees to be lent him by the Jam. To seize these Banias the informant proceeded with a body sarkar cavalry, but it was found that they had taken a different route to what was expected.

The informant states that Kanhoji has promised Jam Jasaji the forts of Virangar and Visnagar in return for his pecuniary aid, which had already enabled him to make considerable levies of troops near the two Udaipurs and the States bordering Gujarat; that Muhammad Abu, the Arab jamadar at Dhar, was engaged in his interest, and that the most active agent is a bargir, named Mosum Ali, who was

discharged by Kanhoji some time ago, who, to conceal the object of his leaving Padra, made a great noise and difficulty in discharging his arrears, which were finally settled by Vithoba Pilaji.

Intelligence was received this morning that Ramdin, a Purbia, was encamped with a force at Lunawada. These troops are supposed to consist of Dhar troops and connected with Mosum Ali's levies.

Secret and efficient measures have been taken for the security of the fort of Baroda, and a few troops from the neighbouring districts have been called in, on various pretences. This may be necessary, as Kanhoji has unaccountably got about 125 horse 150 foot in his vicinity, whom it would be impossible to seize without disclosing all; which would lead to Kanhoji's flight.

It appears from one of the Bhao's men, returned from Dholka, that a kasbati of that place had been invited to become security for the 80,000 Rupees to be paid by 9 shroffs of Ahmadabad and a Nagar Bhat. The kasbati declined becoming security.

Mosum Ali first visited Nagar on account of the 80,000 Rupees, and brought an Ahmadabad mehta, named Kevalram, a servant of Jam Jasaji. Kanhoji presented this man with a selah and turban and sent him back with Icharam, his own mehta.

No. 2. Letter from James R. Carnac to Captain Ballantine, dated Amreli, 23rd March, 1812.

Your letter of the 20th came in this evening, and the information *Directions* you gave me of Kanhoji's declared proceedings is of too serious a nature, though yet founded only on the *ipse dixit* of one man, but supported by many other circumstances, to admit of my delaying an instant in expressing my earnest wish that you omit not a moment in apprising me with the utmost expedition of any new lights which may be thrown on this interesting subject or events having the semblance of the remotest connection with it.

In the state of the information you give me, I can only enjoin the most active vigilance; and if other developments take place, founded on any probability, that you consult in confidence with Colonel Holmes for the prosecution of such measures as may appear to your judgments requisite for the security of the public interests. At the same time, when you do adopt measures of this description, it should be with the greatest deliberation and conviction of their necessity; and when they are carried into force, let it be with vigour and effect.

Should however any exposition take place of a decided propensity to conspiracy or its complete organisation, I should feel it indispensable to be with you; in the meanwhile, acting with the utmost caution, do not abate in activity. As to the fort, it might be secured without noise by augmenting the guards, as we have formerly done on such occasions; and when the measure is necessary, it should not be delayed.

Let me again repeat to you the importance to the public interests that in the present crisis with Kanhoji you exert every faculty of the

mind with the utmost alacrity and decision. But take care that what is done, is necessary. Be assured of this, before you act; and when assured perfectly and to your entire persuasion and content, act without hesitation. Amin's and Bucha jamadar's horse, in consequence of your letter, have been ordered by the Gaikwad Government from camp immediately.

No. 3. Letter from Captain Ballantine to James R. Carnac, dated 25th March, 1812.

Conspiracy. In addition to the people already mentioned to you as being implicated in the conspiracy of Kanhoji, the names of Takhatabai Gaikwad, a person of the name of Baba, the former mujmudar, Jasa formerly with Captain Donmar (now with Haribhai, pagadar), and a Kshatri of Ahmadabad, and Abba a man employed in writing in the place, are now included.

Kushaba Mama reports the conduct of Takhatabai of late to have been haughty and overbearing, and that she yesterday remarked that the precautions taken in the fort would avail little. Reports have this day arrived of the Dhar troops having advanced to Virpur, 10 or 15 kos on this side of Lunawada. Report stated the Arabs, who are to be discharged from Nagar, to be coming this way, under pretence of going to the Deccan for service.

Harnath, a person who was formerly in Takhatabai's service, but discharged for bad conduct, has returned to her employment. He is not named in the business now on foot, but the presence of such a person in Baroda is improper. The Bhao has determined on seizing him.

The Bhao's karkun writes from Padra that Kanhoji has been on the alert for a few nights past, and the Padra Patel, who came to Baroda yesterday, was threatened with extreme vengeance, should he mention anything of what he might have observed.

No. 4. Letter from James R. Carnac to Captain Ballantine, dated Amreli, 28th March, 1812.

formation Raghunathji Amarji, formerly the Diwan of Junagarh, a person of the highest respectability in Kathiawar, and who was one of the vakils of the Chieftain of Navanagar, and has accompanied the other vakils of that person to the British camp, called on Captain Carnac this evening in company with Vithalrao Diwanji, sarsubah of Kathiawar, to state that, in consequence of some inquiries that Captain Carnac and the sarsubah had caused to be made of him, he discloses as follows every circumstance of which he has any knowledge regarding the intrigues now going on in Baroda.

It was once in the contemplation of Jam Jasaji, when it was obvious that the British Government would force him to their measures, to obtain some one of the Gaikwad family to turn to his cause, and thereby to excite troubles in various parts of Gujarat. Fatesing Gaikwad was the first person whom the Jam hoped to alienate from the English; but it was very soon apparent from the strict intimacy which

subsisted that it would be impossible to succeed with His Highness; and the idea was immediately abandoned without an attempt. Attention was then given to Kanhoji Gaikwad at Padra, who was found quite willing to enter into any plan of opposition to the British Government. After various messages the following arrangement was decided on: Kanhoji to receive immediately one lakh of Rupees and to commence trouble. Amir Khan Nawab to be invited, and a monthly sum of 6 or 7 lakhs of Rupees to be paid to him for his assistance. Muhammad Shah Khan also to be called from Marwar; Muhammad Abud at Dhar to join the league with other Dhar troops, and serus[?] to be made for Kanhoji in Gujarat, Partabgarh, etc., the first object being the assistance of the Jam, who would join his forces for the extirpation of the English. In pursuance with this arrangement, communications were made to the people before mentioned, and it was expected that all would have been matured before an attack was made on Navanagar. Kanhoji had received, previous, to this event, 15,000 Rupees from the Jam; and two persons were in Nagar four days ago, expecting to receive 25,000 more; which, it was said, the Jam would give. These persons had in their possession written deeds, etc. with the seal of State, offered from Kanhoji to the Jam. Raghunathji also adds that people of some consequence in Baroda are implicated in this conspiracy, of which Kanhoji is at the head. He forbears mentioning names, as he cannot yet speak with the confidence he is able to do of the latter person. This much however he solemnly declares that he knows to be a fact that Kanhoji was engaged and continues still to correspond with Nagar, in view to a conspiracy; and that a man, named Kevalram Mehta, and others are the agents from Kanhoji, and moreover that these men have represented that, though the English say we have 2 battalions at Baroda, there are only 1,100 men, including those in the fort. Raghunathji begs however that his name may be concealed, or his reputation will suffer; and he assured Captain Carnac that he would give him any further information that he might obtain from Nagar, where some of his people still are for the purpose of intelligence. Raghunathji Amarji is not the servant of the Jam; but in consequence of having enjoyed from that Chief a small jagir in jaidad during the late troubles he was obliged to attend at Navanagar for the sake of his character in the country. The jagir in question was lately made over by the Jam with Raghunathji's concurrence to Sataji, brother of that Chief, and consequently released him from all obligations to Nagar. During the latter part of the negotiations with Nagar, Raghunathji was a principal agent on the part of the Jam. He has now accompanied Captain Carnac with a view to a settlement with Junagarh, of which Principality he holds the fort and dependencies of Kotiana on account of pecuniary claims.

No. 5. Letter from James R. Carnac to Captain Ballantine, dated 28th March, 1812.

Since the receipt of your dispatch of the 25th about two hours ago, and in consequence of what you say as to troops advancing to Virpur, the force assembled at Udaipur the Less, and the certain information of Mosum Ali's mission to Godhra and Lunawada, added to

what I have received from this quarter, I do not hesitate to recommend the immediate security of Kanhoji's person, provided that all you have stated yourself with reference to him is confirmed. It is absolutely necessary for the public interests, and I have no doubt now that he has been engaged in an intrigue. When you enter on this measure, mind that it perfectly succeeds, and that he does not get away; which will be productive of the most serious injury. In fact I am convinced from the tenor of the information you have received, and the course I recommend in my letter of the 23rd, that some decisive measures have already been adopted.

I have determined to send off the Shastri this evening to Baroda, and he will reach it on the evening of the 31st. His presence for a short time in Baroda will be highly useful. I should have proceeded to you myself but in consequence of what I have heard in this quarter, my presence is here more conducive to the public interests. Of course you know that any part of the Dragoons will be at your service on your application for them.

200 horse and 100 foot are dispatched today to Baroda. The Mahi Kantha force will also move down in that direction.

I shall be all anxious to hear from you. I can give you at this distance no advice as to the manner of seizing Kanhoji, and his family, and adherents; but from his preparation at night the day time is more preferable; and this will reach you about the time of relieving the detail, *viz.* the 1st of the month. It might then be done, but Colonel Holmes and you will be the best judges.

No. 6 Letter from James R. Carnac to Captain Ballantine, dated Amreli, 30th March, 1812.

Information Raghunathji Diwan called this evening with the sarsubah Vithoba Diwanji to inform Captain Carnac with the particulars of a conversation which passed between him and Moti Mehta, a man in the particular confidence of Jam Jasaji, and who is in charge of the Khambhaliya district, Raghunathji had a meeting with Moti on pretence of discussing the probable object of Captain Carnac in sending the Shastri to Baroda; and as a subject unpremeditated, he alluded to the Jam's intrigues with Kanhoji, and asked what was going on. Moti replied that during the dispute the Jam entertained great hopes from Kanhoji, but he had come to the terms of the English, he had entirely abandoned the connection. Raghunathji asked if it was true that Kevalram Mehta had lately arrived from Kanhoji and was on the eve of return. Moti answered in the affirmative to both these interrogations, adding that Kevalram Mehta had asked for a lakh and a half of Rupees to enable Kanhoji to come forward with effect. On hearing this demand the Jam told Kevalram that Kanhoji might look for assistance elsewhere. On this declaration Kevalram was preparing to depart from Navanagar, and it is supposed left it two or three days ago.

Raghunathji remarks on this conversation with Moti that he has less confidence in what he asserts of the Jam's present doings with

Kanhoji from his being so intimately attached to his Master. To this day however no intelligence has reached Raghunathji of the Jam having given Kevalram any pecuniary assistance on behalf of Kanhoji Gaikwad; that he had heard that a bill for 25,000 Rupees was preparing, but that it certainly was not given by his last account.

Raghunathji however makes known a useful piece of information to Captain Carnac, that Kevalram Mehta is the servant of the Jam's Minister Jasraji now at this place.

Captain Carnac requested Raghunathji to detail openly any further acquaintance he possessed of the intercourse between the Jam and Kanhoji. He accordingly proceeded to state that, until the army reached Dewara, the Jam had hopes that we should be satisfied with a few concessions from him, and relaxed a little in his preparations. Gajju Jhala, who was deputed to Captain Carnac as a wakil, was empowered to use every address to alienate Fatesing Gaikwad and his chief sardars from the English, and had in his possession a letter to His Highness to that effect. Gajju Jhala made an attempt to become intimate with Bhao Dhondia, the confidential servant of Fatesing, and succeeded in a great measure, as far as he continued to engage this person to interpose for a settlement with the English. But it was seen that, whatever was communicated to Bhao Dhondia, even of the most trifling nature, was immediately made known to Captain Carnac and Gangadhar Shastri; and that under such circumstances it was dangerous to develop the chief object in view. Each day confirmed Gajju Jhala of the inutility of the Jam's cause and the peril to himself of prosecuting this intrigue, and from the camp at Dewara he wrote to his Master to relinquish all expectations of succeeding here.

Previous to this, the Jam had commenced a preliminary communication with Kanhoji Gaikwad at Padra; and when Gajju Jhala's entire failure was announced, he immediately resolved on a more intimate connection and to make him the instrument of raising troubles in Gujarat. Kanhoji, as it was before stated, was quite willing to enter into a conspiracy against the English and Gaikwad Governments on condition of being assisted with money. Raghunathji declares having read a letter from Kanhoji to the Jam, acceding to the plot and requiring money to prosecute it. It was in the Hindi language, upon a small piece of paper; and to the best of his recollection the seal of Kanhoji was annexed only to the envelope. The messenger to and fro with the correspondence was Kevalram Mehta and some others whom Raghunathji does not know. On being asked by Captain Carnac if Kanhoji used the title of Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur, Raghunathji declares that he cannot recollect it at this distance of time.

Jam Jasaji, when first he thought of forming a more close connection with Kanhoji, required Raghunathji to give his advice. The jealous and suspicious disposition of the Jam compelled Raghunathji to be very guarded, or he would immediately conceive him to be leagued with the English if he spoke his real sentiments. Without condemning the measure at once as ruinous and unavailing, he pro-

ceeded to tell the Jam that Kanhoji could be of little use if he applied to him for money, (It should here be observed Raghunathji remarked that the Jam's ruling passion is avarice.) He could not have influence nor adherents of any respectability if he preferred a request for money to a tributary. By this reasoning he thought he had convinced the Jam of the absurdity of his conduct; and it was obvious that he was irresolute as to the course to pursue. He expatiated however with great stress on the powerful party which Kanhoji was organising; that the character of this person and his former opposition gave him great weight with the Native Powers in Hindustan; and that he (Kanhoji) had promised to engage the Arab jamadar Mahammad Abu, at Dhar and other troops on the frontier or Gujarat. Raghunathji still implied the inefficacy of all these means and his doubts of Kanhoji performing his promises, and left the Jam, he conceived, nearly impressed with same sentiments. A few days after, a man, named Mosum Ali, an agent of Kanhoji's, came to Raghunathji to engage him in inducing the Jam to enter heartily into the cause of Kanhoji for his own interests. Raghunathji made general answers to this man's solicitations, but he found that he, or the ministers of the Jam, viz. Jasaji, Moti Mehta, Anandji and others, had decided the Jam on the measure of assisting Kanhoji.

When he heard this, Raghunathji went to the Jam and asked him if it was the case. He replied that his advisers, on whom he had dependance, had unanimously agreed on the advantage of Kanhoji's assistance, and that as to money he was now spending a great deal, and that it was as well to go this way as any other. God was the protector of all, and his designs were impenetrable.

Thus much Raghunathji knows, exclusive of what he stated the other day. He will not fail in apprizing Captain Carnae of any circumstances which may further transpire.

No. 7. Bombay Minutes, dated 21st April.

Approval The Board, having already been fully apprised by the Hon'ble the President of the leading circumstances connected with the extensive intrigues which Kanhojirao Gaikwad had planned and was maturing, inclusive of the measures that had been determined on for the seizure of that restless and misguided Chieftain, are prepared on the occasion of receiving this official communication of those events to extend their full approbation and confirmation of the proceedings that have led to so happy and seasonable a termination to a conspiracy of so bold and apparently of so extensive a nature, the discovery and suppression of which reflect great credit on the authorities entrusted with the superintendence of the British interests at Baroda.

Kanhoji's future With respect to the future disposal of Kanhoji Gaikwad, the Governor-in-Council was relieved from all difficulty in determining on the line of policy which it was necessary to pursue on this occasion from the decided proof which that Chieftain has afforded that no principles of honour, no feelings of gratitude nor of loyalty can be expected to operate as a tie upon his allegiance to his Sovereign; and

he has not only forfeited all claims to any continuance of that liberal maintenance and protection, which had been provided for him through the interposition of the British Government, but this last act of treachery would warrant the entire surrender of him to that exemplary punishment which he so deservedly merits, were it not for the manner in which he delivered himself up to the British authority having perhaps imposed upon it an obligation to guarantee his personal security. It seems however essential that he should be removed beyond the limits of the province of Gujarat or of the territories of the Gaikwad, and every possible chance of his again disturbing the tranquillity of that State be guarded against; and which cannot be more effectually accomplished than by his removal to Fort William, provided the Supreme Government approve of the measure in a reference of the question of the future disposal of that Chieftain being made to His Lordship-in-Council.

In the meantime as the Governor-in-Council is of opinion that, until the instructions of the Supreme Government shall be received, it is advisable that Kanhoji should remain within the British territories under the immediate control of the British Government as best adapted to provide for that security which cannot probably be so well ensured at Ahmadabad, whence he is understood to have more than once effected his escape on former occasions of being confined there. The Resident at Baroda will communicate this opinion to Fatesing Gaikwad, accompanied by a proposal to have Kanhoji removed to the Castle at Surat, there to remain in close confinement, until we can be favoured with the instructions of the Supreme Government. Should this proposal be acquiesced in, the Resident at Baroda will issue the necessary instructions to Captain Ballantine to adopt measures of due and adequate precaution to effect his removal and delivery to the Chief of Surat, and preparatory orders are in the meantime to be issued to Mr. Crow for his reception.

Ordered that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief be requested *Orders* to direct the squadron of Dragoons to remain at Baroda, attached to the subsidiary force and under the orders of the Resident until such time as all apprehensions of disturbances shall be removed.

It is desirable that the fullest scrutiny into the progress of this conspiracy should be entered into, that the Governor-in-Council and the Administration at Baroda may possess the fullest proof of the extent of Kanhoji's guilt and of the number of his adherents, in order that the most vigilant attention and adequate restraints may be bestowed and imposed upon the enemies of that State, and all power of exciting rebellion for the future effectually suppressed.

Ordered also that the Resident at Baroda be on this occasion apprised of the anxiety of Government that he should expedite the settlement of the jamadar's succession and the complete adjustment of all the other transactions in Kathiawar that have recently engaged the attention of Government, the settlement of which appears to have been too long protracted,

The Governor-in-Council cannot refrain from expressing his surprise that Vithoba Pilaji, who was allowed to remain with Kanhoji at Padra, should not have communicated the preparations which that Chieftain must have been carrying on, and which could scarcely have escaped the attention of the most careless observer. The Resident at Baroda will require from Vithoba Pilaji an explanation of his apparently culpable conduct, which, if not satisfactory, it will be the duty of the Government to deprive him of the allowance which he enjoys and to dismiss him from his office.

1812 *Baroda*, 21st June, 1812 (1812, S. D. 278)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Gaikwad opposition I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch dated the 21st April last, having reference to the intrigues of Kanhoji and the line of policy which it was necessary to pursue, affecting this unprincipled member of the Gaikwad family.

2. Shortly after the receipt of the commands of Government, His Highness Fatesingrao having resolved to visit Dwarka, I was only able at that time to make the proposal of Kanhoji's removal beyond the limits of the province of Gujarat, as directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, and simply to explain the principles which dictated it. His Highness expressed his wish to consider the subject before he gave his final acquiescence; but as a measure preparatory to the execution of the wishes of the British Government, Kanhojirao Gaikwad was removed from his confinement at Ahmadabad to Baroda; and his arrival at this place, and the steps adopted for his security have already been forward by my Assistant for the information of the Hon'ble Board.

3. On the return of Fatesingrao to his capital, I lost no time in re-agitating the question of Kanhoji's removal to the Castle of Surat, and shortly discovered a reluctance on the part of Fatesing and the Administration to give their unqualified assent to a measure which solely had in view the security of the interests of the Gaikwad Government on the eve of interruption by the recent intrigues.

4. At the same time I did not fail, on the present as well as a former occasion, to represent the contradiction which manifested itself in the sentiments now prevailing and those which immediately followed the seizure of Kanhoji; on which occasion His Highness Fatesing had expressed himself willing to attend to the suggestions of the British Government for the disposal of that person.

5. The reasoning, preferred in a former discussion by His Highness's Administration that the latitude of this offer was intended to be confined to the degree of rigour or clemency with which the Company's Government might wish Kanhoji to be used in consideration of his having possessed its bhandari and under the belief that the Hon'ble Board was perfectly aware that conformable to the custom of a Maratha State the repeated commission of treason was attended with punishment of the utmost severity, prompted me no longer to pursue

the object of Government, where a compliance would obviously be the result of any other sentiment than a cordial inclination to concur.!

6. The course, which appeared to me under such circumstances most consonant with the wishes of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, was to acquire from the Administration a written statement of the objections to the proposal I had submitted for their compliance.

7. I have accordingly the honour to forward the copy and translate of a letter from His Highness the Raja, which adverts to the causes of hesitation on the part of the Gaikwad Government, but expresses at the same time an unwillingness to depart from the advice we have given for the better security of the person of Kanhoji.

8. It will now rest with Government to resolve on the proceedings it may be expedient to adopt under the elucidation which is afforded of the sentiments of this Government, or whether it may appear most politic to prosecute the measure of Kanhoji's removal for the sake of guarding more effectually against the well-known unworthy and dangerous character of this person, or to consign him to the charge of his own Government (with the provision of the means for his security, which the subsidiary force will provide) from a regard to the punctilios of honour stated in the letter from the Gaikwad Raja.

9. In the interim of receiving the orders of the Government I have the honour to signify that Kanhoji is placed under a strong guard of sepoys, and that the irons, imposed on his person by the Gaikwad Government, will for the present be continued by the same authority. *Prisoner*

10. In reference to that part of the 4th paragraph of your letter now acknowledged, I have to acquaint you that Kanhojirao Gaikwad never escaped on any former occasion from confinement in Ahmadabad; and that his liberation, when confined at Ranapur on the Narbada, was in consequence of the defection of the Arabs to whose charge he was confined, and not from want of security in that place itself. The motives which induced the Gaikwad Government to send Kanhoji to Ahmadabad have already been explained in my dispatch of the 10th April last.

11. Pursuant to the commands of Government, expressed in the 7th paragraph, I have the honour to enclose copy of a letter which I addressed to my Assistant-in-charge, under the 16th May, directing him to require from Vithoba Pilaji an explanation of his apparent neglect in his capacity of native agent with Kanhoji when residing at Padra. In submitting Captain Ballantine's reply, giving cover to the defence preferred by Vithoba, I do not feel it necessary to intrude any observations in addition to those offered in the enclosure for the consideration of Government. *Vithoba Pilaji*

No. 1. Letter from Anandrao Gaikwad to James R. Carnac.

Our junior, Kanhojirao Gaikwad, received an ample provision for himself and family from this Government; but having intended to excite disturbances at Baroda by entering into a league with Jam Jasaji *Anandrao pleads*

of Navanagar (written documents in proof of which being in our possession), he forfeited all claims to our indulgence, and he has been on this account seized and thrown into confinement. It being very desirable to your Government that a secure arrangement should now be made against the future machinations of Kanhojirao, we are not willing to depart from the recommendation of your Government that he be disposed of in some island, (if possible that of Bombay), where far removed from his accomplices he will be unable to execute any scheme detrimental to the quiet of our Government, while such a punishment will deter others from entertaining hopes similar to those he cherished.

The adoption of such a step however in regard to Kanhoji will do us much discredit among our kindred, inasmuch as it may induce them to suppose that we had not the means within ourselves of disposing of such a man as Kanhojirao has proved himself to be. We bring this circumstance before British Government relying on its penetration and friendship to discover how far it might be advisable to lessen our credit in the eyes of four [?] powers of our kindred by adopting this line of conduct towards Kanhojirao.

Malharrao Dada Himmat Bahadur has been confined in Bombay, it is true; but his case is of a different nature to that of Kanhojirao. The former is a lineal descendant of our House, but latter is not, and therefore has no such claim to consideration as Malharrao.

Your Government is made acquainted with these facts, that, seeing the case fairly, they may judge of its propriety. To friends the communication of our sentiments is unreserved; and while we are ready to act according to their suggestions, we also hope that in their actions towards us they will show a disposition to meet our wishes, when the prejudice of caste or other circumstances render a deviation from their wishes desirable to us. Dated 25th May, 1812.

No. 2. Letter from James R. Carnac to Captain Ballantine, dated Thanagolal, 16th May, 1812.

Inquiry With reference to the 7th paragraph of the letter from the Chief Secretary to Government to my address under date the 21st ultimo, copy of which has already been furnished you, I request you will call on Vithoba Pilaji for his conduct during the prosecution of Kanhoji's intrigues when at Padra, and that you forward any matter he adduces in exculpation, with such remarks as occur to you, for the information of the Hon'ble Governor-in-Council.

No. 3. Letter from Captain Ballantine to James R. Carnac, dated Baroda, 31st May, 1812.

Praising Vithoba I have in pursuance of your instructions called upon Vithoba Pilaji in the terms directed in your letter of the 16th instant. I have now the honour to forward that person's reply, being a detail of the proceedings of Kanhoji's intrigues as far as came within his knowledge and until his surrender; which most desirable event in obtaining an amicable surrender of his person, without bloodshed, must materially be ascribed to the unremitted exertions and faithful and intelligent conduct of Vithoba Pilaji.

No. 4. *The copy of certificate granted by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, dated Bombay, 20th January, 1809.*

This is to certify for the information of any English Gentlemen, *Praising* to whom the bearer, Vithoba Pilaji, may have occasion to produce it, *Vithoba* that he has served many years under the Residency of Baroda with much intelligence, fidelity and activity, and in such a manner as to obtain for him the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, as has been separately expressed to him. The long services of Vithoba Pilaji, which have now exceeded thirty years, and his attention for the period that he was attached to the Baroda Residency, will [secure] him the [future] favour of any Englishman.

No. 5. *Letter from Vithoba Pilaji to Captain Ballantine, dated Baroda, 29th May, 1812. [Letter full of grammatical errors].*

With humble permission I take the liberty to state of Kanhoji's *Vithoba's* intrigue and during their prosecution when at Padra as follows:.¹ *defence*

Kanhoji carry on their intrigues with so much secrecy from me and from all, [that] the people of this spot, I mean Padra, have not least notice or suspicion of his plot. Though I always visit his person, and every day one or twice to his mother, I always find them quiet without any alteration; nor his family or mother know anything on this subject. He keeps great secrecy from all and most part negotiation carry on at Baroda; and those people subjoin him on this plot habitants of Baroda; not a single soul of Padra's know anything. Indeed, Sir, [I] keep great precaution, but this entirely escaped from my knowledge Kanhoji every day rise from his bed at 2-30 P. M., and after that, washing mouth, as for washing body at noon. Then he took dinner, rather supper, and that pass sometime in conversation with his 2 Karkuns, Pandurang and Sadashiv Shiroadat Kairaval Brahman, a great villain, I several times inform him from the Resident. My master, that his first happiness being ruined by those bad people to whom he keeps confident, and tell [if] he will not turn out them, they fear he will not be happy, and I always repeat him the same.

2. On the 23rd March, 1812, I [was] informed that last night Kanhoji keep his horses under saddle, and all his bargirs in readiness for the whole night; which I informed to my Master; and from that day I employed some more hands or trusty Kolis to keep great watch day and night, surrounded his quarter and paga, I mean inside by our garrison and outside by Kolis; and every day's report was made to my Master, and agreeable to his direction [I] acted faithfully and also that Kanhoji keep his halkars to watch the road at night.

3. I daily from that day wrote to the Residency, and two or three different times visit to Baroda and return at night to Padra, when I learn bazaar-gaps that some people enter in plot, and Kanhoji is joining them. Therefore I keep my great watch [in] hope that he will not escape from my guard, and agreeable to my Master's letter concerning readiness of his bargirs and under saddle his paga at night, without any cause; and his answer on that subject and others, daily

reported, so far come to my notice, I remain all this time in great precaution and consideration at last.

4. On Thursday, the 2nd April, morning, at sunrise, I am informed that a detachment of horses from the Gaikwad sarkar surrounded Kanhoji's paga and fired their match-locks. I immediately keep our garrison in arms and run to Kanhoji's quarter, near which I meet Kesobamama, the commander of Gaikwad detachment, and meantime, meet with Captain Ballantine's servant. They said that Captain Ballantine in person arrived, and he as at jampa, I immediately run towards and pay my respect. He ordered me to go to Kanhoji and desire him to wait upon him on urgent business. Therefore he came personally being his guarantee and security. [I] gone to Kanhoji quarter, and find him with his few people under arm and his Purbhia lighting their match. I told Kanhoji that Captain Ballantine came in person and desires his meeting, when Kanhoji tell me that let Mr. Ballantine come to his quarter, and several other questions worthless. I am ansyger carefully all his questions as far I could, I manage to carry him safe and sound to Captain Ballantine, when he is among his bad people. However after much trouble, and 4 or 5 different times [I] go to him and back to Captain Ballantine, lastly he promised that the Gaikwad detachment will off, then he will come with me to Captain Ballantine. I was answered that when the Gaikwad's detachment move perhaps, he runaway. Then he desire, let our garrison surround him. I think so far good, and promised him a writing from Captain Ballantine that, if he not fault, his credit shall be saved. I ran immediately to Captain Ballantine and inform him this. He thinks much better desire Captain Tandy to follow me. I went with guard, and Captain Tandy placed his guard at different places. We require, and I desire him to go with me; all that time he says nothing but resolve to die even drinking Gangajal or water of Ganga and put tulsi leaves in his mouth. I endeavoured after great trouble to carry him safe and sound. At last he said, "Bring Captain Ballantine's writing." Then I ran again and brought him Captain Ballantine's writing, and desire him to follow now; then after much difficult [he] resolve to go by the back door, I myself, Captain Tandy and the Doctor, with our orderlies, took him to a place where Captain Ballantine halted. On their meeting [they] desire him to go to Baroda and answer the complaint against him. They marched to Baroda, and Captain Ballantine ordered me to take great care and watch Kanhoji's son, mother and family, also a paga of 50 horses and 40 gosains, and a karkun to help me. I by the means of karkun and our garrison keep proper guard three days more, and the fourth I am ordered to follow with Kanhoji's son and family to Baroda. A Gaikwad paga and Kesobamama came for that purpose on Sunday, the 5th April. We brought them all safe and lodged them in paga belonging to Mahadhavrao Tatyā.

5. I beg permission to inform my Hon'ble Employer that the day my Master the Resident of Baroda being pleased to place me as agent with Kanhoji, I am fear that some time or other I will come in a scrape. The Kanhoji is a hasty and a cruel-tempered, and keeps bad company, will ruin my long and faithful service, when the Resident

promised to protect me. On this case I beg leave to enclose a certificate granted me by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker for the perusal of my Hon'ble Employers, and humbly beg their pardon to say that their mercy will save me and my last duty to deliver Kanhoji and all his family safe and sound to Captain Ballantine. What shall [I] say more? [I] remain with hopes that my Hon'ble Employers take this case into serious consideration and protect me as their old servant.

Bombay minutes, 13th July.

Upon the nine first paragraphs of the preceding dispatch the Governor-in-Council is concerned to have occasion to express his regret at the wavering disposition which the Gaikwad authorities evinced in regard to the disposal of Kanhojirao Gaikwad, who has forfeited every claim to their indulgence even to their commiseration; nor are we prepared to review any intercession in his favour, after the strong and just opinion which the Resident has delivered in the 16th and 19th paragraphs of his dispatch, dated the 10th of April last, where the policy of his being removed to a distance "whence his return to Gujarat would be impossible" is so forcibly urged. The British Government, though ever prone to the exercise of acts of humanity, and though ever sincerely disposed to promote the wishes of Fatesing and of the Gaikwad on occasions where they can be indulged without the prospects of endangering the public safety, has yet failed to discover in the address from His Highness the Raja that a single motive or argument has been urged of sufficient weight to justify an acquiescence in an interposition which, after the blood and treasure that have been exhausted by the rebellion of Kanhoji, the alarms he has excited, the desperate attempts he has made to subvert and to usurp the legitimate authority of his Sovereign and the base ingratitude which he has ultimately manifested, the Governor-in-Council cannot but consider as of an extraordinary nature; and which cannot be acquiesced in without a sacrifice of those consistent principles by which we have been actuated in promoting the security and permanency of the Baroda State. It was the opinion of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, whilst Kanhoji was fugitive from his country, that "for the continuance of the peaceable demeanour of Kanhoji there can be no reliance placed on his faith or his principles; and should he ever accept the offers of a provision, his future residence must be fixed in some situation where he may be unable to disturb the peace of Gujarat." This prediction has been so fully verified that we should justly incur all the evils of another desultory warfare in Gujarat, were we to fail to provide for its future security in the most effectual manner by removing Kanhoji, as was desired by Anandrao in the year 1802, to some situation where he may be unable to disturb the tranquillity of the country.

On the 10th paragraph of the Resident's letter it is only necessary to explain that the impression of Kanhoji's having effected his escape from Ahmadabad was not founded upon any official communications. The fact however of his having been twice placed in irons by Anandrao, and of his having repeatedly escaped from imprisonment, is sufficient to satisfy the Government of the impolicy of detaining him

in any place where a possibility may exist of his being able to keep alive these feeling of interest in his cause, which must yet be cherished among his dependants, and therefore render the fortress of Ahmadabad particularly objectionable for the purpose of his confinement.

Upon the concluding paragraph of Captain Carnac's letter, ordered that he be informed that it would be with a considerable degree of reluctance that the Governor-in-Council would adopt any measure of severity against Vithoba Pilaji in consideration to the respectable testimonies that are borne on the records to his character; but, when the Government are informed that Kanhoji's measures had been so long in progress and so fully concerted as to have enabled him to get him about 125 horse and 150 foot in his vicinity, which Captain Ballantine himself has deemed to be unaccountable, without Vithoba Pilaji having received any previous intimation of his designs, this, it must be admitted, completely negatives all Vithoba Pilaji's pretensions to credit for his vigilance. The Governor-in-Council however abstains from any other notice of the conduct of Vithoba than that of a communication to that native agent that the explanation he has afforded is by no means satisfactory.

1812 *Fort William, 19th June, 1812 (1812, S. D. 278)*

Lord Minto to Governor of Bombay.

Kanhoji to Madras We have the honour to transmit enclosed for your information a copy of a letter, which has this day been addressed under our authority to the Chief Secretary at Fort Saint George, in consequence of your suggestion that Kanhoji should be conveyed to Bengal; and from which you will observe that, while we concur in the expediency of his removal from the west side of the Peninsula, we are disposed to think that he may be more conveniently confined within the territories subject to the Presidency of Fort Saint George than in this part of the Company's dominions; and that we have requested the Governor-in-Council of that Presidency to transmit to you a copy of the reply to the suggestions conveyed in our Chief Secretary's letter, by the tenor of which reply you will be guided in the adoption of arrangements for the future disposal of the prisoner. If on the receipt of that reply, circumstances should appear to us to render necessary instructions of a different tendency, we shall lose no time in conveying to you our sentiments on the subject. Such communication may be expected to reach you before the completion of the arrangements for the removal of Kanhoji or, at least, before it will be practicable to effect his embarkation.

Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to W. Thackeray of Madras, dated Fort William, 19th June.

Calcutta request Adverting to the difficulty, which has always been experienced in providing for the safe and convenient custody of prisoners of State within the limits of the territories immediately subject to this Presidency, and to the considerable number of persons of that description already residing either at the Presidency or in other parts of

those territories, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council, while he concurs in the expediency of removing Kanhojirao from the west side of the Peninsula, is unwilling to accede to the proposed measure of transferring him to Bengal. It has therefore occurred to His Lordship-in-Council to suggest to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Fort Saint George whether the prisoner might not without material inconvenience be securely confined in one of the numerous fortresses which are within the territories subject to that Presidency.

His Lordship-in-Council requests that a copy of the reply to this proposition may be transmitted for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Bombay, to whom a copy of this letter will be communicated.

Bombay minutes.

Ordered that a copy of the preceding dispatch be forwarded to the Resident at Baroda that he may himself perceive and suitably impress upon His Highness Fatesing and the other members of the Gaikwad Administration the concurrent opinion, entertained by His Lordship the Governor-General-in-Council, of the expediency of removing Kanhoji from Gujarat, the preliminary step to which this Government are accordingly in expectation of having been carried into effect, his being placed in the Castle of Surat. *Orders*

Baroda, 13th August, 1812 (1812, S. D. 279)

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

2. The orders, conveyed by your dispatch, were immediately carried into execution by a representation to the Administration of the opinion of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, of the circumstances which render the removal of Kanhoji from Gujarat a measure, not less founded on policy than dictated by considerations for the welfare of the Gaikwad Government, produced from the experience of the perfidious designs of this person. *Fatesing yields*

3. The sentiments also of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council were made known to Fatesing. The hesitation of His Highness to concur, I perceived, originated in no feeling whatever of regard towards Kanhoji, but from the impression that the surrender of the son of the late Raja Govindrao Gaikwad to the British Government might be contemplated by the surrounding States and by the Gaikwad family to the disadvantage of the Government.

4. In whatever degree this reluctance is misplaced, when put in competition with objects of greater magnitude to be acquired by the removal of Kanhoji, the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will not be disposed to view the conduct of Fatesing as animated by an unnatural principle, or that His Highness was personally indisposed to acquiesce in the advice of the British Government.

5. Being unable entirely to remove the impressions, which had fastened on His Highness's mind, which, I found, were greatly en-

couraged by the supplications of the female members of the family, I deemed it necessary to reply to the letter from His Highness the Raja, (copy and translate of which was forwarded in my dispatch of the 21st June last) chiefly in the terms of the orders communicated by your letter of the 13th July.

6. I have the honour to enclose a transcript of the English version of the address, and to state that the sentiments, which it contains, were succeeded by friendly remonstrance on the obvious propriety of consenting to the removal of Kanhoji from Gujarat. These representations were supported by attracting the attention of His Highness Fatesing to the 13th article of the definitive treaty of alliance with the Gaikwad State, which specifies that "he (Kanhoji) may subsist and reside at Bombay, or at any other place, which may be equally safe and convenient." It is with pleasure I have to make known that the desired effect was at length produced. The accompanying translate of a letter from the Raja will place the Hon'ble Board in possession of the concurrence of the Gaikwad Government to the transfer of Kanhoji Gaikwad to the disposal of the Hon'ble Company.

7. The provision, which the Administration are willing to give Kanhoji and that part of his family remaining at Baroda, will perhaps be commensurate with all his wants in confinement. The danger of entrusting him with means beyond the acquirement of personal convenience was urged, with an observation, that, although Kanhoji was not a lineal descendant of the Gaikwad family, and could have no pretensions equal to Malharrao, the Gaikwad Government would consent to his enjoying nearly a similar allowance, which, it was hoped, would be deemed adequate and also liberal to a man who really deserved no indulgence from his family or Government.

8. The amount is specified in the accompanying letter from the Raja, which will be found to fall short only in one thousand Rupees to the pension given personally to Malharrao. The Administration proposed that 8,000 Rupees of this amount, granted to Kanhoji, be appropriated to his family in Baroda; the residue, *viz.* 6,000 Rupees or 500 Rupees per mensem being set aside for the maintenance of Kanhoji.

9. In conclusion I request you will have the goodness to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that Kanhoji will proceed to-morrow on his route to Surat, under a party of sepoys of 150 men, and 2 European officers. I have the honour to enclose copies of my letters to the Chief and Judge and Magistrate at Surat and to Mr. Romer at Broach as also a transcript of my correspondence with the commanding officer of the subsidiary force.

No. 1. Letter from James R. Carnac to Anandrao Gaikwad, dated 7th August, 1812.

Appeal to Anandrao I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Highness's letter bearing date 23rd June, 1812, conveying the sentiments of your Government on the proposed measure of removing Kanhojirao Gaikwad from Gujarat.

In performance of my duty, a copy and translate of Your Highness's letter was transmitted for the information of the Hon'ble George Brown, Governor-in-Council of Bombay and its dependencies, whose opinion on the important subject in question I proceed to submit to Your Highness's most deliberate consideration.

The unworthy disposition of Kanhoji Gaikwad has been so often manifested, both during the reign of Your Highness and that of your father (now in Heaven), that it is needless to bring by detail to particular notice the instances wherein his treacherous designs for the subversion of the Gaikwad Government have been discovered, and the success that attended them on one occasion after the demise of Govindrao. The oppression, and cruelty and the consequent anarchy of Kanhoji's temporary government are also well known to the Gaikwad family, as well as the severe restraints which this ungrateful man imposed on Your Highness's person.

The effects of his liberation from confinement by the defection of the Arabs, the devastation of the country by these Arabs having resorted to his standard of rebellion, and the blood and treasure which it cost the British Government to complete his discomfiture and expulsion from the Gaikwad territories are events of such moment and recent existence that it is unnecessary to recall them, except in this general manner to Your Highness's recollection. It is also quite superfluous to dwell on the base ingratitude of Kanhoji Gaikwad in leaguings with a tributary of the State for the purpose of his own elevation to the gadi of Baroda, after he had received a signal proof of Your Highness's clemency and moderation by being admitted through the intervention of the British Government to the comforts of his family and to a liberal provision for his convenience and respectability.

I am prompted thus to advert to these several circumstances chiefly to impress on Your Highness's mind the unprincipled character of Kanhoji Gaikwad, and that no indulgence or kindness are capable of exciting in his breast either feelings of allegiance to his Government or affection and attachment to his family.

The British Government, contemplating these circumstances which in their principal object have so obviously had in view the ruin of Your Highness's Government, did not look for any intercession in behalf of a man so notoriously criminal.

Justice and a sense of duty to Your Highness, in its capacity of an ally and guardian of your interests, now compel the British Government distinctly to announce its deliberate sense of the necessity of removing Kanhoji Gaikwad from a scene, where his intrigues have been exercised with so much injury to the allied Governments and with such imminent danger to Your Highness's person.

The concurrent opinion of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council will, I trust, induce Your Highness to view the removal of Kanhoji as a measure, which should not be rendered subordinate to any hesitation arising from a nicety of feeling, when at variance with general interests of your Government.

In submitting these sentiments, permit me to suggest to Your Highness a careful consideration of the subject, and to reflect that the interest, which the British Government feel in this measure, emanates from a sincere regard for the welfare of Your Highness and the prosperity of your Government. In conclusion I have only to remark what, I hope, will prove an additional cause of persuasion, that, whatever can bestow permanency to Your Highness's Government, must reflect credit on that of the Hon'ble Company with whose interests and honour your own are so nearly allied.

No 2. Letter from Anandrao Gaikwad to James R. Carnac, dated 13th August.

*Anandrao
yields*

I have received your letter, conveying to me the opinion of the Calcutta and Bombay Governments. The infidelity of our Junior, Kanhojirao Gaikwad, is known to all; and the cause, he has pursued, would justify extreme punishment; and the consideration only that he is member of the family, has preserved him. It was however this consideration that induced me to wish that he should be confined within this territory. Further reasons you have already learned in my former letter to you.

The united and subsequent communication of the sentiments of your Government led me to consider that it is to my advantage to deliver Kanhojirao Gaikwad to the charge of the Hon'ble Company, I accordingly give my consent under all the circumstances brought forward in support of this measure; and I am disposed to grant our Junior, Kanhojirao, an allowance for his subsistence with due regard to his claims on me in view to his relationship, which, you are aware, is defective from being of suspicious origin.

Allowance to Kanhoji and family, yearly:

Personal allowance to Kanhoji	..	..	Rupees	6,000
"	"	son	"	4,000
"	"	mother	"	4,000
Total			Rs.	14,000

With this allowance for his subsistence in his confinement all further claims, personal or on account of his family, cease either on me, my heirs, or successors.

This proceeding being agreeable to the terms of the 13th article of the definitive treaty with the Hon'ble Company, and with this declaration he is consigned to you.

No. 3. Letter from James R. Carnac to Colonel G. Holmes, dated Baroda, 10th August.

Escort

I have the honour to acquaint you that the Gaikwad Government have delivered over to the charge of the Company the person of Kanhojirao, and that in pursuance of the orders of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, Kanhoji is to be conveyed to Surat and consigned to the custody of the Chief of that place,

I request you will order such a detail to escort Kanhoji as you may deem necessary for his perfect security, and that the European officer, commanding the party, may be directed to have an interview with me previous to his taking charge of the prisoner.

No. 4. Letter from Colonel G. Holmes to James R. Carnac, dated Baroda, 10th August.

I am favoured with your letter of to-day and will order a like *Escort* detail to that, which now mounts guard over Kanhoji, to be ready to escort him to Surat, whenever you may think proper to direct him to leave this [place]. I shall send two European officers, instead of one who mounts guard over Kanhoji at present; but, should you think this guard not sufficient, you may have more. The senior officer will be directed to wait on you for orders, previous to his march for Surat.

No. 5. Letter from Colonel G. Holmes to Lieutenant Wilson, dated Baroda, 13th August, 1812.

You will be pleased to march to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock to *Precautions* the Residency with the detachment ordered to escort Kanhojirao, and wait on the Resident, who will give orders for Kanhoji to be delivered over to your charge.

From the information I have at present, there is no reason to suppose you will meet with any molestation on the road to Surat; but in order to prevent the possibility of a rescue, you will take every precaution to prevent any surprise, and you are distinctly to understand that you are to consider yourself in every respect responsible for the security of the person of Kanhoji Gaikwad.

Immediately you have got clear of the town of Baroda, you will order the detachment to prime and load, and continue your march with the greatest circumspection, not allowing any parties of armed men to approach till you are well informed who they are. When you arrive at your halting places, you will constantly keep one third of your detachment on guard over Kanhoji, who are on no account to quit their muskets. Any men who require occasionally to leave the detachment for the purpose of cooking, etc. must take their muskets with them, and not to go to any great distance. During the night, the whole detachment are to have their arms by them, and to be posted in such manner as to prevent a possibility of the prisoner making his escape.

The Resident will write to the Judge and Magistrate of Broach, acquainting him of your march and to afford any assistance you may require. You will make the following villages your halting places if possible, *viz.* Itola, Miagaon, Tankaria, Broach, Kimchoki and Surat.

On your arrival at Surat you will deliver over Kanhoji to Nathan Crow, Esq., Chief of Surat; after which you will return to Baroda as soon as the Chief and commanding officer gives you permission.

No. 6. Letter from James R. Carnac to Colonel G. Holmes, dated 12th August.

On the occasion of the guard, furnished by you, taking charge of *Precautions* Kanhoji Gaikwad, I have the honour to suggest that the following orders be given to the commanding officer,

1. Although there is no probability whatever to the best of my knowledge, that any untoward circumstances can occur in the route of the detachment to Surat, it should be distinctly understood that the commanding officer is to consider himself in every respect responsible for the security of the person of Kanhoji Gaikwad.

2. The irons, now imposed on Kanhoji's person by the Gaikwad Government, are to be continued until the prisoner is delivered over to the charge of the Chief at Surat, at whose disposal he is to be committed, immediately on the party reaching its destination.

3. Every precaution by the means of sentries, etc. over Kanhoji will of course be taken; but with a view of affording assistance to the commanding officer in furnishing the wants of the detachment, a respectable person with 10 or 12 horsemen has been directed by the Gaikwad Government to proceed with this party. This person has no authority to interfere in any manner with Kanhoji, who is committed exclusively to the charge of the commanding officer of the escort.

4. It would be useful if the commanding officer gave notice of his approach to the Judge and Magistrate at Broach, in order that the necessary measures may be taken to transport the party across the Narbada River. Mr. Romer will also afford any other assistance which may be required.

5. Kanhoji will be furnished with a miana [*palanquin*], and 12 hamals, and a small tent with 2 servants to attend him. He is to be permitted to travel in the miana, but the servants are only to have communication with him; a jamadar and three persons from the Residency will be ordered to attend the commanding officer and obey his directions.

1812 Surat, 20th August, 1812 (1812, S. D. 279)

Nathan Crow to Francis Warden.

In Surat Agreeable to the intimation, contained in the enclosed of a letter from the Resident at Baroda, Kanhojirao Gaikwad arrived here yesterday forenoon; and I have the honour to report to you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that he has been confined in the Castle, pursuant to your letter of the 17th April.

2. The most appropriate place for his reception has been found in the Court Martial Room, where at present he is, until the orders of Government for his disposal.

3. He has arrived from Baroda with an enormous pair of fetters on his legs, which I have not taken upon myself to remove, without express permission from Government.

Bombay minutes.

Fetters Upon the subject of the last paragraph of the Chief's letter, ordered Mr. Crow be informed that, in the event of his being entirely satisfied of his being able to provide for the security of Kanhojirao Gaikwad, without the restraint imposed upon his person, it would be

agreeable to Government that the fetters should be removed. Upon this point however it is recommended to Mr. Crow to consult with the commandant of the garrison for the purpose of his allotting such additional military aid as may be deemed calculated to guard the possibility of his escape, until Mr. Crow may be enabled to remove Kanhoji to Bombay, which he should avail himself of the earliest opportunity of effecting either in the *Rodney* cruiser, or by such other eligible conveyance as he can command.

Surat, 3rd October, 1812 (1812, S.D. 279)

1812

Nathan Crow to Francis Warden.

I have this day received your directions not to remove Kanhojirao *In irons* Gaikwad "until I receive further special orders to that effect;" in answer to which I beg leave most respectfully to suggest that the apartment, at present allotted him in the Castle, is the Court Martial Room; that it has not been considered safe as yet to divest him of the large irons with which he arrived; and that his presence in this city is replete with danger; which circumstances, I humbly request, may be made known to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Bombay minutes.

Ordered that the Judge and Magistrate of Salsette be directed to report whether proper accommodation can be found at Thana for securing the person of Kanhojirao Gaikwad.

Thana, 15th October, 1812 (1812, S. D. 280)

1812

James Hallet to Francis Warden.

2. I request you will inform the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that there is a large house, within the fort, situated near the main guard and opposite to the entrance gate, which, I am of opinion, would answer for the purposes required, although I offer this opinion under an ignorance of the exact nature or rigour of the confinement, to which the person in question is to be exposed. *Thana house*

The house, to which I allude, is of course a military building; it is usually appropriated by the commanding officer of Thana to the accommodation of the officers doing duty in the garrison; and it is at present occupied by two gentlemen, *viz.* Mr. Assistant Surgeon Johnstone and Ensign Cazalet of the 28th battalion, 6th Regiment.

Bombay, 23rd October, 1812 (1812, S. D. 280)

1812

Bombay minutes.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor in laying before the Board the *Marr* following letter received by his Private Secretary from the Judge and Magistrate at Thana, proposes that the suggestion of Mr. Hallet for confining Kanhojirao Gaikwad in the Fort of Marr in preference to that at Thana be adopted, and that the necessary orders be issued for preparing the buildings at Marr for his reception.

1812 *Thana*, 16th October, 1812 (1812, S. D. 280)

James Hallet to S. Babington.

Marr I yesterday received a letter from Government in the Secret Department desiring to know if proper accommodation could be found here for Kanhojirao Gaikwad, a prisoner shortly expected from the northward.

I replied to it immediately, in which I stated my opinion upon the specific point submitted to me; thinking it would have been irregular to have offered any suggestions of my own, beyond the mere question, *viz.* whether accommodation could be found for securing his person at Thana.

I hope, however the Right Hon'ble the Governor will excuse me in thus informing him that there is a small fort also in the Island of Marr, contiguous to Varsova. It contains buildings, which could no doubt be made suitable for the purposes required; and from the circumstances of Marr being the head-quarters of the battalion allotted for Salsette, it may probably be deemed in point of security more eligible as a place of confinement for the Kanhojirao. Should the Right Hon'ble the Governor object to this mode of communication, which I have only adopted from the motives above stated, I can easily (if it meets his approbation) convert the subject of it into an official letter to Government, which will form a supplementary one to my former address.

1812 *Bombay*, 23rd October, 1812 (1812, S. D. 280)

Minute by the Commander-in-Chief, John Abercromby.

Marr I beg to suggest that the Superintending Engineer on the Island of Salsette should be required to make an immediate report on the state of the buildings in the Fort of Marr; for I have reason to believe they are in a very ruinous state, and it might possibly require a larger sum to place them in a condition to receive Kanhoji than Government might [expect] to lay out. I think the Town-Major or some staff officer should be sent to look at the building, and report jointly with the Engineer officer.

Minutes by the Governor.

Thana house I wish the Commander-in-Chief to favour me with his opinion whether it may not under all circumstances be best to put him Kanhoji into the house at Thana under the care of the Fort-Adjutant with directions to him on no account to let Kanhoji out of the fort.

Minute by the Commander-in-Chief.

Approval I think Kanhoji will not only be in greater security, but an apartment will be prepared at less expense and within a shorter time at Thana than accommodation could be provided at Marr.

Bombay resolution, dated 23rd October.

Thana house Resolved accordingly that the Judge and Magistrate at Thana be informed that, in view to the expense that will be incurred in repairing

the buildings at Marr for the accommodation of Kanhojirao Gaikwad, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is of opinion that that personage should be confined in the house within the fort at Thana, where he will not only be in greater security, but the apartments will be prepared at less expense and within a shorter time than at Marr, under the care of the Fort-Adjutant with directions to that officer not to permit Kanhoji on any account to leave the fort.

Ordered accordingly that Mr. Hallet be directed to cause the house in question to be prepared for the reception of Kanhojirao Gaikwad.

Thana, 7th November, 1812 (1812, S. D. 280)

1812

James Hallet to Francis Warden.

In obedience to the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, as conveyed in your letter of the 23rd ultimo, I have caused the house in Thana Fort to be prepared for the reception of Kanhojirao Gaikwad, and have now the honour to report that the same will be ready in three days from this date. *Orders requested*

2. In my letter of the 13th of last month I stated myself to be ignorant "of the exact nature or rigour of the confinement to which the person in question is to be exposed;" and I therefore hope that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, will approve of my soliciting his especial orders upon the following points, on the occasion of the prisoner being sent up to this place.

First: whether Kanhojirao is to be considered as exclusively under the civil or military authority?

Second: Whether he is to be kept in irons, a close prisoner in the house, or whether he is to be without irons, and allowed free range through the fort?

Third: Whether he is to have any and what number of attendants about his person during his confinement?

Lastly: Whether he is to receive any and what subsisteny money, and from what Department the same is to be paid.

3. As this is the first instance of any prisoner being sent here under similar circumstances, I hope the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, will attribute my thus respectfully applying for minute instructions only to a desire on my part to give full effect to the intentions of Government in ordering Kanhojirao to this place.

Francis Warden's reply, dated 11th November.

I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under date the 7th instant, and to notice that the information you have desired regarding the treatment of Kanhojirao Gaikwad, appearing to be necessary for your guidance, the following instructions are accordingly given to you, *Reply*

1st—Kanhoji is to be placed under the charge of the Fort-Adjutant, and under military authority.

2.—He is not to be in irons, nor confined entirely to his house, but to be allowed to go out at all reasonable time, properly attended, not however without the fort.

3.—The number of attendants he may bring with him are to continue attached to his person.

2. The Fort-Adjutant will be allowed to draw on the Collector as he may require money to defray his expenses to the extent of Rupees 500 (five hundred) per month.

3. I take this opportunity of informing you that directions have been given to the Chief at Surat to take Kanhojirao Gaikwad on board the *Rodney* cruiser, and to instruct her commander to proceed with him to Thana by the way of Bassein, and anchor as near to the fort as possible, awaiting your orders in regard to the future disposal of him.

4. You will be careful therefore, on the arrival of the *Rodney*, to dispatch your boat to convey him on there with a small guard for the security of this person.

1812 *Bombay, 21st December, 1812 (1812, S. D. 280)*

At a Consultation.

Irons Ordered that the Chief at Surat be advised that it has reached the knowledge of Government that Kanhojirao Gaikwad, who has lately been removed as a state prisoner to Surat, is now in close confinement with heavy irons upon him, and indeed chained to the floor, Mr. Crow is to be desired to state whether the report is well founded or not, as it has not appeared that a confinement of that nature was at all necessary.

Should Kanhoji be secured in the manner thus represented; Mr. Crow is to be desired to cause the irons to be removed, and to place him in some suitable apartment with such guards over his person as may be sufficient to prevent his escape.

1812 *Surat, 28th December, 1812 (1812, S. D. 280)*

Nathan Crow to Francis Warden.

Irons I am in possession of your letter of the 21st instant.

2. My representation of the 20th of August last set forth the heavy encumbrance of irons with which Kanhoji was loaded.

3. Your answer did not authorise my taking them off except at my own risk.

4. I found the commanding officer here of the same opinion, and therefore kept the prisoner in the same state, till three days before his departure, when I eased him of the irons.

5. The circumstance of being chained to the floor never existed.

Surat, 30th January, 1813 (1813, S.D. 281)

1813

Nathan Crow, Chief at Surat to Francis Warden.

I beg leave to hand to you my account of expenses advanced *Bill* to Kanhojirao Gaikwad for about four months of his detention here, amounting to Rupees 1,316; for which I request you will be kind enough to procure for me an order on the Collector.

Bombay, 3rd February, 1813 (1813, S.D. 281).

1813

Kanhojirao Gaikwad to the Bombay Governor.

I have now been nearly nine months under your judgment, but my sufferings have at the same time been very severe. I have however *Kanhoji's appeal* appeared to derive relief here during the last month, for I am led to anticipate better prospects through your interference.

You are aware of the proceedings of those who conduct matters there on your behalf, but you are entirely ignorant of the nature of my conduct. I therefore request you will inquire into, and take the same into your consideration. Palonji Parsi will explain my case so as to bring the same under your deliberation.

Sir Evan Nepean's reply to Kanhojirao, dated 4th February, 1813.

Your letter dated the 21st Safar has been delivered to me by *Governor's reply* Palonji Parsi, and I take this opportunity of acquainting you that I shall be ready to receive from you through him, or such person as you may be pleased to appoint, any representation you may think it necessary to make of your case, and to give the same a full and deliberate consideration.

Whatever inconveniences you may have lately suffered, have, I am informed, arisen out of circumstances wherein the propriety of your own conduct has at least been questionable; and however correct you may conceive your proceedings to have been, the Government of His Highness the Gaikwad appears, from the steps it has taken respecting you, to have considered them in a very different light,

Baroda, 11th March, 1813 (1813, P. D. 395)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acquaint you that the Gaikwad Government *Kanhoji's pension* will pay into this treasury one year's allowances to Kanhoji Gaikwad, amounting to Rupees 6,000; and that the same arrangement for the expenses of his person will hereafter continue in operation.

Bombay, 14th April, 1813 (1813, S. D. 281)

1813

Sir Evan Nepean to Sir George Barlow.

We have the honour of acquainting you that in consequence of the communication made to us by Mr. Chief Secretary Thackeray in his letter dated the 21st of July last, Kanhojirao Gaikwad, a state prisoner, now proceeds to Fort Saint George, in the Hon'ble Company's ship *Ernad* for the purpose of being confined at one of the stations under that Presidency. *Kanhoji to Madras*

Bombay resolution.

Order Passed the following order of council to Lieutenant Henry Hardy, Commander of the *Ernad*, for the conveyance of Kanhojirao Gaikwad to Fort Saint George.

Orders of Council, dated 14th April, 1813.

Orders You are hereby authorised and directed to receive Kanhojirao Gaikwad from Lieutenant John Maek and to convey him to Fort Saint George, on your arrival at which Presidency, you will apply for the orders of the Government for the disposal of Kanhojirao Gaikwad.

1813 *Thana, 12th April, 1813 (1813, S. D. 281)*

James Hallet, Judge and Magistrate at Thana, to Francis Warden.

Letter 2. I have this morning received a letter from the Fort-Adjutant, copy of which I have the honour to enclose, together with the original letter to the address of the Right Hon'ble the Governor and a translate of the same.

No. 1. Letter from the Fort-Adjutant, D. Evans, to James Hallet, dated Thana, 12th April.

Letter Kanhojirao Gaikwad having this morning expressed a desire of seeing me, I waited on him, when he informed me of his wish to communicate with Government. I immediately intimated to him that anything he had to express, if he would do so in the form of a letter, it would immediately be forwarded through you to Government. The enclosed therefore is one which I have just received from him for that purpose, requesting at the same time you would be so good as to have it translated into English by one of the clerks of your office.

All necessary preparations, have been made by the commanding officer of the garrison for the immediate embarkation of Kanhoji, and all his personal arrangements settled, in order that there may not be the least delay on the arrival of the boat for his conveyance.

No. 2. Kanhoji's letter to Sir Evan Nepean.

Request Kanhojirao Gaikwad, at present residing in a fort on Salsette, begs to request as follows: I was at Surat; at that time I heard I was to be sent to Salsette; which has accordingly taken place; and I have been here four months, and have had no reason to complain until now. Since I have been here, I have received a letter from you telling me to state anything I may have to say in writing, and that you would take it into consideration and give me an answer. Accordingly I have written to you all the circumstances of my case, but I have had no reply, though I waited in hopes of one. I would have sent you another letter, but have not had the means of doing so; therefore what can I do? Now I understand that an order has arrived for sending me to some other place; it is well, but I should wish first to be admitted to your presence, that I might say a few words to you, and then I shall obey whatever you may order. What can I write more? Keep your kindness upon me; dated 12th April, 1813.

Thana, 17th April, 1813 (1813, S. D. 281)

1813

James Hallet to Francis Warden.

In reference to my letter of yesterday's date, I have the honour to *Letter* transmit for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council, the accompanying copy of one, addressed to me by the Fort-Adjutant.

Thana, 17th April, 1813 (1813, S. D. 281)

1813

D. Evans, Fort-Adjutant, to James Hallet.

I am directed by the commanding officer to inform you, in order *Kanhoji's* that the same may be communicated to Government, of the departure *departure* this day at 1 o'clock of Kanhojirao Gaikwad, in charge of Lieutenant Mack of the Bombay Marine, and accompanied by an escort commanded by Lieutenant Symons, consisting of two Europeans of the Veteran Company, with one native officer, one havaldar and 20 rank and file of the detachment 2nd battalion of the 9th Regiment. The attendants that accompanied him, were five in number.

Bombay, 20th April, 1813 (1813, S.D. 282)

1813

Lieutenant John Mack to Francis Warden.

Having on Thursday last proceeded to Thana to take charge of *Kanhoji's* the person of Kanhojirao Gaikwad in pursuance of the warrant of *departure* Council, bearing date the 14th instant, I now beg leave to acquaint you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I embarked the said Kanhoji on Friday last, and immediately proceeded with my charge to join the *Ernad* off Bassein, on board of which vessel Kanhoji was accordingly put, on the 17th, at 6 A. M. I enclose Lieutenant Hardy's receipt.

Bombay, 21st April, 1813 (1813, S. D. 281)

1813

Kanhojirao to the Bombay Governor, letter dated 26th February, 1813,

My children and followers are suffering great distress in their *Kanhoji's* present situation, but what have they done? The business relates to *family* me. I am now near you. Whatever it is desired to effect, let it be done to me without exposing my children and followers to hardship. It is a principle of your Government that the actor only shall suffer without including his brothers, relatives and dependants, a line of conduct which hitherto has been acted upon, the present case therefore appears extraordinary. I beg to state that I have derived my information from a person who has arrived from that quarter.

I only ought to be the sufferer, but I have experienced no inconvenience from you; and since my arrival at this place, I have enjoyed comfort. The information however of my children and dependants being exposed to inconvenience gives me great distress. I have therefore reflected on the matter and determined to make the same known to you in the expectation that not only their distress will be removed, but also my own sufferings.

Bombay minutes, dated 19th April.

Orders

Ordered that a copy of the preceding letter be sent to the Resident at Baroda with instructions to inquire and report the state of Kanhoji's unfortunate family; and if necessary interpose his good offices with the Gaikwad Government for placing them in a state of comfort, since the person of Kanhoji has been removed out of the reach of his adherents.

1813 *Baroda, 3rd May, 1813 (1813, P. D. 397)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Kanhoji's family I have been honoured with the receipt of your dispatch dated the 19th ultimo, forwarding a representation from Kanhojirao Gaikwad.

The care of his family, though subject to the Gaikwad Government, has been in a great measure confided to the Resident by His Highness Fatesing, in as far as their comforts are concerned. To see that no remission in the wishes of Fatesing and myself can take place, Vithoba Pilaji has been appointed under the sanction of Government to attend on Kanhoji's mother. I have received no complaints whatever from the family of the nature represented by Kanhoji. They are accommodated in a spacious paga near the Residency; and with a view of security as well as to prevent the access of improper persons, a sentry belonging to the Government is stationed at the gate, a precaution which may probably be longer unnecessary after Kanhoji's removal to Madras.

In point of courtesy or attention from the Government, Kanhoji's mother has received more from commiseration than her station in life would authorise. Fatesing has in person waited on her acceptance of a comfortable house in the town on the marriage of Kanhoji's son and daughter, and these points have been referred to her consideration by His Highness's servants. This lady however declined all proffers of regard or assistance, unless attended with a promise of Kanhoji's liberty, and as to the nuptials of her grandchildren her pretensions have been chimerical both in point of birth and expenses. I should here state that the marriage of these children has been suggested with much solicitude; and to induce the parties to accede, it has been agreed by Fatesing even to celebrate the ceremony with the same outward distinction as bestowed on the legitimate daughter of the late Raja Govindrao Gaikwad, to which the family of Kanhoji can have no title, except by favour, being with himself of spurious origin.

I am sorry to say that this too liberal offer has not met with any attention, and by the custom of the Hindus it is probable that the marriage cannot take place for 15 months to come.

Bombay minutes.

Orders

Ordered that a copy of the dispatch forwarded to the Resident at Baroda under date the 19th of last month, together with the transcrip

of the above recorded letter from Captain J. R. Carnac be forwarded to the Government of Fort St. George, in order that the purport thereof may be communicated to Kanhojirao Gaikwad, which must and ought to satisfy him that more than ordinary attention has been paid to his family by the Baroda Government.

Madras, 7th March, 1813 (1813, S. D. 283)

1813

W. Thackeray to the officer commanding at Punamalli, dated 7th May.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council desires that you will receive *In Fort Punamalli* charge of the state-prisoner Kanhojirao Gaikwad from the Town-Major of Fort Saint George, who will point out the accommodation at Punamalli to be allotted for his reception, and provide whatever may be immediately requisite for him.

No. 1. Letter from J. B. Fraser, Town-Major of Madras, to W. Thackeray, dated 7th May.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this *Punamalli* date and to acquaint you that, in obedience to the orders of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, I have received from the Hon'ble Company's ship *Ernad*, and forwarded to Punamalli under charge of a guard commanded by an European officer the state-prisoner Kanhojirao Gaikwad, together with his attendants, who are five in number, and a quantity of baggage.

The officer commanding the Depot has been instructed to receive charge of Kanhojirao on his arrival at Punamalli, and to allot for his accommodation the range of buildings immediately opposite to the gateway of the fort, which was formerly occupied by Poligar prisoners.

No. 1. Letter from W. Munro, commanding at Punamalli, dated 11th May.

The state prisoner Kanhojirao arrived here on Saturday last, and *Punamalli* was conducted by me to an apartment in the fort pointed out by the Town-Major of Fort Saint George.

I have given orders that Kanhojirao may be allowed to walk about the fort during the day, accompanied by a native officer; and that during the night he is to be guarded by one sentry in front and another in the rear of his quarters. His servants have permission to go out and return to the fort, at any hour from 6 o'clock in the morning till 6 o'clock in the evening.

C. OTHER GAIKWADS

Various occurrences, public and private, are mentioned in the documents; and they concern different members of the Gaikwad family: Fatesingrao, Ganpatrao of Sankheda, Ganpatrao Keroji, Apparao Gaikwad, Takhatabai.

DOCUMENTS

(a) FATESINGRAO

1809 *Baroda*, 9th February, 1809 (1809, P. D. 161)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Fatesing travels I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad proposes to proceed on the 11th instant to Chandod Karnali, a place of worship on the banks of the river Narbada, for the purpose of celebrating the festival of Shivaratri.

I have requested Lt.-Col. Holmes to furnish an honorary guard of 50 sepoy's under the command of an intelligent native officer, and Lt. Ballantine will also accompany His Highness; which arrangements, I trust, will meet the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

1809 *Baroda*, 12th February, 1809 (1809, P. D. 161)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Killadar I have the honour to advise you for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that Bhau Handia, a confidential dependant of Fatesingrao Gaikwad, has been appointed killadar of the fort of Visnagar and proceeded to his station (in company with Raoji Gurav killadar of Patan,) on the 22nd ultimo.

1809 *Bombay Castle*, 22nd February, 1809 (1809, P. D. 161)

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

Advice In acknowledging the receipt of your further dispatch dated the 12th of this month, I am directed to notice that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council would have been glad to know what has led to the vacancy in the command of the fort of Visnagar; and that, although it is not in any degree intended to object to this command being occupied by a confidential dependant of Fatesing, yet there seems no occasion that all offices should be filled up by his creatures; but that rather the majority of public officers of the State should be men of character and ability, chosen in view to those qualities, and unconnected as far as practicable with any particular party in the Administration; which is here notified to you as a general rule of political observance, that you may endeavour hereafter to give effect to, as far as you may find from time to time compatible with other

local considerations of public conveniency, inclusive of the great advantage that must always attend the conducting of the course of affairs with harmony between the Residency and the Native Government.

Baroda, 18th February, 1809 (1809, P. D. 161)

1809

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

With reference to my letter of the 9th instant, I request you will *Return* report to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the return of Fatesingrao Gaikwad from Chandod Karnali on the 17th instant.

Baroda, 28th April, 1811 (1811, P. D. 373)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to communicate to you for the information of *Second* the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I have received an intima-*marriage* tion from His Highness Raja Anandrao Gaikwad of his having given his concurrence and consent to the celebration of a second marriage by his younger brother, Fatesing, in consequence of the present wife of His Highness being in an indifferent state of health. The nuptials will accordingly take place in the course of the present month of Vaisakh. The bride is expected to arrive at Baroda in a few days.

As the expense attending this marriage was not estimated in the statements submitted by Colonel Walker, showing the expected progressive liquidation of the debts of this Government and the period of its being relieved from its incumbrances, I am induced to transmit for the information of Government the accompanying memorandum of the estimated amount, by which it will be perceived that the sum of 30,000 Rupees will only be paid from the Gaikwad treasury, the residue being made available from other sources according to practice on these occasions.

Considering that the last marriage of His Highness during the administration of Sitaram Ravji was attended, according to his accounts, with the enormous expense of Rupees 3,84,241-3½, the present estimated charge, it is hoped, will not be considered extravagant; and from every information and scrutiny which I have deemed it my particular duty to make, it is barely sufficient for the high station and birth of His Highness.

Fatesing however is fully sensible of the advantages of economy in the present condition of his Government, and with a laudable zeal deprecated any unnecessary outlay of money for his marriage. Under the present arrangement, the charge will interfere very little with the fixed expenditure of the Gaikwad Government. During the operation of the reforms and in affairs of so extensive a nature as the administration of this State, opportunities will in all likelihood occur of an augmentation of revenue more than sufficient to balance the expense about to be incurred.

*Bombay remarks.**Advice*

Whilst the Governor-in-Council must regret the slightest instance of any additional expense to the Gaikwad State at a juncture when so much depends upon the punctual fulfilment of those economical expectations, held forth by the late and present Residents as essential to the future prosperity of the Government of the Hon'ble Company's ally, it must nevertheless be admitted that for a purpose so plausible at least as the present it might be invidious to object to the match in contemplation merely in view to the pecuniary expense attending it. It can only therefore be enjoined to the particular attention of the Resident to keep this expense within as narrow limits as possible, of which he is also to report the amount after all the ceremonies have been gone through.

1812 *Camp at Choki, 15th May, 1812 (1812, P. D. 385)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Travels

I request you will have the goodness to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad has proceeded to pay his devotions to Ranchodji Maharaja at Dwarka accompanied by my first Assistant, Mr. Williams, and a number of the sardars of the Government. The detention of His Highness in the quarter will be short, and he will probably reach Baroda before the commencement of the monsoon.

1812 *Baroda, 20th June, 1812 (1812, P. D. 386)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden

Return

I have the honour to report for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the return of His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad to Baroda on the 17th instant, on which occasion His Highness was received by the British troops with every mark of respect and attention due to his elevated rank and situation.

1813 *Baroda, 29th January, 1813 (1813, P. D. 393)*

J. Williams, Assistant-in-charge of the Residency at Baroda, to Francis Warden.

Travels

I have the honour to report to you for information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the departure of His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad to Karnali, a place situated on the bank of the Narbada, about 20 kos to the south-east of Baroda. His Highness has proceeded thither for the purpose of observing the customary religious rites on the occasion of the approaching eclipse.

I have also to notice that conceiving it more to the advantage of the public service that I should remain at Baroda, I have deputed Gangadhar Shastri to proceed with His Highness, which arrangement I respectfully trust will meet with the approbation of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Baroda, 6th March, 1813 (1813, P. D. 395)

1813

J. William to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to report for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the celebration of the marriage of His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad, on which auspicious occasion I made the customary offering, which, I trust, will meet with the approbation of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. *Marriage*

Baroda, 29th April, 1813 (1813, P. D. 397)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I request you will be pleased to make known to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that His Highness Fatesing Gaikwad having expressed to me a great desire to see the spherical case practice, I have complied with his wish by soliciting Colonel Holmes to allow the artillery detachment at this station to gratify His Highness to-morrow morning. I trust that my having done so will be agreeable to Government. *Request*

Minutes, 5th May.

The Governor-in-Council approves of the Resident's having complied with the wish of Fatesing Gaikwad to see the spherical case practice. *Approval*

(b) GANPATRAO OF SANKHEDA

Baroda, 23rd June, 1810 (1810, P. D. 359)

1810

Information.

The following intelligence is brought by kasids from the vicinity of Sankheda, where it was prevalently reported that Ganpatrao Gaikwad had come to Rajpur 20 kos from Sankheda, and had embodied Bhils, a few Arabs, and Sindhis and, it was said, with the intention of exciting disturbances on the eastern frontiers of the Gaikwad territories. It is said this person has come last from the neighbourhood of Dhar, and that he had met with little success in attempting to gain followers from among the turbulent inhabitants of the surrounding districts. *Ganpatrao*

Remark in the Diary.

It is concluded that the Acting Resident at Baroda will have no time in suggesting to the Gaikwad Government the adoption of the proper means to maintain the peace against this threatened inroad by the late Chieftain of Sankheda; at the same time that the offer of a moderate provision for his support should be held out to him, in the event of his quietly submitting to repair and take up his abode in such part of the Gaikwad territories as the Raja or Fatesing shall point out; in which case he may probably be disposed to join his family, who are understood to be actually provided in a maintenance and living at Baroda. *Proposal*

1810 *Baroda*, 26th June, 1810 (1810, P. D. 359)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden

*Trouble-
some*

1. I request you would be pleased to submit for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council [*news*] of the advance of Ganpatrao Gaikwad to Narukot, from whence disturbances are threatened in the Sankheda district.

2. This person has been principally residing, since his flight in 1802 from the fort of Sankheda, at Dhar; and it is supposed that the impoverished state of that petty Government being unable to continue the allowance to Ganpatrao, granted by the late Anandrao Pawar, has in consequence compelled him to seek for subsistence by predatory inroads into his former possessions.

3. Ganpatrao Gaikwad is however in a state of idiotism and under the control and direction of an interested karbari, although I should hope that his present wants may induce this man to accept of a suitable provision for Ganpatrao in Baroda.

4. I have accordingly addressed a letter to this effect, copy of which I have the honour to forward for the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council; and in the meanwhile the Gaikwad Government have dispatched a party of troops to the Sankheda pargana, capable of resisting Ganpatrao's adherents, should an accommodation be rejected.

Letter from James R. Carnac to Ganpatrao Gaikwad,

Overtures

It has been made known to me that you have advanced to Narukot with the intention of exciting disturbances in that neighbourhood. This information has occasioned much astonishment, as you are not ignorant of the friendship which subsists between the sarkars of the Senakhaskel and the Hon'ble Company Bahadur; and being a member of the Gaikwad family it is unbecoming in you to entertain inimical intentions against that State.

The justice of the sarkar in protecting your family now residing in Baroda should convince you that no advantage will be derived from your present proceedings. This letter is written in the spirit of friendship. You should therefore give it your deliberate attention, and with perfect confidence repair to the Presence, when I shall interest myself with the sarkar of the Senakhaskel to obtain a suitable allowance for your maintenance.

It is not necessary for me to remind you of the disasters which always follow an improper and unfriendly conduct to the sarkar.

1810 *Baroda*, 15th July, 1810 (1810, P. D. 359)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Overtures

4. Ganpatrao Gaikwad has returned no answer to my letter enclosed in the dispatch above referred to and pleaded the incapacity of himself or dependants to read the Marathi language as an apology for his silence.

5. An intelligent person has however been dispatched to explain verbally to Ganpatrao Gaikwad or his principal manager that a comfortable provision will be made to him in Baroda according to the wishes of the Gaikwad family, if he is disposed to abandon his present intentions of subsisting by plunder from the territories of this Government.

Baroda, 25th August, 1810 (1810, P. D. 361.)

1810

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

2. I had the honour to state in the 4th paragraph of my dispatch of the 15th July that my letter to Ganpatrao Gaikwad had not been answered in consequence of the avowed inability of himself or adherents to peruse the Marathi language. *Negotiations*

3. My letter however, I have reason to suppose, induced Ganpatrao to send an agent to Baroda with proposals for an accommodation, the basis of which I found to be the restitution of Sankheda and its dependencies with a stipulation on the part of Ganpatrao to discharge the annual tribute usual in the reign of Govindrao Gaikwad.

4. These proposals being perfectly inadmissible, I took occasion in rejecting them to explain to the agent the just causes which compelled the Gaikwad Government to expel Ganpatrao Gaikwad from his former possessions, and recommended that his Principal should accede to receive a suitable provision rather than expose the British and Gaikwad Governments to the painful necessity of chastising him for his temerity in molesting the boundaries of Gujarat.

5. This agent having departed, the accompanying translates of letters to myself and Gangadhar Shastri convey the sentiments of Ganpatrao in answer to my message.

6. The same conditions of submissions, which his agent expressed, have been repeated by Ganpatrao; and the Gaikwad Government in consequence have thought proper to detach an additional force capable of expelling Ganpatrao from the Gaikwad territories or seizing his person in case he may persist in rebellion.

7. The agent above-mentioned not having returned, but understanding from rumour that he is on his way to Baroda, I hope some adjustment will yet take place with Ganpatrao Gaikwad without having recourse to any act of coercion.

8. It is also probable that this deluded man conceives that the more important his pretensions are announced, the greater consideration he must receive with his Government; in which case the appearance of a force discovering the resolution of the administration to treat his arrogant conduct with the rigour it deserves, may at once influence Ganpatrao to come into moderate terms.

9. I beg to assure the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of my anxious desire to promote an amicable adjustment, provided any opening is afforded of adopting those principles which Government are uniformly solicitous to observe.

No. 1. Letter from Ganpatrao Gaikwad to Captain Carnac, dated 13th August, 1810.

Request Wustabha brought me a letter from you. I understood from his communication as well as from the bearer of it that upon my determining to come to Baroda you would send me a letter of assurances for my safety. The produce of the lands belonging to Sankheda is trifling, but it is adequate for my expenses. I therefore request you will again obtain their restoration to my possession. The sarkar in doing this will show its character. It was not well in the sarkar to have seized this place (Sankheda) through avarice, and to retain it for the purpose of filling their coffers, whilst I am traversing the jungles. Please to take this into your consideration and send me reply. Why should I write more ?

No. 2. Letter from Ganpatrao Gaikwad to Gangadhar Shastri.

Request Captain Carnac sent me a letter the contents of which I understood and replied to; from my answer you will become informed.

I am suffering much inconvenience in the jungles. You, who are now the karbari, can surely find but little difficulty in making an arrangement for me. Be kind enough therefore not to take my property from me through avarice, but restore me my former possessions. Till the present time I have given no trouble. Some Bhils and Kolis have taken my name, and have been committing outrages; but of this I am not exactly informed. Do not therefore tax me with a bad name; you may rely that I will not come into Baroda. When Jagjivi Koli carried off the cattle from Sankheda, I pursued him with some horsemen to obtain their restitution.

1811 *Baroda, 28th September, 1811 (1811, P. D. 379)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Near Baroda Since I had the honour to address you in this Department on the subject of Ganpatrao Gaikwad, late Chieftain of Sankheda, it had been my constant endeavours through every eligible agency that presented itself to induce this person to return under a suitable provision to Baroda, in like manner with Kanhojirao, Murarrao, and other bhurwattia Gaikwads.

These endeavours until lately proved unsuccessful; but I have now to report that Ganpatrao has arrived in the neighbourhood of the territories of this Government, and solicited from the Administration for permission to proceed to Baroda, which has been granted with the annexation of my bhandari, purporting his free will to remain or return, on the terms of the settlement being made known to him.

As Ganpatrao has sent his wife to Baroda to communicate his wish of living peaceably in this place, it is most probable he will not hesitate to accept the provision which the Gaikwad Government are disposed to grant to a becoming extent, and I shall hereafter advise you of the issue for the information of the Hon'ble Board.

No. 1. Letter from Anandrao Gaikwad to Ganpatrao Gaikwad.

You fled from Sankheda and are now coming to Baroda to *Passport*. negotiate. I have therefore written you this letter. Come without fear, the Company have affixed their bhandari to the truth of this.

Camp Nirangao, 5th November, 1811 (1811, P. D. 380)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I had the honour to report in my letter, bearing date the 28th *Dead* September last, the measures which had been adopted by this Government for the purpose of securing the peaceable residence of Ganpatrao Gaikwad at Baroda. According to the tenor of my last communication on the subject, I request you will have the goodness to acquaint the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that, in compliance with the invitation stated in that letter to have been sent by the Administration, Ganpatrao arrived at a village in the immediate vicinity of Baroda for the purpose of more conveniently adjusting the arrangement for his future support.

Under these promising appearances it is with concern I report for the information of Government that a lingering disease, with which Ganpatrao Gaikwad had for many months been afflicted, terminated his life on the 28th ultimo within 3 miles of the capital. The ceremonies, usual among Hindus of rank on such occasions, have been observed by the Administration and the consequent expenses defrayed at the public charge.

The death of Ganpatrao rendering it by no means less necessary that some arrangement should be made for the support of his family, the members of this Government have granted a monthly stipend of 300 Rupees for that purpose (which will no doubt be considered by Government sufficiently liberal), and they have accordingly taken up their abode at Baroda.

(c) *GANPATRAO KEROJI*

Baroda, 30th April, 1810 (1810, P. D. 356)

1810

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I respectfully beg leave to submit for the consideration of the *Ganpatrao* Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the accompanying copy of a memo- *Keroji* randum from Ganpatrao Keroji Gaikwad, which will show the relationship in which this person stands to Malharrao.

As he is connected in the same degree with Malharrao as Ganpatrao and Apparao, it would be desirable that he should receive the same means of maintenance. The Gaikwad Government have consented to assign to Ganpatrao Keroji a provision of 100 Rupees; and it is respectfully suggested to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council whether this provision could be extended by an assignment from the pension of Malharrao equivalent to that received by his relatives, Apparao and Devrao, or such other provision as the Hon'ble Board may deem expedient.

No. 1. Memorandum relative of Ganpatrao Keroji Gaikwad.

Keroji Bawa was the son of Khanderao Gaikwad by the daughter of a Rajput of Duzbara, united to Khanderao by the khanda lugun. By her he got two sons; the elder is Keroji deceased, and the second is Devrao Keroji. Keroji married a daughter of a Rajput of Alid, a Sadrah village on the Sabur Kantha, who had one son, Ganpatrao the petitioner.

Four months after Devrao Bawa's arrival, Ganpatrao came and made his application for a maintenance; but till this time nothing has been settled.

(d) APPARAO GAIKWAD

1813 *Baroda, 26th October, 1813 (1813, P. D. 402)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Apparao dead I request you will acquaint the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that, in consequence of the death of Apparao Gaikwad, the illegitimate brother of Malharrao, the payments on account of his pension have ceased, and that the amount in the treasury on Apparao's account, viz. Rupees 900 has been returned to the Gaikwad Government.

(e) TAKHATABAI

1813 *Baroda, 27th March, 1813 (1813, P. D. 396)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Trouble-some I request you will inform the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that a relation by marriage of His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad, named Munduji Dhumderra, some time since quitted Baroda and retired into Sindia's possessions, subject to the kamavisdar of Godhra. Being of a restless disposition, it appears that he engaged with the connivance of the kamavisdar in asserting some claims in behalf of a Mewasi village on the Peshwa's districts of Dabhoi, and raised troops to support them.

This intelligence coming to the knowledge of Fatesingrao from Dhumderra himself, with a declaration that he would also plunder Sindia's country for some injury from that Chief about 4 years ago, His Highness, fearing that the misconduct of this man might from his connection cast odium on the Gaikwad Government, immediately addressed him a letter and at the same time sent a verbal message that, unless he desisted from his proceedings, his immediate dependants and relatives should be expelled from Baroda.

This remonstrance had the effect of suspending the designs of Dhumderra, but it has not prevented him from following a line of conduct, as pregnant with mischief, if divested of positive criminality.

Takhatabai The intriguing character of Takhatabai Gaikwad is well known to Government from the detection of her conduct in two complicated

conspiracies since our establishment at Baroda. This lady, unwilling to follow a life more suitable to her sex and situation, some time since espoused the cause of her sister, who married the Thakur of Ahmod and, it is reported, bore him a son. The contentions existing at Ahmod have originated in the disputes relative to the legitimacy of this child, who with its mother was driven from that place with the assistance of the Jambusar authorities, some few months ago.

To restore the sister and her son to their former influence and station, Takhtabai Gaikwad engaged Dhumderra under a promise of paying him 10,000 Rupees to levy troops and advance against Ahmod and the Jambusar kamavisdar.

This person has suddenly arrived from Sindia's mahals (distant about 11 kos) within 5 kos of Baroda with a force consisting of 400 Arabs (some in the service of the noted Muhammad Abud) 100 Makranis and about 75 horse; and he is engaging men as fast as they can be procured.

On receiving the information of the neighbourhood of such a force and composed of a description notoriously inimical both to the Gaikwad Government and ourselves, and whose turbulent disposition would lead them to embark in any desperate enterprise, Fatesing in concurrence with my advice and opinion sent two respectable persons to ascertain by whose authority Dhumderra and his force had presumed to enter the Gaikwad limits, and charged them with directions to insist on his quitting the country with delay.

These persons returned with a communication from Dhumderra that he was engaged by Takhtabai for the purpose of restoring her nephew to the possession of Ahmod, and with an evasive answer to the latter part of Fatesing's message. The same persons were again commissioned to repeat this message and brought back an answer that, as he (Dhumderra) was in the hands of the Arabs, he would be unable to retire without their demands being fully satisfied.

Finding that these moderate means have rather raised the presumption of Dhumderra than produced the consequences which we expected, and reflecting that the augmentation of his levies, combined with the audacity of his reply, may cover designs different from those which have been declared, particularly when in conjunction with Takhtabai Gaikwad, His Highness Fatesing has come to a resolution to resort to force with Dhumderra, and as a preliminary step a party of horse, who had proceeded one march towards Sankheda, were recalled last night.

With a view of avoiding bloodshed, and that the extremity may not occur from the precipitancy or folly of Dhumderra, who is a man of no education and a soldier by birth and profession, both Fatesing and myself will still endeavour to dissuade him from remaining in the Gaikwad territories or injuring the Peshwa's possessions. For this purpose letters have this day been written to him. In the event of his refusing compliance and continuing levies of men, it will become my duty to proceed to coercion, a result for which I beg

leave to prepare the mind of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, though I should hope it will not occur.

In the meantime His Highness Fatesingrao has resolved to discard even the appearance of intimate connection with Dhumderra by removing the dependants of this impudent man from protection within the Gaikwad dominions.

Bombay minute, 5th April, 1813.

Orders Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that the line of conduct he has observed in regard to the proceedings of Munduji Dhumderra meets the entire approbation of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, as does also the conduct of Fatesing; and that failing to effect the departure of Munduji Dhumderra by the pacific means which have hitherto been adopted, it would be fully justified under the circumstances of the case to resort to measures of compulsion to effect the departure of Munduji from the dominions of His Highness the Gaikwad.

It is further to be observed to Captain Carnac that it will be necessary in every stage of his proceedings, which may hereafter become necessary, to follow up the principle which Fatesing has so very wisely adopted, of discouraging any act of aggression on the part of Munduji Dhumderra either on the subjects of Daulatrao Sindia, or of the Peshwa, as also an interference in the succession to the thakurate of Ahmod, which would naturally be considered to have been encouraged, should Munduji be allowed to pass the Gaikwad territories, for the purpose of interfering in the succession.

The highly improper proceedings on the part of Takhatabai on this occasion render it necessary that she should be warned of the danger to which she has exposed herself, and it may be a question for consideration in his communication with Fatesing whether it may not be expedient that so dangerous a woman, as Takhatabai appears to be, should not be placed in such a situation as may prevent her practising intrigues of the description now before Government, which might, if not timely prevented, have been attended with very serious difficulties.

1813 *Bombay, 31st March, 1813 (1813, P. D. 396)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Measures against I had the honour to address you under date the 27th instant, reporting the steps which had been adopted by the Gaikwad Government and myself on the occasion of a body of troops having arrived in the neighbourhood of Baroda with the declared object of advancing against Ahmod in the Jambusar district. I have now the pleasure to communicate that the letters written to the commander of these troops have produced the good consequences of his retiring on that notification beyond the Gaikwad limits.

As connected with this subject, I proceed to state the measures which have been pursued with Takhatabai Gaikwad, by whose means and connivance Munduji Dhumderra had the temerity to approach Baroda.

It will be in the recollection of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that Takhatabai was an active partisan in Kanhoji's conspiracy, and that, on her defection being detected, restraints were placed on the liberty of her general intercourse. The wishes however of the Raja and the desire of Fatesing to conform to them induced His Highness to relax these restraints, but this moderation has been ungratefully acknowledged by another instance of this lady's departure from propriety.

Her repeated misconduct having now perfectly convinced Fatesing that both justice and policy require no lenity to be extended, and as it could be no question that preventative means against the operation of Takhatabai's vindictive disposition ought be enforced without delay, His Highness, under previous communication with me, resolved to place his sentries over her house and to interdict any indiscriminate communication.

Without entering into any particular account of the execution of this measure, I have satisfaction to say that it was accomplished during the night of the 28th instant without disturbance under the superintendence of Fatesing's officers, assisted by Lieutenant-Colonel Urquhart, whose services on the occasion I have much pleasure in bringing to the notice of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

No. 2. THE PHANSE FAMILY

THE documents referring to the members of the Phanse Family are divided into two sections.

Section A : Sitaram Raoji and Sakharam

Section B : Babaji Appaji and Vithoba Bhau

Section A: SITARAM RAOJI AND SAKHARAM

Sitaram Raoji was deprived of his allowance, he was told that he could no longer hope to exercise any active control over the administration of affairs in Baroda, and was given pecuniary help when in sore distress.

DOCUMENTS

1809 Baroda, 12th February, 1809 (1809. P. D. 161)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

*Surrender
of Patan*

1. I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the fort of Patan was delivered over by the authorities of Sitaram Raoji on the 6th instant, to the zubti karkun commissioned to receive charge in the month of December.

2. To enable the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to judge of the causes which have delayed the accomplishment of this desirable object, I request you would be pleased to submit the following details to their consideration.

3. Previous to my return from Ahmadabad, Maloba, the constituted authority of Sitaram at that place, had granted the necessary sodchitis for all the Mehtas under the Administration, among which those for Patan and its dependencies were included.

4. Vithoba Bhau, the son of Babaji, at present entrusted with the charge of Ahmadabad until some final arrangements are adopted respecting its future administration, accordingly [applied] for the sodchitis of Maloba, to which however the karkun at Patan refused to pay attention.

5. In consequence of this information, a proper letter was procured from Sitaram on the 19th ultimo and forwarded by Mir Kamal-ud-din to his agent at Ahmadabad, Said Beg, who [was] immediately directed to proceed to Patan for the purpose of removing every difficulty to the relinquishment of that fort.

6. With the view of facilitating that object, the karkun of the bhakshi was ordered by this Government to accompany Said Beg, and also to obviate every possible obstacle from the sibandi, on

account of the discharge of their arrears, the gumashtas of the shroffs, who had proceeded to Ahmadabad, extended their journey to Patan to satisfy their soldiery that they had passed security for the payment of their just dues.

7. This party accordingly arrived at Patan on the 31st ultimo [and] were surprised to find an unequivocal refusal to deliver up the fort.

8. Although Sitaram had furnished Mir Kamal-ud-din with the letter above-mentioned, I had received information that Kakaji had signified his disapprobation of the measures under a plea that the retention of Patan was the best guarantee for the payment of every demand which Sitaram might prefer on this Government.

9. The cause, which was alleged for disobedience to Sitaram's letter, insinuated the entire culpability to the sibandi, who, it was averred, would not relinquish their charge, unless an immediate and prompt payment was made of their arrears.

10. Convinced that this unreasonable pretext, inconsistent with the established usages of the Government, was a further subterfuge at the instigation of Kakaji, I represented to Mir Kamal-ud-din in the most impressive terms my sincere regret that this conduct appeared in open opposition to Sitaram's repeated professions of readiness to deliver up Patan, and that it was also incompatible towards him personally, after he had been engaged as security for the immediate restoration of the fort to the Gaikwad Government.

11. Mir Kamal-ud-din was with me on the 3rd instant, and produced another letter from Sitaram, which, he assured me, would meet our wish, and requested that I would cause it to be forwarded.

12. Desirous of placing as much apparent importance as possible on Mir Kamal-ud-din's security, I thought proper to decline the transmission of the letter.

13. Said Beg (Mir Kamal-ud-din's agent) though communicated it to the karkun at Patan on the 6th instant, when the fort was immediately relinquished.

14. In pursuance with the arrangements suggested by Lt.-Col. Walker to the attention of the Administration, I have the satisfaction to report the appointment of Raoji Gurav, cousin to Fatesing Gaikwad, to the office of killadar of the fort of Patan.

15. This person proceeded to assume charge of his station on the 22nd ultimo; but awaiting at Ahmadabad until Patan was relinquished by Sitaram, prosecuted his journey on the 8th instant.

16. The necessary mahal arrangements for the district of Patan will be carried into effect on the return of Fatesing from Chandod Karnali, and I will hereafter have the honour to report to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the principles on which the duties of kamavisdars and killadars are to be conducted.

1899 Baroda, 28th February, 1899 (1899, P. D. 321)

James R. Carnac to Jonathan Duncan.

Sitarani's allowance The letter from the Chief Secretary to Government under date the 10th January last to the address of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, having authorized the measure of withholding payment of the allowance of Sitaram, the Diwan, until the depending accounts be thoroughly elucidated, it becomes my duty respectfully to report a measure arising out of those instructions.

Since Sitaram's accounts have become a subject of discussion, the kamavis-dars of the districts have not conceived themselves authorized to disburse these allowances, and they have consequently hitherto remained in deposit.

The amount, thus retained in the hands of the kamavis-dars and at the disposal of Government, is of course exclusive of those mahals which were held in mamlati by Sitaram or his relatives, the datta accruing from which they have received.

As this money is lying unemployed in the hands of the kamavis-dars, it has occurred to the Administration that it can be advantageously directed to the diminution of the accumulated interest of the debt of this Government. I have accordingly assented to these realisations being deposited in the hands of the shroffs from whom the money was borrowed to satisfy Sitaram's arrears on account of his paga establishment, the adjustment of which was reported under date the 2nd September, 1898.

It is to be observed that this money will be forthcoming whenever an ultimate decision may take place relative to the final appropriation of the proceeds of the Diwan's datta: in the meanwhile I trust its temporary disposal will meet the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, being in consistence with the intention to withhold payment to Sitaram until his accounts be settled, and also with general principles of economy.

1899 Bombay, 28th February, 1899 (1899, P. D. 323)

Jonathan Duncan to Lord Minto.

Sitarani's future We have already had occasion to submit to the Supreme Government the circumstances of the unreasonable pretensions and pertinacious conduct manifested by this native officer. In continuation of which it is not without concern and some degree of disappointment that we have now to request your attention to the further development of this person's claims in the extensive demands that he has set up for arrears alleged to be due to him by his sovereign, and to which he will appear to have exacted the Resident's general sanction as the condition of his surrendering quietly the stores and farms that he and the other members of his family in connection with him have, since the time of the late Raoba and even before it, been in the possession of; but of which, it becoming necessary in the progress of the late reforms to make an interchange for others, that measure had led to the present discovery and to its consequences; the present

chargeable effects of which to the Gaikwad State it will be our object to circumscribe within as narrow limits as practicable as well by the effectual prosecution of the scrutiny and audit that are now in progress according to the terms conceded by Colonel Walker as by retaining and rendering applicable to the liquidation of this debt either the whole or such part of the Diwan's income, amounting to a lakh and a half of Rupees per annum, as may appear equitably available towards the extinction of this very suspicious and accumulated demand. Govindrao Banduji, deputed by Sitaram to explain and promote his cause at the Presidency, arrived previously to the embarkation of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker for England, since which he has been endeavouring to ascertain on what terms his relation, the Diwan, might be reinstated. As to which, after what has passed, nothing less should in our opinion be required than his unequivocal submission to, acquiescence in, and full adoption of, every rule and restriction calculated to ensure regularity, invariable economy and unremitting vigilance in the discharge of his highly important trust. Besides which, we must greatly doubt whether, after the share that Sitaram appears either from his easiness of temper or worse motives to have taken himself or at least countenanced and tolerated in the deep and malignant intrigues against the British interests, set on foot by Hafizji, he can any longer be, under the disappointment of his towering and unreasonable hopes of impeding in a manner the authority of the Gaikwad family, considered as eligible to restoration on any terms whatsoever. At the same time that we consider it as highly desirable and even incumbent that the minister for the time being should be taken in preference to all others from one of the late Raoba's relations, a handsome pension being in every event secured to Sitaram for his life, and permission given to him to retire on an honourable footing to Benares, if he continues to profess to desire it. Under which intimation it may be proper to add that a sort of explanatory negotiation on his behalf is still carrying slowly on between his agent, Banduji, and Mr. Godwin, the Secretary and Translator to our office of Country Correspondence, but with little or no expectation of its continuance being susceptible of any other advantage than preventing perhaps Sitaram from relapsing into any wild extravagance, such as from several reports he had been suspected of meditating, until we be favoured with Your Lordship's sentiments on the papers already forwarded respecting the intended conspiracy in question.

Baroda, 2nd March, 1809 (1809, P. D. 324)

1809

James R. Carnac to Jonathan Duncan.

The present state of Sitaram's concerns, awaiting the decision of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, induced me respectfully to report *Getting rid of Sakharam* to your information every circumstance connected with him.

Yesterday Taiya Goregaonkar, a relation of Sitaram through whom every communication has usually been made since the departure of Govindrao Banduji, called to mention that the anxiety of Gahenabai Gaikwad in respect to the affairs of Dhar had induced her earnestly to request Sitaram to dispatch Mahipatrao Kakaji to arrange the affairs of that petty State.

To this request Sitaram had replied that the unadjusted state of Mahipatraso Kakaji's accounts would prevent his proceeding, but that he was willing to dispatch his brother Sakharam Chimnaji, and it was the object of Tatya Goregaonkar to obtain my concurrence.

In reply to this request I informed Tatya that Sakharam Chimnaji was a darakdar holding a public appointment under the Gaikwad Government, whose permission in the first place it was necessary to obtain; and that in respect to my own opinion it would be proper to await the sentiments of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, whose consideration was employed on Sitaram's concerns, and Banduji was awaiting their determination.

The delay, which this reference would occasion, was remarked by Tatya and answered by the obvious propriety of his making an earlier communication; but Sitaram, being made acquainted with my above reply, sent Tatya Goregaonkar back with intimation that his brother would take advantage of the auspicious hour on Friday to move out of town, but would delay his final departure until an answer to my reference could be received.

In proceeding to remark on this conversation I respectfully beg leave to request the attention of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to the sentiments contained in Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's dispatch of the 11th January; wherein he suggested the policy of removing both Kakaji and Sakharam from the sphere of their influence over Sitaram.

In pursuance of the intention it was proposed that Kakaji should proceed to Dhar, and the Diwanji to Navsari; but, as the proposal has voluntarily proceeded from Sitaram, an opportunity has occurred of causing the removal of his brother without seeming to desire it, and realising one part of our projects without creating uneasiness or disquietude to Sitaram.

The objection that naturally occurs to this proposal arises from the apparent impolicy of placing a person, whose sentiments are supposed adverse to our interests, in any place so far advanced on our frontiers, where he may have an opportunity of exerting his influence to our prejudice. The circumstance however of all the hopes and prospects of Raoba's family being centred in Gujarat, and considering that his brother Sitaram with his own family will still remain at Baroda, together with the natural ties of relationship that connect the family of Pawar with that of the Gaikwad, there may probably appear to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a sufficient check against any improper views that he might entertain.

It is also proper to add that by this proceeding Sakharam Chimnaji will have voluntarily and virtually resigned his offices under this Government by the act of becoming the servant of another State, and that in consequence his paga and office of sikkana-vis will revert to Government; should he therefore put his design in execution, he will of course be required to resign the charge.

These reasons I deem it my duty respectfully to state for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, as they would appear to advocate in favour of the proposed departure of Sakham; but to which, under the present state of reference of Sitaram's concerns, I did not conceive myself authorised to accede, until I had been honoured with your commands.

Letter from Francis Warden to James R. Carnac, dated 15th March.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 2nd of this month, and to inform you that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council sees no material objection to Diwanji's being allowed to proceed to Dhar, relying on your attention to secure from the measure, reported in your letter now replied to, all the advantages of which it is in your opinion deemed susceptible. Approval

Baroda, 29th March, 1809 (1809, P.D. 162)

1809

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

1. By the several reports of Lieut.-Colonel Walker the Hon'ble Sitaram's the Governor-in-Council will have been apprised of Sitaram Raoji ^{pagas} having under his command and control two pagas of horse, exclusive of the anamat paga employed during his administration of the mamlat of Ahmadabad in the duties of that fortress.

2. In pursuance of the arrangement, which had been suggested by Lieut.-Colonel Walker to the attention of this Administration, a proportion of the huzur pagas has been allotted to the military duties at the subordinate stations, and the pagas of Sitaram and his brother, Sakham Chimnaji, were directed in last September to join Jethabhoy Gaikwad, employed on the Mahi Kantha collections.

3. Sitaram at that time evinced a disinclination to dispatch his pagas on this duty, although the ostensible objection for his evasion of the orders of this Government, founded on the plea that these pagas were never employed on general duties, should have been surmounted by the prompt obedience of the Raja's patka and jari-patka, who respectively were engaged in the service, which had been pointed out for the pagas of the Diwan.

4. The discussions, which ensued with Sitaram to introduce him into a share of the administration, and the subsequent events for the relinquishment of the forts of Ahmadabad and Patan rendered it inexpedient to agitate these orders at that particular crisis.

5. On the restoration however of the fort of Patan, of which intelligence was received at Baroda on the 11th February, this Government accepted the first favourable opportunity of resuming the subject, which became of more importance from the circumstance of Jethabhoy Gaikwad having met with partial resistance and loss from the turbulent Mewasi villages, during the progress of his circuit.

6. Granting however every just consideration to the principles of moderation and respect to Sitaram as the Diwan of this Government, he was apprised that the Administration were not desirous to detach

the paga under his personal command, but it was expected that the paga of Sakharām Chimnaji should immediately proceed to the Mahi Kantha mulukgiri in pursuance with its original orders.

7. Sitaram however continued to avoid compliance, and it was also ascertained that one of the pagas was employed on the mahāl duties of the pargana of Savli, which the Diwan had recently received in mamlat from the Peshwa's Government.

8. In consequence of this unexpected and unjustifiable conduct, Babaji honoured me with a visit on the 19th February for the purpose of deliberating on the line of conduct which could induce the Diwan to obey the orders which had been repeatedly communicated to him, without involving this Government in the disagreeable situation of resorting to an extremity which might be construed into a want of consideration and delicacy to the feelings of Sitaram.

In the course of my conversation with Babaji he appeared disposed to grant any reasonable concession to gratify the vanity or wishes of Sitaram, but he was impressed with the propriety of one of the Diwan's pagas proceeding to reinforce Jethabhoy Gaikwad, as well for the immediate interests of the State as the expediency of ensuring hereafter an implicit obedience from the military officers in general when public exigencies should demand their services.

9. With a view of accomplishing this object, Babaji suggested in the first instance the measure of prohibiting the issue of grain from the modikhana to the pagas of Sitaram, but he recommended the delay of four or five days, in the course of which time the orders for the dispatch of the paga of Sakharām Chimnaji might again be repeated.

10. The refusal of the Diwan to comply with these further orders and the continued employment of the paga at Savli occasioned this Government on the 25th of February to carry into effect the plan, which had been proposed by Babaji.

11. On the 5th of March Sitaram sent Tatyā Goregaonker, a confidential agent, to me, complaining of this measure and to announce his intention to resign the pagas into my charge, whenever I might assure Sitaram that his demands for the arrears of pay should be discharged.

12. Tatyā Goregaonker was informed that the Gaikwad Government would not hesitate to pay any just dues which might be preferred by Sitaram, and that I concurred with Sitaram in the propriety of relinquishing his pagas on the presumption of his determination not to detach the paga of his brother to the Mahi Kantha.

13. I was favoured with no communication of the Diwan's sentiments in reply to this proposal, but the Administration continued without success to urge the execution of their orders.

14. The decided resolve, which had been manifested by the Diwan to retain the pagas under his immediate power, and the obvious impropriety of his continuing to employ them on his own

personal account, when their services were required in the duties of Government, induced me to concur in a further suggestion by Babaji that His Highness Fatesing Gaikwad should demand these pagas by the agency of his own dependants and to impose a restraint on Sitaram's person until he might grant compliance.

15. To pursue that system of forbearance and consideration to Sitaram, which he has always experienced from the lenity of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, I thought it incumbent on me to apprise him of the measure, which this Government would reluctantly adopt, and to use every argument which appeared calculated to make a favourable impression on his mind.

At the same time Sitaram was advised of my anxious desire to interpose with this Government for an equitable adjustment of the pending discussion on the privilege of his possessing the Company's bhandari, but that the engagement was obviously limited to the preservation of his rights on the principles of justice.

16. I am however concerned to report to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that these proceedings were of no avail, which imposed upon this Government the disagreeable duty of sending a party of men on the 14th of March to place the Diwan in dharna, a usage which is resorted to in all native Governments, when every other expedient has proved abortive.

17. This party continued at the Diwan's house during the whole of that day, and in the early part of the night I received a visit from Mir Kamal-ud-din, expressive of Sitaram's surprise at this unexpected proceeding, and soliciting my interposition with the Gaikwad Government to relieve him from the disagreeable restraint which the party had imposed on him by denying every member of his family to partake of food.

18. The latter circumstance was immediately made known to Fatesing and as speedily obviated; but I informed Mir Kamal-ud-din that the restraint on Sitaram's person could not be relaxed until he consented to relinquish his pagas conformably with his own offer.

19. On the following morning Sitaram communicated his assent to my wishes, proposing to bring the discussion to a conclusion in the period of two days, provided I would cause his dharna to be removed.

20. Convinced in my own mind of the sincerity of the Diwan's professions, Fatesing's dependants accordingly retired from his dwelling.

21. Sitaram called on me on the following day (16th March) for the purpose of remonstrating against the usage which he had received, and declared his intention of retiring to Benares, whenever the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council were pleased to signify their concurrence.

22. It is needless to repeat the conversation which passed at this interview, as the Diwan did not attempt to palliate his proceedings,

although so many instances were adduced to convince him that the measure, of which he complained, was the consequence of his own misconduct.

23. It is proper however to mention that this visit produced an account of Sitaram's demands on the Gaikwad Government and a separate paper preferring dues in behalf of some individuals who had placed themselves under his protection with the expectation of receiving a suitable provision.

24. These papers were delivered to the Gaikwad Government on the same day, and I was favoured with a reply to them on the 24th instant, exhibiting the counter claims of the State against Sitaram and his connections.

25. The subterfuge of Sitaram to settle this discussion in two days, according to his promise on the 15th instant, and the probability that he intended to procrastinate by preferring demands to an exorbitant amount, unconnected with the avowed dues of the pagas in question, appeared to me to justify a resort to the same mode which had been adopted through the means of a dharna by the authority of Fatesing.

26. Previous however to the execution of this plan, I requested a meeting with Mir Kamal-ud-din with a view of communicating by that respectable officer the answer of the Gaikwad Government to the demands advanced by Sitaram, and to propose the reference of the accounts of both parties to the decision of five respectable persons, selected by Sitaram and the Gaikwad State, and assisted by an officer in behalf of the Company's Government.

27. In the interim however information was received of the Diwan being prepared to proceed to the camp of his brother Sakharam Chimnaji at the distance of 3 miles from Baroda, where he proposed to spend some days preparatory to his brother's prosecuting his intention of proceeding to Dhar.

28. At the same time it was understood that Sitaram was at that moment attended only by a few armed men, which circumstance also induced me to concur in the immediate adoption of it, as it would prevent any serious disturbance resulting from the execution of the dharna; and the good offices of Mir Kamal-ud-din were for the present deferred.

29. Sitaram immediately communicated by Bapu Raghunath, a karkun in his service, the circumstance of Fatesing's people having again placed his person under restraint, and to declare he would instantly resign the pagas on a settlement of their accounts.

30. I took this opportunity of explaining to this karkun the tenor of my conversation with Mir Kamal-ud-din, and he returned in the course of half an hour with a message from Sitaram, rejecting my proposal of submitting his accounts to the arbitration of a panchayat,

31. On the following day I was concerned to find that the Bargirs and those of his brother had assembled in considerable numbers in the vicinity of his house.

32. Other indications of disorderly demeanour on the part of these turbulent men rendered it expedient that I should communicate my knowledge of these circumstances to Sitaram with an earnest request that he would submit to the justice of the measure, by which I proposed to settle his accounts; but, in the event of his Bargirs insulting any of the Gaikwad authorities in the execution of their duty, or creating a disturbance which might interrupt the public tranquillity, to the perpetration of which a disposition was manifest (although I was persuaded it was contrary to the wishes of their superior) I desired Sitaram to understand that I should be placed in a situation towards him personally very distressing to my own feelings, but justifiable and expedient in condition of extreme necessity.

33. This remonstrance to the Diwan appeared to allay the turbulence of his Bargirs, many of whom had previously loaded their arms and demanded permission to force the party which had possession of the person of Sitaram and his family.

34. The Bargirs however still continued in the neighbourhood, and it became very desirable to bring this disagreeable discussion to an amicable and speedy conclusion. Among other expedients I solicited the exertion of the influence of Mir Kamal-ud-din to prevail on Sitaram to acquiesce in the proposals which had been made, and to place his dependance on my steady adherence to his wishes, when founded on justice and propriety.

35. On the evening of the 25th instant Mir Kamal-ud-din called on me to communicate Sitaram's answer, which seemed favourable to the panchayat I had suggested for the adjustment of his accounts, but it was evident that Sitaram had not yet decided on the previous relinquishment of his paga, which, I informed Mir Kamal-ud-din, must now be introductory to every other discussion.

36. The whole of the ensuing day passed without a satisfactory answer. The Bargirs had placed a tent in the front of the Diwan's house, where they continued prepared with their arms in their hands.

37. Early next day, Mir Kamal-ud-din waited on me to announce the agreeable information of Sitaram's accession to relinquish the pagas into my charge until the panchayat should decide on the justice of his claims, which communication on the faith of Mir Kamal-ud-din's assurance of its sincerity immediately induced me to request from Fatesing the removal of the dharna.

38. It is with great pleasure I have now to report for the satisfaction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the three pagas inclusive of the anamat paga of Ahmadabad have been delivered into my charge with the concurrence of the Gaikwad Government under the limitations above mentioned; and whilst I have had the happiness to witness the complete success of our measures with

Sitaram, the discharge of upwards of 500 disaffected soldiers from the service, who were always prepared to engage in any enterprise subversive of the authority of Government and the public peace at the capital, will, I trust, also prove a source of gratification to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

39. I beg you will have the goodness to state for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Administration are disposed to grant pecuniary assistance to Sitaram to the extent of 20,000 Rupees for the purpose of relieving him from the immediate demands of the discharged Bargirs, and I request you will also submit to the Hon'ble Board the accompanying list of the names of those persons who have been selected by Sitaram and the Gaikwad Government to compose the panchayat for the purposes specified in this letter.

40. The zeal, ability and experience of Gangadhar Shastri would render him the most eligible person in behalf of this Residency.

41. In concluding this letter I deem it my duty to mention Mir Kamal-ud-din in those terms of approbation which his conduct during the delicate proceedings with Sitaram is so justly deserving of, as well in the recent instance as his cordial co-operation and services in the discussion for the relinquishment of the fortress of Patan.

Panchayat.

List of the names of those persons to compose the panchayat for the purpose of investigating the claims of Sitaram Raoji, Diwan, on the Gaikwad Government and the counter-demands of that State on the Diwan:

1. Raghunath Appaji, 2. Anandrao Sadashiv: selected by Sitaram Raoji.

1. Ganesh Mahadev, fadnavis of the Gaikwad Government,

2. Raghunathrao Chitnavis: selected by the Gaikwad Government.

Gangadhar Shastri: on the part of the Acting Resident.

1809 *Bombay, 9th April, 1809 (1809, P. D. 327)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Policy approved I have the honour to acknowledge your letter, accompanied by a dispatch dated the 28th ultimo from the Acting Resident at Baroda, and desiring my sentiments thereon.

It is unnecessary to bring again under the review of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the multiplied obstructions by which Sitaram and his party have from the commencement of the Gaikwad reforms endeavoured to defeat their object or to retard their progress. The general improvement of the Gaikwad army indispensably required that the military establishment of the Diwan and his adherents should

conform to the new system for the service. It appeared indispensably necessary that their opposite interests and different designs should not afford a successful example of disobedience and insubordination.

Without investigating at present the motive which determined the conduct of Sitaram and his brother, it is sufficient to observe that every regulation was enforced towards them with the utmost practical extent of indulgence and consideration; but indulgence and moderation must have their limits, and it was foreseen that Sitaram, who had long been accustomed more to examine the commands of his superiors than to obey them, would ultimately compel his Government to divest him of his military command. Whether we consider the immediate or remote consequences likely to result from this conduct of the Diwan, the future peace and tranquillity appeared to require that he should surrender his paga and those troops that depended on his influence into the hands of the Government.

While the necessity of this measure might be evident, the circumstances which have grown out of the former proceedings were peculiar and difficult; but the justice and security of the measure appear with great propriety to have engaged the deliberation and attention of Mr. Carnac; and its execution was opposed by Sitaram with his usual persistency. On this occasion the obstinacy of Sitaram has been met by Mr. Carnac with firmness, perseverance and judgment; and by exacting obedience and respect to the head of the Gaikwad State a salutary example has been afforded, which, it is reasonable to expect, may have a useful influence on the conduct of others.

It will be pleasing and satisfactory to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that this measure has been attained without any interruption of the public tranquillity and peace, while a provision is made for a fair and equitable adjustment of Sitaram's concerns.

I trust that the subsequent distress and repentance of Sitaram, which appear at last sincere, may atone for his former errors, and that he may still experience from the British Government that lenity, forbearance and generosity which it is desirable should continue to mark our intercourse with his family.

Baroda, 10th April, 1809 (1809, P. D. 162)

1809

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that Sakharam Diwanji called yesterday evening at the Residency and received his dismissal, previous to his prosecuting his journey to Dhar, on which occasion I presented him with the articles specified in the accompanying list, for which I request you will have the goodness to solicit the sanction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. *Sakharam departs*

I have also to report for the information of Government that the office of sikknavis in this Government has become vacant by the departure of Sakharam Diwanji, who now possesses no employment in the service of the Gaikwad.

1809 *Bombay, 6th May, 1809 (1809, P. D. 329)*

Jonathan Duncan's minute.

*Letter to
Sitaram*

The President reports to the Board that Banduji, the relative of Sitaram Raoji the Diwan of the Gaikwad Government, and who has been residing at this Presidency since January last for the purpose of obtaining a declaration of the sentiments of this Government in respect to the present situation of the latter person, being about to return to Baroda, the following are drafts of letters which, in concurrence with the sentiments of Colonel Walker, the Resident at Baroda, he proposes to write to the said Sitaram; the one marked A being to be delivered to Banduji, and the other marked B to be presented through the Acting Resident at Baroda, who is to be furnished with a copy thereof for his information.

No. 1. Letter from Jonathan Duncan to Sitaram Raoji, dated 1st May, 1809 (delivered to Banduji) [A]

No news

The respectable Govindrao Banduji, your relation, having been some time at this place, is about to return to you; and having remained here to my satisfaction, will deliver to you this friendly letter. On the departure of Govindrao Banduji it became necessary that I should communicate the sentiments of this Government on your situation, and I have accordingly done so; but, as the arrival of this person at Baroda, who proceeds by land, must necessarily be delayed, I have preferred the more expeditious method of addressing you through Mr. Carnac. For further particulars I refer you to the respectable Govindrao Banduji.

No. 2. Letter from Jonathan Duncan to Sitaram Raoji, dated 1st May, 1809 (delivered to James R. Carnac) [B]

*Bombay
sentiments*

Your relation, the respectable Banduji, having been some time at this place, soliciting a declaration of the sentiments of this Government with respect to your situation, it has therefore become necessary to communicate them under the same cordial impressions that I have uniformly entertained towards you, combined with a correspondent regret that your conduct should have been such as to preclude the happiest effects of that disposition which in memory of that eminent Minister Raoji Appaji I have always entertained in your favour.

Upon the present occasion I shall not enlarge on the pains that were taken by the respectable Colonel Walker, acting under the authority of this Government, to recommend you on our loss of your late and most worthy adoptive parent, the aforesaid Raoji Appaji, to be his successor, a distinction which you have repeatedly acknowledged, and were then no doubt duly sensible of owing in no small degree to the British influence thus kindly exerted in your behalf; being at that time also profuse and, it was hoped, sincere in your professions to be sedulous in making the only adequate return in your power by a diligent and faithful administration of the important duties of your high office to the honour and advantage of your Sovereign Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur, and to your own credit, and that of the Hon'ble Company, whose views as the

ally of the Gaikwad State are and must ever continue intimately connected with its welfare and prosperity, towards the promotion of which the exertions that have on its part been made require not here any recapitulation, more particularly to you who are so well acquainted with them.

Nor need I here enter upon any detailed estimate of the manner in which you have discharged the duties of your ministry. You must be sufficiently aware that, instead of proceeding in a progress of retrenchment, each year produced increased disbursements, such as all exhortations of your real friend, Colonel Walker, failed to suppress or materially to check. I am willing to believe that much of this proceeded on your part from no more blamable motive than the apprehension of entering on the arduous task of reform; but whatever was the cause, it became indispensable to provide against the ruinous effects of it; for which purpose the efficacious aid of your senior Babaji was from necessity had recourse to and has proved effective. Without weighing well or making due allowance for the circumstances of your own supineness, that unavoidably led to this arrangement, you have unhappily allowed your mind and bitter judgment to be so overcome and laid open to the mischievous and even traitorous machinations of your unworthy confidant, Hafiz Gulam Husain, as to have plunged you most unfortunately into acts and connivances of (I am still willing to credit) his, rather than your own suggestion; such as however, as your best friends must admit, do detract so materially from the unlimited confidence that ought to be placed in one of your eminent station, that your restoration to an efficient or controlling power in the administration of the affairs of your Master Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur cannot, you must yourself be sensible, be contemplated as compatible with a due regard to the interests of His Highness's Government, or admit of being recommended by me in justice to the affairs of either State. Still however I shall feel inclined that the influence of Mr. Carnac or of Colonel Walker (should the latter return to his station at Baroda) be exerted so far in your behalf as may conduce to the continuance of your title of Diwan, inclusive of as much of the emoluments of the situation as with the patrimony you have inherited from your parent now in heaven, and inclusive of the inam of Batha bestowed on the late Raoji by the Hon'ble Company, may secure to you a comfortable and easy support; at the same time that you will continue to enjoy the opportunity by evincing your sincerity and by rendering yourself useful in official details to renew and re-establish that confidence in your fidelity and exertions as a Minister, which may under the blessing of Divine Providence again restore you to the full exercise of your official powers, towards the attainment of which happy event you cannot more efficaciously contribute than by manifesting a due degree of contrition for the past and a determination, by avoiding evil counsel and low companions for the future, to prove yourself a worthy object of renovated confidence and a useful chief officer to the Gaikwad State, whenever it shall please their Highnesses Anandrao Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur and his heir apparent Fatesing Bahadur to grant you complete restoration to that exalted dignity.

For all further particulars I refer to the respectable Mr. Carnac, who in common with Colonel Walker has always evinced a real regard for your welfare.

1810 *Baroda, 22nd April, 1810 (1810, P. D. 355)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden,

*Sitaram's
information*

Sitaram Raoji¹ having this morning favoured me with the perusal of an extract of a letter from his brother, Sakharam Chimnaji, at Dhar, conveying intelligence of Mir Khan, of whose proceedings the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may be desirous to acquire authentic information, I request you would be pleased to submit the accompanying copy and translate of this extract and respectfully to state that I shall have the honour to forward such further accounts as may be received from the same quarter, Sitaram having been good enough to say that he will furnish me with the intelligence that may transpire from time to time.

1811 *Baroda, 10th January, 1811 (1811, P. D. 368)*

Thomas Ballantine to Francis Warden.

*Sakharam
dead*

I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the death of Sakharam Chimnaji, the brother of Sitaram Raoji the Diwan of this Government.

I am informed this event took place on Saturday the 5th instant at Dhar and was communicated to his brother and family this day. The Diwanji, as generally called, had been seriously indisposed for some time, and his family have to regret his untimely death from the use of improper medicine. I request you will respectfully assure the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that every suitable attention has been paid to Sitaram under this afflicting occurrence.

1811 *Baroda, 12th January, 1811 (1811, P. D. 368)*

Thomas Ballantine to Francis Warden.

*Sitaram
travels*

I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Diwan Sitaram Raoji purposes proceeding to Chandod Karnali on the banks of the Narbada in view to perform certain obsequies to the manes of his deceased brother. The Diwan, I am informed, may be absent 10 or 12 days, and is accompanied as usual on such occasions by a detail of a jamadar's party; which measure, I respectfully trust, will meet the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

1811 *Baroda, 7th February, 1811 (1811, P. D. 370)*

F. D. Ballantine to Francis Warden.

Return

I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that the Diwan, Sitaram Raoji, has this day returned to Baroda from his excursion to the Narbada.

1. This document is quoted, not for the sake of the information supplied, but to show Sitaram's attempt at pleasing the British authorities.

Bombay, 27th February, 1811 (1811, P. D. No. 370)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I beg to report the delivery of the letters from the Hon'ble the Governor to the address of the Gaikwad Diwan Sitaram Raoji, as transmitted to me for that purpose so late back as the month of May, 1809. The causes of the delay in doing so originated entirely from Sitaram himself, who expressed a reluctance to receive any communication from the Hon'ble the President as connected with the deputation of Banduji in January, 1809, until the investigation into his account had terminated. *Sitaram's behaviour*

Only in consequence of his earnest desire, I consented to retain the letter from the Hon'ble the Governor to the period Sitaram had prescribed; and upwards of a twelve month had passed away without the panchayat, assembled to examine into his accounts, being able to pass their decision on the claims of the Gaikwad Government and counter claims of the Diwan.

Finding that this procrastination was occasioned by the dependants of Sitaram declining the production of a detailed set of their respective accounts, and that the time in prevailing on the persons to do so might not be inconsiderable, I communicated to Sitaram a short time previous to my departure for the Presidency the propriety of his receiving the letter to his address and returning to live in his own house in preference to residing at a pagoda without the walls of the town, to which he had retired in November 1809 under the avowal of being harassed by the importunities of his creditors when at home.

Sitaram attended to my recommendation and now lives at his own mansion under a hope that a correct demeanour will restore to him the regard of the Company's Government.

With this impression encouraged by the hopes held out in the Hon'ble the Governor's letter, he has committed to my charge the accompanying kharita containing his reply; and having also addressed me a letter I beg with the utmost respect to submit a translation of it.

It would be improper for me to make any observations on the expectations of the Diwan. But, should the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council ever feel disposed in previous concert with the wishes of the Gaikwad family to introduce the Diwan into moderate participation in public business, it does not appear that such a measure under certain limitations, that would prevent the possibility of a criminal exercise of power, could be prejudicial to the interests pending at Baroda; but how far it may be politic to become the advocate of a man whose past actions do not enable him to the regard of his Government, except on the grounds specified in this letter, must rest with the superior judgment of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. *Sitaram's future*

No. 1. Letter from Sitaram Raoji to Captain James Rivett Carnac, Acting Resident, dated 18th December, 1810.

The letter with which you have favoured me from the Hon'ble the Governor has made me perfectly acquainted with his wishes regarding *Pleads and promises*

my future arrangements; and I am led to entertain hopes, from the general tenor of the letter, of recovering the confidence which I once possessed by following a course consistent with propriety.

The occasion of my now addressing you arises from the Company's Government being my guarantee and from my anxious desire to atone for all my past doings in the most effectual manner which may lie in my power. I have sincerely repented those proceedings which have unhappily diminished the trust once placed on my attachment and exertions; but the Company's Government are, it is known, disposed to forget and forgive faults, where a desire to correct them is observed. I have in my own mind been satisfied of the indiscretion of my reluctance, though urged at the time from the best of motives, to the salutary reforms introduced into the administration of the affairs of my Sovereign; and I require only an opportunity of showing that my adherence to the counsels of the Company's Government, dictated for the advantage and prosperity of the Gaikwad State, will always be the inviolable principle of my life.

I beg shortly to advert to the services performed by my deceased father Raoba as well as to his strong attachment to the English sarkar, trusting in whose protection and faithful execution of their public engagements he committed himself and his own government to their cherishing care and friendship. These services will, I hope, plead somewhat for myself that, in reviewing his merits, my mistaken line of procedure in latter times may be obscured, and the confidence of the Company's Government become restored to me, according to my actions, until by the will of Providence I may have the comfort of acquiring it, according to its former plenitude.

Bombay orders.

Teaching
Sitaram In acknowledging the above letter, and after adverting to Sitaram's reply to Captain Carnac the Resident is to signify to Sitaram that the Governor-in-Council must defer all ulterior consideration of his present professions, until the accounts of his former administration be fully investigated and decided on by the panchayat appointed for that purpose, the delay in whose request and award it is painful to observe to be owing to his (Sitaram's) declining to bring forward the particulars of the several items sufficiently in detail, such as it is now accordingly expected he will no longer demur about; but by exhibiting all the most minute statements they can call for, evince the consciousness of his own sense of having faithfully and with due discretion and economy administered the affairs of the Gaikwad State, whilst the same remained under his trust and charge.

1811 *Baroda, 14th August, 1811 (1811, P. D. 328)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Sitaram's
plight I have the honour to address you under date the 27th of February last on the subject of Sitaram Raoji, and again I take the liberty to solicit the attention of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to the multiplied distress of this person.

On the merits exclusively of the late Minister Raoba, Sitaram presents himself to the attention of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council; and if I am to be permitted to advocate his humble pretensions from motives of humanity and commiseration, these feelings have been powerfully excited by the unfortunate situation in which Sitaram is now placed, originating, it is true, from his own imprudence and want of discrimination.

For a considerable lapse of time Sitaram has endured every privation which the practice of dharna by his dependants and domestic servants can possibly create. Depressed by the weight of these sufferings, harassed by constant importunity, [misery] has at length drove the Diwan to appeal to me in person for some alleviation of his accumulated distress.

The Hon'ble Board may reasonably be surprised at the large amount of these debts to private servants, but I have to observe that demands have been of long standing, and principally occasioned by the Diwan having entertained men of some respectability at exorbitant rates under the hope that the Gaikwad Government would have received them into service and paid up their arrears.

Improvident as this conduct must be admitted, some slight palliation may possibly be allowed, from Sitaram finding a difficulty of disposing of these private servants, when he seceded from power, though it is far from his intention to prefer any defence of his conduct in this particular instance.

It is now obvious that, unless the countenance of the Company's Government is extended to Sitaram, it will be quite impossible to relieve him from his immediate encumbrances, and he will soon be exposed to insult and ill-treatment. The countenance, which is solicited, will not at the same time involve the Company's Government in any extraordinary responsibility.

The Gaikwad Government, instigated by a grateful recollection of the important services rendered by the father of Sitaram, have expressed their willingness to grant a yearly allowance for his maintenance of Rupees 40,000.

It may be necessary to state that this allowance will only subject the Government to an additional expense of 11,000 Rupees, Sitaram having never been deprived of the inam village held by the late Raoba or the establishment for his personal suite; the sums derived from these sources are noted in the margin,¹ which, added to the proceeds of the Company's gift of the village of Bathia, will altogether make an annual allowance to the Diwan of 60,000 Rupees, in lieu of the daita of his office, which made a saving of Rupees 65,000 (independent of the daita available from the Peshwa's mahals formerly the Gaikwad's conformably to article of the report of the 1st January, 1806).

1. Sources of income noted in the margin: Inam village, Rs. 23,000; sibandi, Rs. 6,000; additional sibandi, Rs. 11,000; Hon'ble Company's allowance, Rs. 20,000; gift of the village of Bathia, Rs. 30,000. Deduct amount to be guaranteed, Rs. 30,000. Balance: Rs. 30,000.

Sitaram will readily consent to the appropriation of the 30,000 Rupees of this stipend towards the progressive liquidation of the debt of 1,10,000 Rupees, if now advanced him by the shroffs of Baroda. These men on the other hand will furnish this money under a provision that the regular payment of the above-mentioned 30,000 Rupees from the proposed allowance to Sitaram is guaranteed by the Resident.

As the letter of the Hon'ble the Governor to the address of Sitaram, transmitted in your dispatch of the 7th May, 1809, has communicated the intention of granting him a maintenance, which the Gaikwad Government now offers to a liberal extent, the Hon'ble Board will not probably feel indisposed to admit of my bhandari being annexed to the deed of settlement with the shroffs under the present peculiar circumstances of Sitaram's situation, goaded as he is on all sides by his merciless creditors.

The accounts submitted to the arbitration of the panchayat adverted to in your letter, dated 8th March last, have been found so complicated and heterogeneous that it may be difficult, if not impracticable, distinctly to ascertain the merits of the litigated claims. Although the investigation is still in progress, the Hon'ble Board will, it is hoped, not delay their favourable decision on the application submitted in this letter, exclusively on this account. Such indeed is the distress which now pervades the family of the Diwan that the expiration of any considerable period would add to its poignancy and perhaps counteract an arrangement on the advantageous footings now accepted by the creditors.

1811 *Bombay, 5th September, 1811 (1811, P. D. 378)*

Minutes.

Conditional approval Sitaram Raoji appearing to have now tasted largely and perhaps sufficiently of the bitter fruits springing from his past misconduct, the Governor-in-Council, bearing in mind the reputation and service of his father Raoba and having had due reference to the opinions of the Supreme Government and to the corresponding one of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, is disposed to concur in the suggestions of the Resident for extending the assistance of the Hon'ble Company for his relief on the favourable occasion that now presents itself.

Previously however to affording the Resident's guarantee, it seems advisable that the adjustment of the claims should be completed, so as to leave no opening for future discussion or dispute; and this the Resident will accordingly see effected, for the Governor-in-Council can only consent to the proposed bhandari under the assurance that the Hon'ble Company will not be involved in such adjustments hereafter. The Resident will also bear in mind that, as this is a concession made for the sole advantage and accommodation of Sitaram, he will be expected, should the Resident deem it necessary (of this he is the best judge) to require an assignment of the village of Bathia in counter security for the guarantee.

In conclusion Captain Carnac will be careful to depress any and every expectation on the part of Sitaram of the relief thus

afforded having the smallest connection with a return of confidence, which might lead to a hope of future restoration to share in the Gaikwad administration. Orders from Bengal, confirmed by the Hon'ble Court on this part of the subject, are not less clear than positive, while it is apprehended that it might lead to manifest inconvenience and obstruction of the affairs of the Government (particularly during the Resident's projected absence from Baroda) should such an idea become prevalent among his partisans.

Baroda, 6th September, 1811 (1811, P. D. 328)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I request you will have the goodness to communicate for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the several treaties concluded between the Hon'ble the Company and the Senakhas-^{Treaties handed over} khel Samsher Bahadur were delivered by Sitaram Raoji to His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad in full Darbar on the 21st August last.

It may be proper to explain that these treaties have hitherto continued in the possession of Raoba's family, and although on former occasions Sitaram was frequently urged to deposit them with Fatesing, since his accession to the office of mutalik, he did not concur in the necessity of this proceeding until recently reminded by me of its obvious propriety.

The interest I have taken in the success of this measure, I beg respectfully to remark, has been in conformity with the sentiments of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker when at Baroda; and I trust that, as the possession of these treaties has proved very acceptable to the Head of this Government and the Gaikwad family at large, it will be honoured by the approbation of Government.

Baroda, 24th September, 1812 (1812, P. D. 388)

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

As regards Sitaram Raoji's guard, it is not my province to submit any detailed observations. The only remark, which it might be useful for me to offer, affects Sitaram Raoji, not as a disgraced public servant, which most probably renders his guard susceptible of very considerable reduction, but as the son of the Minister Raoba, through whose mediation we were first introduced into Gujarat. Sitaram himself was once high in the favour and confidence of the British Government. He is now humbled for his own misdeeds; and to reduce his guard very considerably will tear away the last remnant of his public respectability and the external mark of enjoying the bhandari of the Company's Government, pledged to the family of the late Minister. I shall lose no time in pursuance of the positive orders received to prohibit the Minister or ex-Minister being followed by the regular sepoy's of the Company's Government.

Bombay comment, 7th October, 1812.

The arguments, offered in the 22nd paragraph of Captain Carnac's letter in favour of a continuance of the guard to Sitaram

Raoji, are far from being convincing to Government. That, whatever may have been the character of the late minister Raoba, or his claims on the British Government, a disgraced servant of the Gaikwad, against whom charges of a most discreditable nature are borne upon the records of Government, equally known to the local authorities and to the subjects of the Gaikwad, should be distinguished by a guard of fifty sepoys, that the British Government should be represented at one and the same moment to be humbling a minister for his misdeeds, and at the same time continuing to him all the outward honours due to a distinguished and faithful servant, would be a conduct that must and ought to place its character for consistency in its acts in no very favourable light.

Under this view of the subject it is hoped that Captain Carnac will see the propriety of removing those impressions at the earliest period. Considerations of humanity ought not to weigh with a Government in favour of disgraced servant of the public, it diminishes the respect that should be ever maintained for honorary distinctions.

1811 *Baroda, 27th September, 1811 (1811, P. D. 379)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Relieving Sitaram In acknowledging the receipt of the Deputy Secretary's letter of the 5th September I have now the honour to make known to you for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the measures which have been adopted, with the concurrence of the Gaikwad Administration, for the purpose of liberating Sitaram Raoji from the embarrassed situation to which he has been exposed by the accumulated demands of his creditors.

Exclusive of those claims, notified in my letter of the 14th August, it was not without serious concern I recently perceived that the extension of the assistance, authorised in your letter under reply, would not embrace that general statement adverted to in the 2nd paragraph. At the same time I found myself placed in a situation of some perplexity on account of the tenor of the orders from the Presidency and the grievous situation to which Sitaram was reduced, not merely open to the grossest insults, but placed in a state of dharma, the continuance of which for a few days longer must infallibly have affected his life.

In my report of the 10th of April, 1809, I had the honour to advise you of the departure of Sakharam Diwanji to Dhar with a view of managing the affairs in that Principality. The conduct of this young man in this charge discovered the same absence of prudence and self-command, which his proceedings, when at Baroda, had manifested to the ruin of his brother, Sitaram.

Entertaining superior ideas of his own capacity and leaning to his propensity of anticipating great effects from speculative plans, the Diwanji, on his arrival at Dhar, and prior to his departure from home, instead of fostering those scarcity resources of the Dhar Government, which its revolutions had not absorbed entered warmly into the

hazardous scheme of employing a body of troops far beyond his financial means, in order to suppress the enemies of the Government and eventually to extend its possessions.

A short experience betrayed the fallacy of these projects, but the period for the exertion of economy had passed away, and finding he was unable to raise a sufficiency of money for the discharge of the arrears of his clamorous troops, there was no alternative left except desperation in his administration, in the hopes that some good fortune might follow and relieve his difficulties. To add however to their burthen, the infant Chieftain of Dhar died, and competitors were soon found to prefer their pretensions to the gadi, and in the midst also of these calamities the Diwanji himself, borne down by the sorrows of his situations, departed this life; on which occasion the troops seized his dependants, who are near relations of Sitaram, as security for their demands, and still have them in their possession in the fort of Dhar.

A small portion however of these troops whose tainat-jabta [muster-roll] was signed and acknowledged by Sitaram himself, returned to Baroda, as soon as circumstances would admit, to prefer their claims on those who had actually employed them.

These men, failing to obtain any compensation, at length put in force the last extremity of a dharna, denying any access to Sitaram, and also subjecting him to the alarming situation of being debarred from food or sustenance.

I cannot probably give no better description of the probation to which the Diwan was reduced than submitting to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the verbal information of one of my peons who waited on Sitaram for the purpose of making inquiries regarding a member of his family, who had met with a severe accident.

The conduct of the Dhar people cannot however with any justice be reprobated, they are driven to a state of penury under circumstance of very peculiar hardship, having many of them sedulously served Sitaram's brother, and bear the marks of their fidelity and attachment.

The situation of Sitaram however required some immediate consideration, and I found there was no time for reference to the Presidency. It was natural to reflect on the impression, which any misfortune to Sitaram's person might produce in the country at large, as it affected the character of the Company's Government. Though the merits of the case might be known to a few individuals, it would never be generally admitted that we had acted towards the son of Raoba, whose services and reputation we had repeatedly acknowledged, with a corresponding feeling, when encircled by every misery.

Adverting to this impression, and keeping in view the tenor of the orders in the letter of the 5th September, I took an early opportunity of having a meeting with Vithoba Bhau in order to ascertain how far he would be disposed as a near relation to assist Sitaram from his own private funds. Although this plan, as the sequel will show, was

not adopted, I should be wanting in what is due to the Khasgidiwan and others of the family, were I to pass over in silence their unanimous concurrence to my proposals.

On further investigation it appeared objectionable to Sitaram himself and to his family that he should be subjected to the obligation of private donations, provided it was possible to avoid it by any other line of proceeding. Giving due consideration to the delicacy of the Diwan, we were happy to find that an unobjectionable source of meeting the present exigency became available, and this originated in the justice of paying to Sitaram the amount of his stipend from the time the daita of his office was stopped, leaving a balance of Rupees 51,000 and actually in deposit with the fotadar of this Government, until an arrangement for the adjustment of Sitaram's claim was finally regulated.

This sum will cover the demands of the Dhar dependants, and I trust that its appropriation from the Gaikwad treasury, on the grounds before recited, and its consequent application to the above object will meet with the approbation of the Hon'ble Board.

Conformably with the proposed arrangement submitted in my letter of the 14th August, I have the honour to submit the deed of settlement, from the Gaikwad Government, accompanied by a kalam-bandi to which my bhandari is annexed.

It has occurred to me to notice in this place that a settlement of the demands, made known in this letter, is conclusive, and the Company is not on any account to be involved in such adjustments hereafter.

Although the troops now at Dhar make claims of considerable magnitude, they are by no means placed in a similar situation to those who have resorted to Baroda, not having been engaged by Sitaram himself, but at the discretion of his brother, when at Dhar; and consequently their claims ought to, and must, be confined to that Government alone.

Should they therefore presume on the adjustment effected at this place to enter the Gaikwad territories, the Government are disposed, as well on account of the circumstance before noticed as to provide for peace and security (more especially during the absence of Fatesing and myself in Kathiawar) to prevent any troops from Dhar passing their boundaries.

With reference to the conclusion of the 2nd paragraph of the letter of the 5th September, I request you will have the goodness to state to Government that, as we appear to possess every adequate security for the authorised guarantee, it would be very desirable to avoid any notice of the village of Bhatta, particularly as it was a gift from the Company's Government to the late Raoba for his eminent services in promoting the present connection with the Gaikwad State.

Deposition of Appa, jamadar of peons.

I was sent by Captain Carnae to inquire after the health of Sitaram Raoji's wife, who had met with an accident. *Sitaram's plight*

On my arrival at Sitaram's house, I was denied admittance by Bargirs, who were sitting on dharna. I then went to another door, where I was also refused entrance by some sardars, who had confined Sitaram in a small room. After much altercation the gate was opened, and after 4 or 5 other doors were unlocked we reached Sitaram's room.

I made inquiries after the Bai, and Sitaram (who had a khidmatgar with him) requested me to stop for a few minutes, and that the dharna would then allow him to go to the necessary, which they had not done for 3 days before. I took the oath of the sarkar and Sitaram was permitted. On returning to the room, Sitaram desired me to tell Captain Carnae that he and his wife and children had been 3 days without a morsel of food, and prohibited the performance of the most necessary act, and that the Bai in grief for the situation of their family had thrown herself from the window. Sitaram also desired me to tell Captain Carnae that, in the event of his death, to protect his children and family. He said nothing more. I came away.

No. 2 Translation of a Yad from the Gaikwad Government.

The father of Sitaram Raoji the late Raoji Apaji served with great *Yad* fidelity for many years our father Govindrao Maharaja, on which account, and for the support of the aforesaid Sitaram Raoji, the sarkar have determined to bestow on him a nemnuk: Annually the villages of Sadili of the Sinor pargana, and that of Butwa in the Gaikwad share of Ahmadabad produced at present .. Rs. 23,000
From the Huzur Sibandi " 6,000
Payable from the fotadar, yearly " 11,000
Rs. 40,000

The village of Bhatta in the Chorasi pargana in inam by the Company Rs. 20,000

Thus making his nemnuk 40,000, and the inam from the Company, making a sum of Rs. 60,000 payable from the year 1865.

In order to relieve Sitaram Raoji from dharna the shroffs Samal Bechar, Mangal Sakhidas, Hari Bhakti, Mairal Narayan and Khushalchand Ambaidas have advanced 1,10,001 Rupees, to discharge which 30,000 of the stipend is to be appropriated, and he is to live happy on the balance 30,000 Rupees.

No. 3. Translation of a kalambandi from Sitaram Raoji respecting moneys received from Mairal Narayan, Hari Bhakti, Khushalchand Ambaidas, Samal Bechar, and Mangal Sakhidas, shroffs.

1. I have given a separate bond for the advance of 1,10,001 *Kalambandi* Rupees.

2. The interest and manuti to be given as follows; interest to be paid at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum, manuti 2 per cent.

3. The account, interest, manuti, etc. shall be paid up yearly, and credit be given for the sums that may be paid, and new bonds made inclusive of manuti. This is to be observed until the money is all paid off.

4. The 1,10,001 Rupees to be discharged from the following sources.—

The village of Bhatta in the Chorasi pargana, given in inam by the Company, besides Sadili and Butwa two villages in my possession from this Government; from these I will pay yearly 30,000 Rupees.

5. To insure this payment the five people shall appoint a gumashta to remain in those villages. He shall be paid 60 Rupees for victuals, and 140 Rupees for expenses. These 200 Rupees shall be annually paid until this debt is discharged.

6. Money to be repaid in the coin in which it was paid.

7. For the performance of this kalambandi the sarkar Company have annexed their bhandari.

These 7 clauses shall be performed by me, this is my handwriting.

No. 4. Translation of a bond.

Bond On the 26th September, 1811, this deed was executed. Creditors: Mairal Narayan, Hari Bhakti, Khushalchand Ambaidas, Samal Bechar and Mangal Sakhidas, shroffs. Debtor: Sitaram Raoji. I have received from you in loan a principal of 1,10,001 Rupees at the rate of 1 per cent. per month and manuti at the rate of 2 per cent. once.

This money will be paid according to the separate kalambandi, the account shall be made up annually; and after deducting what may have been paid, a new bond shall be made up annually; and after deducting what may have been paid, a new bond shall be made for the remainder, inclusive of interest and manuti.

From this money one month's interest and manuti have been deducted.

No. 5 Bombay minute, dated 17th October.

Approval Ordered Captain Carnac be informed that his conduct in the several instances, detailed in the preceding dispatch, is approved, it being hoped that the relief which Sitaram has obtained through the influence and consideration of the Hon'ble Company's Government will not fail to be duly appreciated by him.

1812 Baroda, 31st December, 1812 (1813, P. D. 392)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Sitaram's guard In reference to the orders of Government I have the honour to advise you that the personal guard of Sitaram Raoji has been reduced 1/3 of its former number. It does not appear immediately susceptible of a further reduction, from that detail furnishing the commanding officer's guard, whose quarters are immediately opposite to the Diwan's habitation.

Baroda, 9th January, 1813 (1813, P. D. 393)

1813

Sitaram Raoji to the Right Hon'ble Sir Evan Nepean.

The pleasure, which your arrival afforded me, is not in the power of language to describe, and it was my wish, immediately upon your landing to express to you the sentiments of attachment, which I have entertained towards the Hon'ble Company's Government from the time of my respected parent; but, under the operation of events beyond my control, I was deprived of the attainment of that felicity by various obstacles. But independently thereof, I felt hurt at not receiving a kind communication from you, such as it is usual among the great officers of the Company's Government to address to their friends and well-wishers, in this country, for the purpose of conveying information on such an occasion. But I attribute it to the same untowards events. Now however that fortune assists me, and Captain Carnac is also about to repair to the Presidency, I have troubled you with these assurances of my attachment. Hoping that you will gratify me with an answer and communicate to me at the same time the accounts of your being in the enjoyment of good health.

Minute, 9th February, 1813.

Ordered that Sitaram Raoji be informed that, in consideration to his present situation, it would have been improper for the Right Hon'ble the Governor to have addressed him in his public character, whatever opinion he may have entertained of his private worth.

Sir Evan Nepean's reply, dated 9th February.

I have received your letter of and have perused with satisfaction the sentiments of attachment towards the British Government, which are conveyed in it. I also observe that you express surprise at not having heard from me on my arrival at this Presidency. I regret that my silence should have occasioned any uneasiness to you, but it must be obvious that, in consideration to your present situation, it would have been improper for me to have addressed you in my public character, whatever opinion I might have entertained of your private worth.

Section B: BABAJI AND VITHOBA BHAU

When about to pass away, Babaji made for the last time a solemn profession of his devotedness to the Company, and his son succeeded him in the office of khasgidarak.

DOCUMENTS

Baroda, 26th November, 1810 (1810, P. D. 366)

1810

James R. Carnac, to Francis Warden.

I am concerned to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the death yesterday morning of Babaji Appaji, Khasgidiwan to His Highness the Raja.

This event has created considerable regret in all classes at Baroda particularly manifested by the attendances of Fatesing and the principal members of Gaikwad Government with an immense concourse of people at the funeral of the late minister.

I deem it my duty in this place to submit for the notice of Government all the substance of conversation passed in two meetings with Babaji a short time previous to his death.

The first took place on the morning of the 23rd instant, subsequent to certain ceremonies, at which I was invited to attend.

Babaji commenced by observing that I was not ignorant of the cause of the divisions in his family and the sacrifice he had undergone in the good opinion of a great proportion of his relations, because of the salutary reforms recently introduced into the Administration of the Gaikwad affairs. The period was now fast approaching when he should be removed from this life; and with his confidence in the Company's Government, it became natural that he should appeal to me for a renewal of assurances to protect his family from malignity or enmity of those persons, whose interested views had been deflated. The services which he had rendered to his own sovereign, he trusted, would ensure the regard of the Gaikwad family, and that the support of the Company's Government would also be extended as long as the immediate members of his own family continued to prove themselves deserving.

In reply to these observations from Babaji I did not hesitate to declare to the Minister that the characteristic principles of the British Government, founded on justice, would be powerfully exerted, where his own merits had been obvious; that on many occasions he had received assurances of the protection of Hon'ble Company to his family and himself; that his conduct as the principal executive member of the Gaikwad State entitled him to the profession of my sensibility of his worth and of the loss which the Gaikwad Government were on the eve of sustaining.

These observations were drawn from me in consideration of the advantage and credit, which must result to the Company's Government by evincing a becoming regard to the services of Babaji at this interesting crisis. They were in conformity to the sentiments repeatedly delivered, and appeared more appropriate and urgent at the present time from the reflection that any reserve on my part might tend to excite hopes and lead to combinations, which in prudence it would be advisable to suppress. The assurances above detailed were received with expressions of gratitude by the late Minister, and produced a sentiment of general satisfaction in the family.

Later, on the evening of the 24th instant, His Highness Fatesing Gaikwad visited Babaji at the request of the latter, that he might avail himself of this last opportunity of inculcating on the mind of His Highness a few admonitions for his future guidance. On this occasion I was also invited to attend. The first part of the meeting passed in anxious inquiries from His Highness, and after a short

interval Babaji addressed himself to Fatesing, soliciting his attention to the last advice of an old and devoted servant, who had now no view in the world which could divest his profession of sincerity and attachment to the personal interest of His Highness. He then recapitulated the services performed by the Company's Government in the suppression of the rebellion of Malharrao, the discomfiture of the ambitious and unjustified attempts of Kanhoji, the expulsion of the sibandi Arabs, and the liberation of the Raja from the hands of those desperate mercenaries at the expense of the blood of many deserving officers and men. Babaji dwelt on the subject with particular interest, and then adverted to the incalculable advantages derived from the assistance of the British Government in the reform of the Gaikwad State, involving its salvation from a state of confusion and anarchy with desinterested views of a faithful ally. It was then strongly urged to Fatesing constantly to adhere to the counsel of the Company's Government, to depend on its honour and justice for the preservation of the legitimate rights of his own State.

Babaji pointed out with great feeling the difficult station to which Fatesing would now succeed, and that to his prudence and discretion the future prosperity of the Gaikwad State had become now entrusted. By the endeavours of the Company the Gaikwad State had a fair prospect of surpassing in good government any Native Power in Hindustan, and that it would but require a few years of economy and unceasing attention to the system now pursued to remove the present pecuniary embarrassments, and that with the superintendence and care of the Company's Government this important object would no doubt be accomplished.

In conclusion Babaji solicited from Fatesing his friendship and protection to his son, who, he trusted, would serve him with the same fidelity and attachment, which had ever actuated him in the service of the Gaikwad family.

His Highness replied generally to the subject of Babaji's discourse, declaring it to be his firm intention to abide by his instructions, of which an experience of the actions of the Company's Government had also previously made a sensible impression. He assured Babaji of his unshaken regard to his son, and that he considered it incumbent on him as the representative of his brother to make known in distinct terms his wishes that he should succeed him in an office which he had held with distinguished honour and advantage to the substantial interests of the Gaikwad State.

Babaji in expressing his gratitude to his Highness lamented that the absence of his son prevented his committing him personally to the care of Fatesing and myself and to the friendship of Gangadhar Shastri; but he hoped that a mutual confidence and esteem would subsist between each; and taking hold of the hands of His Highness and myself expressed a fervent hope that the friendship subsisting between the Company and Gaikwad Government might continue to increase, and that the interests of the one should always be consolidated with those of the other.

After parting Babaji sent a message to me saying that, despairing of seeing his son, he should prepare a letter of advice in the course of the night.

I have now the honour to enclose a translation of his letter, which requires no remarks from me in elucidation of the feelings with which Babaji was animated towards the British Government. It is pleasing to reflect that the acknowledgements, contained in the letter above adverted to, will produce a powerful claim on the future attachment of the son.

Vithalrao Bhau arrived here at 8 o'clock on the evening of yesterday, and in conformity to the selection of Fatesing and in the spirit of the sanad granted to the late Minister on his accession to the khasgidarak, to which the bhandari of the Hon'ble Company was affixed, I have the honour to report that, on the expiration of the period of mourning of Babaji, Vithalrao Bhau will be invested with the office of his father, the proceedings on which occasion will be duly reported for the information of Government.

I have to solicit the indulgence of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council for this long detail, and respectfully trust that the tone of conduct, which I have reported to have observed, to be honoured by his approbation.

No. 1. *Babaji's memorandum to his son.*

Advice Translation of a memorandum of several articles, written by order of Babaji Appaji for the information and guidance of his son, Vithalrao Bhau, November, 1810.

Article 1: I have ever served the sarcar of Senakhaskel Samsher Bahadur, divested of personal considerations; but through the career of my services I have been treated rather as an equal than a servant; that you will be treated with like indulgence, His Highness Fatesingrao Baba Saheb has passed his word on oath, in witness of Captain Carnac and Gangadhar Shastri; but be you aware to conduct yourself as I have been accustomed to do.

Article 2: I have been in full possession of the favour and protection of the Hon'ble Company's Government in every respect; and that the same may be preserved to you in that course of uninterrupted respect and dignity shown to me, and for my fullest satisfaction, Captain Carnac, Acting Resident, has given his word of assurance on the part of the Hon'ble Company's Government. Nor will they fail to act in this particular towards you; they are dignity (?) and always act up to what they have promised. Do you therefore in all matters of public duty, according to its nature, continue to act in the most open and candid manner in view to be aided therein by their counsel and advice; and being guided on all occasions by a due sense of integrity to the honour and interests of the State, you will preserve to yourself uninterrupted the wisdom and assistance of the Hon'ble Company's Government.

Article 3: How many persons are there in this State whose views are not the same, and towards whom you should continue to do as they may do to you. Gangadhar Shastri is fully acquainted with everything I have to say on this head. To him I resigned the care of my own actions. He accepted the proffer under oath, and it only remains for me to admonish you to conduct yourself according to his intelligence and advice; for I am satisfied he will never fail to act in this particular to you, that you may enjoy, as I did, every indulgence consistent to your character and merits.

Article 4: You will be charged with much public business, in all of which continue to act with a due regard to the interests of the sarkar, with personal integrity, and in the most open and candid manner, making the Shastri acquainted therewith. Act therein aided by his private advice and the counsels of the Company's Government.

Article 5: It may be in the minds of some that my coming here was the annihilation of their views and interests; nor have they in their individual endeavours or understanding left aught undone to work my ruin. Nor it is likely that they will hereafter desist from doing so. Still the Company's Government have taken me under their special protection, whose Government is the support of the public faith. They will, be assured, guard you against their machinations; and to this effect I have the fullest assurances from Captain Carnac on the part of the Hon'ble Company. Do you therefore alike act up to your public duty. The Company's Government will at once dismay the evil minds of those disposed to do wrong towards you. Nor have I coveted after that they possessed. I have studied to do my duty to the sarkar, obtained my maintenance by integrity and with credit to myself, leaving me in course (at this hour) free from anyone's claims. The Company's Government will know this; for I have quitted all my connections and placed myself under their protection. It is knowing that thus we possess their fullest support, they will continue it to us; it is to them creditable, who are of good name.

Article 6: The sarkar Senakhaskhel did in its favour invest me with the duties of khasgidarak to have effect from generation, appropriating thereto dajta and inam villages. The khasgivala furnished the memorandum of business, authenticated with the public formalities of the sarkar, without which no public transaction is considered perfect; and as to these several deeds, in unison with, and under the cognisance and continuance of, the Hon'ble Company's Government, the public functions of the State are transacted through our hands and always with our perfect knowledge and concurrence, an indulgence we clearly enjoy in the pleasure and aid of the Company's sarkar; and with a due regard to these weighty considerations be you always influenced in managing the duties of your darak and the conducting the general administration of affairs; and being in conformity with the wishes of both Governments, do you always act with fairness and decision.

Article 7: How many persons are there who have been treated according to their deserts under the countenance and aid of the

Company's Government. There is on this, of course, good and evil. However it is a matter of no concern to you; it rests solely on their dignity and impartiality, they will always support you in the laudable pursuits of your public duty.

Article 8: The darakdars and fadnavises are all well disposed to you. The deceased Raoba Baba and Madhavrao Tatyā were united in friendship by every tie of attachment and good faith; and Tatyā afterwards continued a similar conduct towards me. At present his son is young, but his attachment, as was his father's, is; and therefore do you never act contrary with him in anything, but continue to him that respect I have been accustomed to show him. As to the other darakdars of less influence and dignity continue to each that attention that has hitherto been shown to them.

Article 9. Those persons, who formerly surrendered from their allegiance and duty to the sarkar, had met their deserts; and in any similar case they will be treated likewise. Do you keep this in mind; and acting under the aid and countenance of the Company's Government, admit no deviation whatever in duty to the Gaikwad State.

Article 10. A due and public investigation has been made into the several public disbursements connected with the mulukgeri circuit and the several mahals up to the end of 1806/7. In the course of this investigation due regard was paid to my services. The transactions passed under the cognisance of the Company's Government, and the makhlasī or orders of sarkar was executed thereon for the due appropriation of the balance to the credit of the sarkar. There are also certain other dues to the parekhs, originating in the Kathiawar concerns, up to the end of 1806/07. It has been so determined that these dues shall be duly adjusted through the Company's Government, who have also assented to this mode of proceeding; and it will require you to submit to them a due statement of the account, according to which they will see it finally settled since the year of Suman. These concerns have been conducted as ordered by the sarkar and agreeably to the counsels of the Company's Government, who have hitherto supported, and will continue to support the same in its due operation.

To which it is affixed *viz.* The above written ten articles (in Babaji's handwriting) are truth.

1810 *Baroda*, 26th November, 1810 (1810, P. D. 366)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Request It would be extremely acceptable to the family of Babaji in the present circumstances and creditable to the character of the Company's Government, were Vithalrao Bhau to receive a communication from Government, expressing of their sense of the services of his father with general assurances of protection and support for the family.

Baroda, 10th December, 1810 (1810, P. D. 366)

1810

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden Esquire.

I had the honour to acquaint you in my dispatch dated the 26th ultimo that on the expiration of the period of mourning on the occasion of the death of Babaji Appaji the proceedings, which might take place on the investiture of his son Vithalrao Babaji, commonly called Vithoba Bhau, in the office of khasgidarak, conformably to the selection of His Highness Fatesing Gaikwad, would be duly reported for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. *Vithalrao's appointment*

2. The disposition shown by Fatesing publicly to acknowledge his grateful sense of the important services rendered by preferring his son for the respectable situation, occupied by him, was warmly applauded by all persons who felt a sincere interest in the welfare of this State.

3. The general sentiment at Baroda was much in favour of the measure proposed to be pursued; but among the people of inferior importance the death of Babaji was looked upon as a favourable opportunity to advance their own views; and I was concerned to perceive at an early period subsequent to that event that His Highness the Raja had given way to the insidious representations of some men of low character to the prejudice both of his brother and Vithoba Bhau.

4. The first indications did not excite any considerable attention from circumstances connected with the constitution of the Raja, since it was well known that, when left to act from his own disposition, he would betray a predilection for the measure so strenuously supported and recommended by his brother.

5. The object of the persons, who had gained access to the Raja, was merely for the present to acquire some trivial advantages by exciting disorderly acts in the town, and ultimately to secure for themselves a provision in the Gaikwad service in the event of Vithoba Bhau becoming appointed.

6. With this latter view, the principals prevailed on the Raja to employ numbers of armed men in the hope that by discovering a determined resolution in the present exigency to obtain some specific terms, ostensibly for His Highness, their own interests and objects would become effectually accomplished.

7. It was still expected however that the Raja would listen to the advice of his favourite wife Takhtabai, whose conduct merits my highest commendation, as well as for her reiterated endeavours to persuade the persons engaged by His Highness to desist from designs replete with danger to themselves, discredit to the Raja, and from which no solid advantage could be derived.

8. This conciliatory conduct produced an effect very adverse to my expectation, and it was with some surprise that I received information late on the evening of the 5th instant that an Arab jamadar from the neighbourhood of the Peshwa's district of Dabhoi, the son of

Said Salem formerly in the Gaikwad service, had found his way to the Raja and, on engaging to furnish 400 men of his own nation, received some complimentary presents.

9. This circumstance at once disclosed the urgent necessity of removing without hesitation the ill-advisers of the Raja, or some fatal results would ensue from the facility of his disposition in an unguarded moment.

10. With the advice and sentiments both of Takhtabai and Fatesing it was resolved in the first place that I should proceed early in the morning of the 6th to the palace with a view of having a private interview with the Raja and to explain the wicked machination of the persons newly engaged.

11. I found His Highness surrounded by a crowd of armed men; and though I experienced a cordial reception, I found it impracticable to remove him to a separate spot for a private conference.

12. A few general observations passed, and every cordiality towards myself was evinced by the Raja. The demeanour of the people around was not however becoming, and some vapouring language was unguardedly expressed, which afforded me a fair pretext to explain to these men the consequences to which their conduct exposed them, and to recommend to those who had any regard for their reputation immediately to abstain from their imprudent schemes, or that it was intended by His Highness Fatesing shortly to apprehend and punish them according to their degree of participation in the present proceedings.

13. Having in distinct terms repeated the caution and qualifying it with the expression of my anxious desire to see no rigorous measures carried into execution, which would inevitably ensue from persisting in the conduct now observed, I took my leave, declining to enter into any further explanation of the tenor of my conversation.

14. I was happy to perceive that this admonition to the parties was followed by observations from several delivered in a tone of moderation, tending to extenuate their conduct; but it was obvious from the scene, to which I had myself been an eye-witness, no relaxation in dispersing these mercenaries should be permitted.

15. Takhtabai Gaikwad and Fatesing accordingly concerted a plan with my concurrence to seize the ring-leaders in the course of the night of the 6th, unless some certain security was given during the day for the departure of all the persons lately employed, or that the expostulations of the lady above-mentioned with the Raja did not produce the desired effect.

16. Many of these desperate men, seeing the imprudence of remaining and the fatality of their projects, silently seceded on the 6th, while others, amounting to 60 match-lock men principally from Sind, were escorted out of the town-walls in the early part of the night, having been prevailed on to depart by the praiseworthy

interference of the Sindhi jamadars Amin and Bucha of the Gaikwad service.

17. The endeavours of Takhatabai with the Raja having failed of success, during the night of the 6th some of the principal instigators were by her means and influence seized and delivered over to Fatesing and Vithoba Bhau.

18. It was hoped that this example would have had a useful influence; but on the morning of the 7th a considerable body of men still continued at the palace, who went so far as to prevent the darwans (or keepers of the gates) from having access to the Raja for the keys of the fort, which continued closed until a late hour in the morning.

19. On sending a message to the Raja by one of my principal attendants, stating the above circumstances, the keys were granted to the proper persons as usual; and the messenger returned with a communication from His Highness, wishing me immediately to come to the palace.

20. On waiting on the Raja I discovered a material change in his demeanour to the men newly levied by a peremptory order being given for them to retire to a distance. He then observed that these men were not his servants, and he was anxious they should immediately be dismissed, as having involved him in much difficulty and disquietude; that it was his intention to proceed to Vithoba's house to pay a customary visit of condolence, and wished Fatesing and myself to accompany him.

21. This sudden alteration was probably produced by the representation of Takhatabai; or it may be one of those revolutions in the conduct of His Highness resulting from his peculiar constitution. Having visited Vithoba Bhau, His Highness as suddenly expressed his resolution to take him to the palace; where summoning the darakdars and officers of Government, he confirmed on him the appointment of khasgidarak with the usual forms and ceremonies observed on such occasions.

22. His Highness then addressed himself to Fatesing and myself, recommending Vithoba Bhau to our mutual friendship and countenance in the transaction of his public duties, and passed high encomiums on the integrity and wisdom of the late Babaji, exhorting his son to follow an example of such acknowledged distinction.

23. The appointment of Vithoba Bhau has taken place with the perfect goodwill of His Highness, the hearty concurrence of every person present on the occasion, and with satisfaction to the inhabitants at large.

24. The public measure was not without its advantages from the little precipitation in its execution by the Raja. The investiture of Vithoba Bhau had been fully determined by Fatesing as the representative of his brother and the guardian of his rights, and the world were prepared for it.

25. The apparent precipitation therefore in the Raja may not be considered to detract from the merits of a public act of this Government, and it proved so far of an immediate advantage that the unexpected event of defeating the hopes of the persons newly engaged induced them hastily to retire and to restore peace and good order both at the palace and generally throughout this extensive town.

26. From the preceding detail the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will no doubt be happy to perceive that the persons, who influenced the Raja on this recent occasion, are men possessing neither power nor respectability. The principals were the dregs of society and of the desperate stamp which leads them to embark in any interprise affording a remote prospect of advantage. His Highness Fatesing Gaikwad, lamenting the facility of his brother's disposition, has intimated to me his intention to adopt eligible means to prevent persons of bad habits gaining access to the Raja.

27. On the dismissal of Vithoba Bhan from the palace after his investiture I accompanied him to the mansion occupied by Fatesing, and he returned with me to the Residency, where he was received with suitable marks of distinction.

28. I have the honour to submit copy and translation of the memorandum that is given with the sanad of appointment to Vithoba Bhan, and respectfully to solicit the sanction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to the annexation of my Bhandari on the part of the Hon'ble Company, as solicited by this Government.

29. This will prove an exceptionable mark of favour to the son of the late minister. The conditions of the pledge only stipulate support to Vithoba Bhan in the due discharge of the duties of his official situation and in all cases wherein his pretensions may appear equitable. It will tend to preserve to us a considerable influence in the measures of the Administration, and a justifiable claim is afforded to continue our advice on occasions where the necessity may be obvious for the public welfare, while the circumstance of extending to Vithoba Bhan the same protection and encouragement in his arduous situation, which was granted to his father, must promote the high opinion entertained of the integrity and disinterested policy of the Company's Government in all its transactions with the State of the Gaikwad.

No. 1. Bhandari to Vithalrao Bhan.

Memorandum to the Junior Vithalrao Babaji, Khasgivala.

Memorandum Your parent, the late Babaji Appaji, was invested with the khasgidarak and in the management of other public duty connected with the State; and the memorandum of agreements thereof, dated 17th January, 1807, consisting of 7 articles, was then executed; and according thereto at this present time you are invested therewith, as by separate sanad herewith provided to you. And formerly were executed in behalf of the late khasgivala several memorandums connected with the darak as well as other rights. The same will be continued to you for your engagement; as to which, and as to yourself,

including also your family and relations, that you shall not suffer unjust dealing by the sarkar, and to the same end, according to justice and to the spirit and tenor of the above memorandum, is given to you the guarantee of the Honourable English Company. Done this day at Baroda, 10th December, 1810.

Bombay resolutions.

Under the several circumstances specified in the preceding *Praise & dispatch* the Governor-in-Council cannot but applaud the Acting *Resident* Captain Carnac's firm and temperate course of procedure, which in promotion of the approved object of His Highness Fatesing (the brother of Anandrao and heir apparent to the gadi and invested by his senior with the general charge of the details of the administration) has, in concurrence likewise with the sentiments of Takhtabai, the favourite wife of the said Anandrao, so materially contributed to preserve that public tranquillity in danger of suffering interruption through the insidious machinations of the low characters and worthless description of people, who seem to have obtained too easy an access to His Highness Anandrao's presence; such as may eventually call for and justify the additional precautions that Fatesing has intimated the expediency of instituting for the purpose of more effectually guarding the public interests no less than the welfare of the Raja himself against the effects of His Highness's own facility of temper; but nothing should be undertaken on this head without the fullest approbation of the Acting Resident, who will ever make it a point to see that Anandrao be invariably treated with the greatest tenderness, deference and respect, and that no restraint be on any account attempted on his personal liberty, or in abstraction from aught of the attentions and observances hitherto applicable to his rank and dignity.

There were formerly one or two purvoes in attendance on the part of the Resident on the person or at the palace of Anandrao, through whom intelligence could hardly fail of reaching the Residency seasonably. In the event of improper persons endeavouring to obtrude themselves on his Highness's attention, a precaution which Government is disposed to view as being still well adapted (if it continues in operation) to so useful an end, and as being probably more advisable, until found to be insufficient, than any new measures that Fatesing may have in contemplation, especially when aided by the goodwill and discernment of Takhtabai, to whom the Acting Resident will take an opportunity of expressing the high sense entertained by Government of the part she thus so laudably and judiciously pursued in warding off from her husband all those inconveniences that could not fail to have ensued from his being longer induced to listen to such a set of vagabonds and pernicious advisers, none of whom, it is hoped, may be allowed to return again, but to be on the contrary kept at a due distance from the seat of his residence; nor should any Arab soldiery in particular be permitted to abide in Gujarat, from which they have already been many years ago expelled on terms of a compromise with themselves that ought to be undeviatingly followed up and adhered to.

For the rest the Governor-in-Council approves entirely of the Raja Anandrao's confirmation of Vithalrao Babaji, in the office of khasgi darak, but desires to have before him a translate of the Memorandum, before he can proceed to guarantee its contents.

1811 *Bombay, 22nd February, 1811 (1811, P. D. 370)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Bhandari to Vithalrao In obedience to the commands of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, I have the honour to submit the separate sanad referred to in the memorandum confirming Vithalrao Babaji in the office of khasgidarak; and, in conformity with the wishes of the Gaikwad Administration at large, I beg to repeat my solicitation to annex my bhandari on the part of the Hon'ble Company to the deed in question.

It will be observed that Government by this admission are only engaged to support the appointment of Vithalrao Babaji so long as he conducts the duties with rectitude; and as the engagement is merely personal, the advantages in many points of view will be obvious.

Carnac & Vithalrao I take this opportunity to offer to the consideration of the Hon'ble Board the translation of a memorandum given by me to Vithalrao Babaji in consequence of his having requested my sentiments on the points of business to which his immediate and particular attention should be directed.

In noticing the entire concurrence of Vithalrao Bhan to the general advice conveyed in the memorandum, I have much pleasure in stating that the important object of a daily attendance to the transaction of business at the Darbar of the Raja and his Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad has been uniformly observed; and if we can form any judgment of the disposition and capacity (as well as his predilection for the present system) of the Khasgi Diwan from the experience of a few months, we may safely anticipate his strict adherence to the valuable counsels of the late Babaji.

Another part of the memorandum may be worthy of remark as attaining an object which will be agreeable to the Gaikwad family and consonant, I trust, with the wishes of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, from removing the preponderance of power and patronage, hitherto enjoyed by the late Raoba's relatives to the exclusion of those persons whose pretensions from near connection with the reigning family were also plausible.

I allude to the relinquishment of mahals of superior importance by Vithal Bhan; and though it is neither the wish of Fatesingrao Gaikwad, nor have I considered it proper to encourage the measure of removing the Khasgi Diwan from the entire charge devolved on him by the death of his father, yet a becoming distribution among those persons, whose rank or services entitle them to consideration, will be conformable to justice, and disperse those feelings of jealousy and alarm which are a natural consequence of a disproportionate division of power.

No. 1. Sanad from Anandrao Gaikwad to Vithalrao Babaji.

Your parent having become a resident of Heaven, wherefore the *Sanad* duty of kiasgidarak and other business, with which he was invested, are hereby transferred to you; and the duty of the darak as well as other matters of beneficial business, do conduct with fidelity and integrity, continue to enjoy the same from generation to generation.

No. 2. Memorandum furnished by Captain James Rivett Carnac to Vithalrao Babaji.

Several articles of business were first agreed to by Babaji Sahib, *Advice* of which certain ones were left unfinished, were comprised in a separate memorandum at the time Colonel Walker departed for Kathiawar. It is advisable that you make yourself acquainted with these articles, so as to enable you to conduct the affairs and to effect the arrangement of the unadjusted points conformably to the suggestions therein communicated.

2. Darbar to be always held at Fatesingrao Baba Sahib's palace. By the transaction of public business in his presence he will become acquainted with the management of his affairs, as being the mutalik of the State. This mode of procedure will give him a proper insight into the state of his own Government and improve his capacity for public business. Important matters to be transacted at the Maharaja's palace, in the presence of His Highness; which will ensure to you the goodwill of the community; and as it has been customary here and resembles other Governments, it should guide you, being creditable to you in the eyes of the world and conformable to the wish of the Company's Government.

3. You are now in charge of certain mahals; but as you have succeeded in an important branch of public administration, a continuation of these advantages may subject you to ill will and may appear self interested; which being detrimental to your respectability, it becomes advisable that this charge be entrusted to others in concordance with the opinion of both Governments. Persons of character shall manage these affairs in a manner beneficial to the State and creditable to yourself. As this alteration promises much good, it is hoped you will not form an idea of having in consequence suffered any deprivation.

4. In the management of public affairs the welfare of the State should constitute your most anxious desire; and what measures appear advantageous to the sarkar, ought to direct your ambition; which will obviate your ever taking an interest in the prosecution of any point of business that may only be effected with injury to the public and derogatory to yourself. This is not particularly explained to you, that business may be transacted without any regard to self interest or personal advantage, but alone to keep in view a strict attention to the public welfare, which will prove not only advantageous, but will secure to you the friendship and favour of both Governments.

5. Babaji Appaji was a personage of a capacious mind, who added to a just conception of the subsisting relations of amity and good faith between the Government of the Hon'ble Company's and His Highness the Gaikwad a perfect cordiality in conducting the affairs of the State. You ought to be guided by a similar sentiment, as well as with a view to the continuance of good understanding and confidence between both Governments as to ensure to you the favour and protection of the Hon'ble Company to preserve your reputation and rights untainted and establish your further future peace and happiness in life.

Bombay orders.

The memorandum given by the Resident to Vithalrao is entirely *Approval* approved.

The Resident may be authorised to affix his bhañdari to the sanad confirming Vithalrao Babaji in the office of khasgidarak, upon the receipt of a written application from the Gaikwad Government that the Company will bestow this countenance on the measure in like manner as occurred many years ago in the instance of the readmission of the late Maneckji Desai into the Gaikwad service at Navsari, when Govindrao applied to the Chief of Surat to affix his bhandari as a sanction to the measure.

1811 *Baroda, 5th September, 1811 (1811, P. D. 379)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Khasgi- I had the honour to advert (in my letter of the 10th December
diwan's last) to the concurrence of Vithoba Bhau, on his accession to the office
mahals of khasgidiwan vacated by the death of his father, Babaji Appaji, to relinquish certain mahals on the grounds of facilitating that general distribution of power among the dependants of the Gaikwad Government, which the monopoly of power by Raoba's family had so considerably affected.

It is with much satisfaction I have now to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that the mamlatdari of the mahals noticed in the margin, hitherto under the management of the khasgidiwan, have been given to the persons whose names are annexed, and whose length of services and uniform good behaviour attracted the favourable regard of His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad.

Exclusive of the propriety of throwing every becoming patronage into the hands of the legitimate and supreme authority of this Government, in order that services may be compensated from the source to which they are directed, the measure of limiting the immense power of the ministers, so prejudicial to the rights of the Gaikwad family, is contemplated, I am happy to say, by every party with sincere satisfaction, as demonstrative, among many other examples, of the exertions of the Company's Government to establish this Government in all its rights and privileges in a condition of proper efficiency.

Satisfactory as it has proved to Fatesing and to the general class of people in this State, the relinquishment of the mahals by Vithoba Bhau, has also taken place with his sincere goodwill.

Every delicacy and consideration has at the same time been shown to the Minister on this occasion; and although it was stipulated that the measure now reported should take place some time since, it was delayed in order that no appearance of a want of confidence in his exertions or integrity could be implied, but that the proceeding has been in prosecution of a principle for the benefit and welfare of the Gaikwad State.

It was never contemplated to alienate all the mahals in charge of the Minister and his family, and those enumerated in the margin still continue subject to his management and authority, comprising a greater portion than entrusted to any other individual under this Government, the annual revenues derivable amounting to 18 lakhs of Rupees.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will be happy to find that the distinguished and arduous situation of sarsubah of Kathiawar has been conferred on Vithalrao Diwanji, commonly called Vithoba Diwanji, whose general character and capacity has been delineated in the strongest terms in Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's dispatch of the 10th January, 1809. Vithalrao
sarsubah

It is needless to add any observations to the just encomiums bestowed on the superior merits of the Diwanji, whose excellent qualities have not only secured him the confidence of the Company's Government, but the esteem and high opinion of Fatesing and the members of the family at Baroda.

Bombay minutes, dated 30th September.

Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed in reply that the conduct of Vithoba Bhan in the instance above reported, whilst it affords a decided proof of his disinterestedness, constitutes at the same time the most satisfactory indication of the moderation of his character and the reliance that may be placed on his zeal and devotion to the interests of the Gaikwad State, the prosperity of which so materially depends upon the dissolution of that undue influence, which was formerly possessed by the Gaikwad Ministers, and its distribution in the manner in which the Khasgidiwan has afforded so laudable an example. Approval

The expression of 'from generation to generation' had better perhaps not have been inserted in the original appointment. The British Government have, however, less concern with the term or extent of the prospective duration of this employment; but the Resident's blandari must certainly not exceed in words or in spirit the period of good behaviour.

It will afford great satisfaction to Government to find the favourable prospect of a strict adherence to the valuable counsels of the late Babaji fully realized by the future conduct of the Khasgidarak. The reasonable modifications the Resident has introduced, as alluded to in the 5th and 6th paragraphs, are highly agreeable to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

1812 *Camp at Amreli, 25th May, 1812 (1812, P. D. 385)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Marriage

In compliance with the request of His Highness Fatesing, whose stay at Dwarka has been unavoidably protracted, and the propriety of bestowing every mark of attention on the sarsubah Vithoba Diwanji, I request you will make known to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I have on my way to Baroda halted at this place for the purpose of being present at the marriage of the sarsubah's daughter, which accordingly took place yesterday evening.

I take this occasion of noticing that the tranquillity, which now subsists at Baroda, has induced me to request Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes to direct the squadron of H. M.'s Dragoons to return to its headquarters, a measure which became also advisable from the near approach of the monsoon.

1812 *Baroda, 3rd June, 1812 (1812, P. D. 385)*

F. D. Ballantine to Francis Warden.

Marriage

I beg you will do me the favour to bring to the knowledge of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that Vithalrao Bhau, Khasgidiwan, yesterday evening paid a visit of ceremony to the Residency and to His Highness the Raja, previous to leaving Baroda for a few days, to celebrate a second marriage at Petlad, the kasbah village of the pargana of that name, about 20 kos west from Baroda.

No. 3. BARODA RESIDENCY

THE documents mainly deal with Alexander Walker and James Rivett Carnac and their activities at Baroda. They are distributed under three headings: (1) Walker's retirement, (2) Walker's final scheme, James Rivett Carnac.

*Section A: WALKER'S RETIREMENT***DOCUMENTS**

Baroda, 13th September, 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. 246)

1808

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

I am concerned to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, the death of Madhavrao Gopal, the majmudar of this Government, on the 11th instant, aged 51 years. Madhavrao has carried with him the regret of all parties at Baroda. He was a faithful and honest servant of the Gaikwad, the adherent and friend of the late Diwan Raoba, and from principle and conviction the trusty friend to the interests of the Hon'ble Company in Baroda, whose salutary influence and moderate counsel have been of considerable benefit during the late proceedings.

I was under the necessity of attending him a short time before his decease, and extending to his family those assurances of the support and protection of the Hon'ble Company, which the late majmudar enjoyed and was so well entitled to from his services and attachment.

It would be extremely gratifying to the feelings of his family under their present circumstances, and very creditable to the character of the Hon'ble Company, were his son, Sakharam Mahadev, now 19 years of age, and who will succeed to his father's situation, to receive from Government an expression of their sense of his late father's attachment with general assurances of favour and protection to the family he has left behind.

Remark in the Diary.

Ordered that Mr. Goodwin be instructed to write a letter of Condoling condolence and protection for the Governor's signature in the terms above recommended.

Baroda, 1st October, 1808 (1808 S. & P. D. 248)

1808

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

With reference to my letter of the 13th ultimo reporting the death of Mahadavrao Tatya, I have now the honour to report the investiture of his son, Sakharam Mahadev, with the vacant office of majmudar of the Gaikwad Government, on which occasion he received the usual

present of a turban and a pair of shawls, from stock, to which I beg to solicit the sanction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. I also beg leave to request the sanction to a selah (value 50 Rupees), presented to the same person, as usual on the termination of the period of mourning.

1808 *Baroda, 30th December, 1808 (1809, P. D. 150/160)*

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

Carnac recommended

1. The period having now nearly arrived when I shall request your permission to resign the situation of Resident at Baroda, I deem it but an act of justice to the office, in which I have so long been honoured with your confidence and support, to submit with the greatest deference and respect such observations as I conceive may have some weight when the choice of my successor may become an object of your consideration.

2. During the period of seven years, in which I have been entrusted with the charge of the Hon'ble Company's interests at the Gaikwad Darbar, the views of the Hon'ble Company have been directed to certain objects of political advantage having a more intimate connection with the internal management of the Gaikwad affairs than is generally usual in political Residencies.

3. Certain causes of delicate nature called for and demanded an active interference in, and vigilant control over, every act of internal management, without which the objects of the Hon'ble Company's Government could scarcely have been attained, and the Government of the Gaikwad saved from the state of anarchy and confusion with which it was threatened.

4. The accurate knowledge, which you, Hon'ble Sir, possess of the progress of every public measure at Baroda, renders recapitulation or argument unnecessary. It will probably be admitted that a considerable part of the success, which has attended the projects of the Company's Government in Gujarat, has been produced by that intimate acquaintance with the members of the Administration and the smallest affairs of the Government, which a long residence and constant attention could alone produce.

5. It is evident that the preservation of advantages, which the Hon'ble Company have acquired in Gujarat, must be dependent in a considerable degree on a continuation of the same conduct which acquired them; for, when we reflect upon the character of each individual of the Administration of Anandrao, actuated by interest, enmity and ambition, their views and passions scarcely controlled by any consideration but their awe of the Company's Government, it would be putting too much confidence in the weakness of human nature to suppose that they would neglect to avail themselves of every advantage which the disposition of the Raja or the inexperience of Fatesing would enable them to obtain.

6. Hence, Hon'ble Sir, arises an evident necessity of placing control over them in the person of the British agent who may have to reside at Baroda.

7. This control however, from the nature of the case, can only be effectually imposed by a person whose previous habits and acquaintance both with the principles and progress of measures at Baroda enable him to follow and detect the acts of the Administration as they occur, and by the seasonable interposition of the Hon'ble Company's authority check irregularities as they may arise.

8. They will certainly require some conduct and some delicacy. Giving therefore full weight to the preceding consideration, I respectfully beg leave to solicit your attention to the claims and services of Mr. Carnac, the present First Assistant to this Residency.

9. Mr. Carnac joined me on my first arrival at Baroda in 1802. He has consequently been present at, and assisted in, the execution of every measure of the Hon'ble Company's Government in Gujarat; and I am happy on this public occasion to acknowledge and point out to the notice of the Hon'ble Company's Government my sense of the value of that Gentleman's assistance and service.

10. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council have upon several occasions recorded their testimony of approbation on Mr. Carnac's conduct and services; and the propriety and ability, with which he conducted the duties of the Residency during the absence of mine in Kathiawar, afford him an additional claim to the notice of Government.

11. Being personally known to the Gaikwad family and the Administration, and possessing every facility of colloquial intercourse, to them he would be an agent peculiarly acceptable from their previous knowledge of his habits, character and disposition; while his other local acquirements render him in every other respect an unexceptionable person to protect and preserve the Hon'ble Company's interests at Baroda.

12. To Fatesing Gaikwad in particular, with whom Mr. Carnac has cultivated a useful acquaintance, his succession to this Residency would be considered particularly gratifying. This Prince has frequently expressed his wishes to me in favour of Mr. Carnac, but more particularly in the accompanying letter to my address from his Senior, Anand Rao, which the knowledge of my intended departure from Baroda produced.

13. It may also be proper to advert to the circumstances under which this Gentleman joined this Residency. At that time his father, Mr. Rivett, was a member in the Council of the Bombay Presidency, and his views were evidently directed to obtain the establishment for his son in Gujarat by causing him to devote his time to the acquirement of that experience which might eventually entitle him to the succession.

14. It is therefore but performing a pleasing part of my duty in noticing Mr. Carnac's pretensions, acquired by the sacrifice of several years of valuable time, under the just hope that the services and situation of his father would secure him the approbation and support of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council,

No. 1. Letter from His Highness Anandrao Gaikwad to Lt.-Col. Walker.

Request The circumstance of your departure to Europe is a subject of the greatest concern to this Government, but your going is absolutely necessary and admits of no alternative. The purport of this letter is occasioned by the most perfect amity with the Company's Government. It is to say that Mr. Carnac possesses capacity, and is worthy, and has also an intimate knowledge of the friendly relations of the two Governments. In his appointment to this situation, let his attention be directed to preserve the same system of public management that has hitherto existed, which will be providing for the utmost satisfaction of this sarkar.

No. 2. Bombay approval, dated 19th January, 1809.

Approval I have the honour to acknowledge the dispatch of the date 20th December, regarding the nomination of a successor to the Residency at Baroda. For the reasons which you have assigned, and in view also to its being the expectation and request of Anandrao Gaikwad, of Fatesing, his heir apparent, and of the principal members of the native Administration at Baroda, the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has been pleased to appoint Lt. Carnac Acting Resident at Baroda until further orders, or until the pleasure of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors be known, such appointment taking effect from the period of your intended embarkation in the *Earl St. Vincent*, and being liable to revocation in the event of any circumstance occurring to prevent your prosecuting your purposed voyage to Great Britain.

1809 *Baroda, 6th January, 1809 (1809. P. D. 150/160A)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Pleading for Arabs I beg to submit to the notice of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a statement of Arab sibandi recently discharged from the Gaikwad sarkar, in prosecution of the instructions conveyed in your letter of the 29th February last. On this occasion I deem it proper with the utmost deference and respect again to submit to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the expediency of discontinuing to conceive the few remaining Arabs, who remain in Gujarat, as an object of jealousy to the English Government.

These people probably as a nation do not entertain any particular enmity against the British nation; although that portion, which has been expelled from Baroda, will feel the sentiments natural to disappointed ambition, it was the certainty that the establishment of our influence at Baroda would necessarily be attended with the downfall of their own that excited the disposition to maintain the advantages which were already in their possession. Now that our influence is established and confirmed, it is probable that the opinion of the same sentiment, but in a different way, will lead the few remaining people of this nation to cause their future conduct to coincide with their interest.

They are also undoubtedly the best infantry in the service, and a few of them are probably necessary to give some degree of respectable efficiency to that part of the Gaikwad establishment, where actual service may be expected, particularly in Kathiawar; where also, from their being dispersed among the different Chieftains of the country, they are of considerable use as mediators. There will however be no occasion to encourage their employment; and without discovering any perceptible wish for the discharge of the few who are no longer formidable, they will be found gradually to disappear from the service.

Statement of the Arab sibandi discharged from the service of the Gaikwad service in the Mahi Kantha Mulukgiri.

Personal servants	..	..	..	..	122	Arabs
Original Arabs	..	..	..	..	192	
Hindustanis	..	..	..	..	221	
Total					535	

No. 2. Bombay query, dated 14th January.

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to *Query* acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 6th of this month, submitting a statement of Arab sibandi recently discharged from the Gaikwad service, and to inform you that it is desirable to know how many Arabs yet remain in the service.

Baroda, 12th January, 1809 (1809, P. D. 150/160 A)

1809

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

I beg you would have the goodness to apprise the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that I delivered over charge of this Residency *Walker leaves* to Mr. Carnac under this date, and propose leaving Baroda today. I beg to enclose for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a copy of the instructions which I have left with Mr. Carnac, calling his attention to such points of general principles, in respect to his conduct, as may be useful in his present charge.

No. 1. Walker's instructions to Mr. Carnac, dated Baroda, 11th January, 1809.

1. You are already acquainted with my intentions of proceeding *Advice* to Bombay, in consequence of which, as First Assistant, you will have to assume charge of the duties of this Residency.

2. Your personal acquaintance with every affair in progress renders detailed instructions unnecessary, but it may be useful to call your attention to a few leading points to which it may be necessary you should conform.

3. I would accordingly recommend a frequent attendance at the Darbar both of the Raja and Fatesing. This is not only a proper mark of respect, but it is necessary from the interests the Hon'ble

Company have at stake in seeing public business carried on with regularity and preventing the occurrence of abuses and neglect, from which the Administration have so lately been relieved.

4. I would accordingly recommend you to keep a vigilant eye over the proceedings of the Administration, to take care that the arrangements, which have so recently been effected, shall not be infringed, and to guard against any meditated increase in public expenditure. The Hon'ble Company being the guarantee of these arrangements, your friendly advice on all such occasions will be acceptable.

5. It is unnecessary to recommend to you at all times the cultivation of the utmost cordiality with all the officers of the Gaikwad Government, as the experience you have had of the beneficial effects of this conduct will induce you to continue it.

6. There are a few points of general business progress, which it may be necessary you should keep in view.

7. You are already acquainted that some of the Chieftains paying tribute to the Gaikwad, who are comprised in the mulukgiri of Mahi Kantha, have been invited to Baroda with a view to conduct a permanent adjustment for their tribute principles similar to these which have already been executed in Kathiawar. The wakil of Farid Khan of Palanpur has already arrived at Baroda, and parwanahs have been issued for those of Idar, Balasinor, Mandwa, etc.

8. Upon their arrival, it will be your duty to mediate between the parties, should any difficulty arise. Generally speaking however, it will be more advisable to leave affairs to their natural course, as each party thoroughly understands its own interest, and the concessions will be mutual.

9. The object is to fix the mulukgiri payments from the Mahi Kantha and to provide for the tranquillity of the country by similar engagements as have been received from the Chieftains of Kathiawar.

10. All the dispersed members of the Gaikwad family being now united at Baroda, your attention will necessarily be directed to preserve them in the enjoyment of the provision and comfort respectively allotted to each, as well as to be watchful against the progress of any intrigue that may be hurtful to the public interests.

11. To the shroffs and moneyed men at Baroda, who have so large a stake at risk in the loans they have advanced to the Government under the Company's bhandari, I beg to recommend your constant attention and support, as well as to see that the varats in their favour and those for the Hon'ble Company's assignments (which are now becoming in a course of payment) are realised with punctuality.

12. In the course of the current year also the Hon'ble Company, in pursuance of arrangements, which are already made, are to receive from this Government in liquidation of a sum of money from

Kathiawar from 60 to 70,000 Rupees. For this sum a varat will be issued, which you will please to realise when payable.

13. Similar attention is requested to the punctual discharge of the kists or instalments of His Highness the Peshwa's revenue for the farm of Ahmadabad, which become due on the dates noticed in the margin, 1st Shravan Sudh, 1st Paush Sudh, 1st Vaisakh Sudh, as well as to the realisation of the remittances for Malharrao Gaikwad and Sunderji Pilaji to the Presidency.

14. You are personally acquainted with the recent transactions in respect to Sitaram Raoji. The letter to the address of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council under yesterday's date discloses the line of policy which it is judged expedient to pursue towards Sitaram, and will supersede the necessity of detail in this place further than to request your attention thereto and to use every delicacy and precaution to keep him satisfied and easy until the final decision of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may be received.

15. You are also apprised of the consent of Sitaram to the execution of an amended article to substitute in lieu of the 10th article of the engagement of the 29th July, 1802, which I have suspended until the decision of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is received, to whom it is under reference. This document is drawn out in the office, ready for receiving the necessary formalities; and should the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, from motives of lenity or policy, accede to Sitaram's resuming a place in the Administration of the Gaikwad Government, the execution of this document may probably advantageously precede his introduction.

16. The only remaining point that occurred to me to mention is the still existing dispute between the Nawab of Cambay and this Government, of which the records of this office will fully apprise you. The letter from the Chief Secretary, dated the 24th November last, prescribes the principles of an equitable adjustment, whenever you can bring the parties to agree.

17. I beg to conclude this letter with my best wishes for your future happiness and success in the duties which I now resign to your charge.

Bombay, 19th January, 1809 (1809, P. D. 150/160 A)

The Secretary to Alexander Walker.

1809

I have already had the honour, in my several communications *Praising* under yesterday's date, to convey the instructions and sentiments of *Walker* the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council on the important dispatches relating to the reforms of the Gaikwad State, which you have lately submitted to Government.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, having thus replied to the several interesting topics with which you have closed an active and most beneficial administration of affairs at Baroda, cannot admit of your departure for England without expressing his sincere concern on

the occasion of being thus, however [*unavoidably*] deprived of that valuable assistance, which during the last seven years has by the successful issue of an uninterrupted series of intricate and arduous negotiations of the first importance so decidedly conduced to enable this Government to attain the progress that has been effected in cementing the interests of the Gaikwad State with those of the Hon'ble Company in a manner that may, it is hoped, tend equally to the permanent advantage of both, and which no conduct seems so well calculated to attain as that of an adherence to the same general maxims of policy that have heretofore so disinterestedly regulated our connection with His Highness the Gaikwad.

The prosecution of this most difficult and delicate undertaking has been persevered in and ultimately accomplished in a manner honourable to the British name and character, and more especially creditable to its immediate representative, the Gaikwad Principality having been retrieved from the lowest state of degradation to a condition of prosperity, energy and respectability.

The numerous impediments, which you have had to contend against in the accomplishment of these beneficent views, have been firmly opposed and most happily surmounted through the beneficial operation of those rare qualities, which have been so zealously and ably applied to the organisation of the administration of our ally, the Gaikwad, in the progress of which your conduct has been repeatedly honoured by the distinguished approbation of the highest authority in India, and cannot fail of being equally appreciated by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, whose ultimate approbation, already more than once intermediately extended, will constitute, in the estimate of an officer whose unremitting attention and distinguished qualifications have been so long devoted to their service, a most gratifying and acceptable reward.

1809 *Baroda*, 19th January, 1809 (1809, P. D. 150/160A)

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

Walker's salary I beg to refer to the correspondence, which ended in my acquiescence for the time being in the orders of the Court of Directors, by which my salary was reduced from 3,000 to 2,000 Rupees per month.

2. Previous however to quitting the situation of Resident, it is but justice to myself briefly to state these arguments which, I conceive, would have some weight with Government and the Hon'ble the Court of Directors in inducing them to modify their former opinion.

3. I have reason to suppose from the repeated testimonies of the Governments of Bombay and Bengal that they have attached very considerable importance to the political duties which have fallen to the lot of the Baroda Residency to perform. It is not my intention to enumerate these duties, but it is in the power of Government to decide whether they have been less arduous or important in Gujarat than they have been elsewhere.

4. The Court of Directors founded their orders on their previous disapproval of the salary allotted to Mr. Uthoff as Resident at Goa, but it is with deference submitted that the duties of Baroda and of Goa were greatly different in extent and importance, and do not admit of comparison, if the extent of remuneration is to be estimated by the degree of personal labour and attention required.

5. Leaving however the political duties of the Baroda Residency alone, there are other circumstances, connected with it, which deserve consideration.

6. That part of the cessions from His Highness the Peshwa on account of subsidy, which are in Gujarat, the whole of the Gaikwad cessions on the same account, the district of Broach and of the Panch Mahals conquered from Sindia, fell under my management.

7. The revenue and judicial duties of this extensive range, which now gives ample employment for a Court of Circuit and Appeal, two zila judges and two collectors with their several assistants and establishments, were performed by me.

8. This was not merely the performance of an ordinary duty of routine, but one attended with unusual labour and difficulty. The resources of a new country were to be ascertained among a people with whose customs habits and prejudices we were imperfectly acquainted.

9. The revenues were to be ascertained, settled and collected. This was performed with scarce any additional expense to Government, no balances were left unrecovered, scarcely any assistance of troops or sibandi was afforded, yet public tranquillity was preserved, and the inhabitants protected, although the surrounding countries were the scene of warfare and famine.

10. The revenues thus collected exceeded 25 lakhs per annum, and they remained under my charge for two years or to the commencement of the official year 1805/6.

11. To evince in the clearest light the extent of duty I had to perform in the revenue line, I beg to annex a memorandum showing the districts which were under my charge, the period they continued so, and the revenue charges ordinary and extraordinary, attending their administration for the same period.

12. In enumerating these duties, I beg it clearly to be understood that I do not now, nor ever have regretted any labour that has devolved to me in the course of service, and in such cases I trust I have ever performed it to the best of my ability and kept the interest of my employers in view.

13. This was not however a mere contingent duty of a few months' continuance, but one which lasted for years, and was attended with all the formality, labour and responsibility of a regular Collector. I was sworn in to the due performance of the duties of this office, and the oath is on record, and I was consequently expected to perform

and did perform every duty of accounts and correspondence which any other Collector would have had.

14. I have already stated the labour of examining and ascertaining the resources of a new country with people naturally strangers to our manners and customs, as we were to their habits and prejudices, in proof of which I respectfully beg to refer to my several reports on the districts now forming two collectorships.

15. Exclusive of the usual revenue statements of hal and bakaia tauji, jama wasil and bakaia revenue and public cash accounts, books of my transactions were required with a considerable retrospect. A long and tedious correspondence ensued as to the non-performance of a duty wholly foreign to my official situation, which has since been pronounced unnecessary, as Collectors do not now furnish any books.

16. For the performance of the several duties connected with the revenue administration of the districts now composing two separate jurisdictions and collectorships, I have neither claimed or received any remuneration, but with the utmost deference and respect it is observed that the performance of the above services constitute a just claim on the liberal consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

17. Previous to entering on the above duties (it may also be proper to remark) I was entrusted with the command of an expedition against Kadi and with the conduct of the political negotiations connected with it. Being perfectly satisfied with the liberal provision of Government in fixing my salary at 3,000 Rupees per mensem, I neither charged for nor requested my expenses on that mission to be defrayed.

18. The expenses of my horses and private stud have from the date of my first arrival in Gujarat, been defrayed from my private means.

19. During my recent expedition into Kathiawar also, in command of a respectable detachment, I have drawn nothing but the reduced allowances attached to my situation at Baroda.

20. The preceding observations afford, it is presumed, abundant ground to solicit the favourable consideration of Government. If they should prove insufficient to induce Government to set aside the orders of the Court in granting the arrears of salary, they at least constitute a good foundation for soliciting the liberal attention of Government and requesting remuneration in each of the items set forth in the premises.

No. 1. Memorandum.

Broach. Received charge and made collections from September, 1803, and delivered over charge to the headman on 31st January.

Memorandum *Gaikwad cessions:* Kaira, Nadiad, Matur, Mondeh, Dholka, Vijapur, tappa of Kadi.

Received charge with beginning of June, 1803, and delivered over charge to Mr. Diggle in January, 1805.

Peshwa's cession for subsidy: Dhandhuka, Ranpur, Gogha, Chauth of Cambay, tappa of Napar.

Sindia's districts: Received charge on 15th October, 1803, and delivered over to the officers of Daulatrao Sindia on 4th February, 1804.

Revenue charges ordinarily attending the collection of the above:

1st June, 1803—30th April, 1804	Rs. 78,414-3-79
1st May, 1804—30th April, 1805	„ 1,16,048-2-71
1st May, 1805—30th June, 1806	„ 9,473-2-16
	Rs. 2,03,937-0-66

Revenue charges extraordinary:

11th May, 1804 to 30th April, 1805	Rs. 21,055-2-71	
12th May, 1805 to June	„ 1,858-0-68	
		22,913-3-39

Mr. Agan Solwy as Revenue Assistant from the 14th November, 1803, to 31st January, 1805. Rs. 1,062-2-66

Mr. Steadman from 3rd September, 1803, to 31st January, 1805. Rs. 6,773-1-34

Mr. Diggle from 14th November, 1803, to 30th June, 1805, at 400 per month. Rs. 7,826-2-66

15,662-2-66

Total revenue charges: Rs. 2,42,513-2-71

That the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may be aware of the extent of these demands, I respectfully beg leave to annex a memorandum, which simply includes the salary and latter notice of the establishment, with deference observing that I trust their liberality will not conceive the remuneration solicited either too extensive or exorbitant.

No. 2. Memorandum.

Amount of difference of salary of Col. Walker Resident at Baroda; between 2,000 Rupees and 3,000 Rupees per mensem from the 1st May, 1805, to the 31st January, 1809, being 3 years and nine months at Rs. 1,000 per mensem in 45 months. Rs. 45,000

Memorandum

Salary as collector of Broach from September, 1803 to 31st January, 1805, at 1,500 Rs. per mensem for 17 months is Rs. 25,500

At 1,500 Rs. as Collector of Kaira and dependencies from June, 1803, to June, 1805 inclusive, at 1,500 per month for 26 months is Rs. 37,500

Extra items Expense in Kadi, Kathiawar and Sindia's districts. Rs. 63,000

Rs. 1,71,000

No. 3. Letter from the Marquis of Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan, dated 2nd May, 1805.

Resident's pay The present constitution and expense of the Political Residencies, established at the Courts of the several Native Princes in India, having lately come under revision, it appears to the Governor-in-Council that the duties of the office of the Resident at Baroda might be performed with advantage to the public service by the commanding officer of the subsidiary force serving in the territories of Anand Rao Gaikwad, with a separate allowance of 2,000 per mensem in addition to his military pay and allowances.

The Governor-General-in-Council requests that you will be pleased to communicate your sentiments with respect to the expediency of this measure, and that you will be further pleased to transmit to Fort William a detailed account of the expenses of the Residency at Baroda in the last year, to enable His Excellency-in-Council to state such arrangements as may regulate the contingent charges of the Residency on the most economical principles compatible with the public service.

No. 4. Letter from Jonathan Duncan to the Marquis of Wellesley, dated 22nd July, 1805.

Resident's expenses We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the letter from Your Excellency-in-Council of the 23rd of May, desiring our opinion on the expediency of causing the duties of the office of Resident at Baroda to be performed by the commanding officer of the subsidiary force with an allowance of 2,000 Rs. per mensem in addition to those which he draws in his military capacity. The allowance thus proposed is exactly what the Court of Directors have fixed for the office by the 124th para of their commands under date the 31st of August last.

Having, in view to the instructions contained in the sequel of Your Excellency's letter now acknowledged, procured from Baroda a detailed statement of expenses of that Residency for 1804/5, we have the honour to forward it; inserting here the abstract of its contents as taken from the concurring statements of the Office of Audit at the Presidency.

1. Resident's salary	.. .. .	Rs. 3,000
2. European assistants and establishments	.. .. .	2,420
3. Table expenses	.. .. .	3,379
4. Darbar charges	.. .. .	976
5. Contingencies	.. .. .	579
Per mensem, Rupees		10,354
Per annum, Rupees		1,24,248

The Memorandum No. 3. contains a statement, recently received from the Resident at Baroda, of proposed reductions in his native establishment, amounting to Rupees 525 per month, which will so far reduce the above stated aggregate expense.

With respect to the proposed abolition of the Residency and the annexation of its duties to the station of the commanding officer, it rather appears to us that the circumstances of our intimate and in some respects peculiar connection with the Government of the Gaikwad State will be best administered, for at least some longer time, in the present form.

The circumstance thus alluded to, are those already accurately noticed in the 6th para of Your Excellency's commands of the 15th December, 1802.¹ The able and experienced minister, therein referred to, has since died; and his heir, whose influence and energies being less extensively and advantageously operative than were those of his predecessor, have conduced to render more than previously necessary a constant watchfulness on the part of the Residency for the security of the Hon'ble Company's interests combined with those of the Gaikwad State; duties that may not, we conceive, admit of being so well performed under such a divided attention as the officer in command of the contingent could find leisure to bestow on them without risk of prejudice to his professional charge.

We take this occasion to mention that, having been favoured by Colonel Close with a copy of the letter to him from Mr. Secretary Edmonstone of the 23rd May,² it may be proper here to notice that the accounts of the Resident at Baroda have ever since the institution of the office been subject to the same inspection and rules of audit as those of our civil departments under this Presidency.

In conformity to the 6th paragraph of the instructions contained in that letter, we have signified to Major Walker that the Secretary to the Residency at Baroda is in future to be designated "First Assistant to the Resident" in like manner as at the other stations of Poona, Hyderabad, etc.

Major Walker has also been furnished with a copy of the 7th and 8th paras of the same letter for his own immediate guidance; and he has been required to conform to their contents in every practicable instance, and to report separately whenever he may find it necessary to deviate from the letter and spirit of these salutary requisitions, unless in as far as may regard occasional small presents of civility to the Raja or the more immediate members of his family, which can never amount to much; but regarding which, he is also instructed to make use of all advisable discretion and economy.

No. 5. Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors, dated the 31st August, 1804.

The principle on which you have granted an allowance of 3,000 Rupees per month, besides his expenses, to the Resident at Baroda was incorrect, inasmuch as the salary granted by the Governor-General to Mr. Uthoff when Resident at Goa was deemed by us greatly to exceed a just remuneration for the duties of that

Company's orders

1. See *The Gaikwad of Baroda*, Vol. V, p. 433.

2. See accompaniment No. 8.

station. We therefore cannot give our sanction to the salary you have thus given to Major Walker, but direct that the same be reduced to 2,000 Rupees per month. We must also here observe that, although we agree to confirm your appointment of Major Walker to be Resident with the Gaikwad on account of his meritorious services from the commencement of our connection with that Government, we nevertheless deem it desirable that all such appointments should be filled by the civil servants of the Company as evidently appertaining more to the civil than the military line of the service, and in the former of which we might look at least for equal qualifications.

No. 6. Statement of expenses for the Baroda Residency for the official year 1804-05.

Account A detailed account running from page 3506 to page 3546 in the 1805 *Secret and Political Department Diary*, 169.

No. 7. Memorandum from the Resident at Baroda.

Account It gives an account of the present state of the native establishment under the Baroda Residency, contrasted with a proposed arrangement. (1805, S. & P. D. 169, pp. 3546-3548).

No. 8. Letter from Fort William to Colonel Close, Resident at Poona, dated 23rd May, 1805 (1805, Military Department No. 81, consultation 13th July, 1805).

First Assistant 6. In conformity to the orders of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, the Secretary to the Residency at Poona is in future to be designated as 'First Assistant to the Resident' and his salary is fixed at the sum of 900 Rupees per mensem from the 1st July, 1805.

7. The expenses incurred on account of presents and secret intelligence must necessarily depend in some measures on your discretion. The Governor-General-in-Council however enjoins you to be careful that these branches of the public expenditure shall be regulated in future with the strictest economy, and that the expense of presents shall on no account exceed the value of the presents which may be received by you.

8. The Governor-General-in-Council further enjoins you not to incur any extra charge of any description without the previous sanction of Government, excepting in cases in which the charge may be unavoidable. Whenever any such charge shall be incurred without the previous sanction of Government, you are required to state without delay to the Governor-General-in-Council the amount of the charge and the grounds on which it may have been made.

No. 9. Remark in the Diary.

Orders Ordered that a copy of the 6th and 7th paras of the letter from Mr. Secretary Edmonstone of the 23rd of May (1805) to the Resident at Poona, recorded under the 13th instant in the Military Department, be forwarded to the Resident at Baroda with notice that this Government deeming it proper to conform to the intentions thus ascertained

of the Court of Directors in respect to the designation of the subordinate officers at their political residencies in India, Mr. Carnac is no longer to bear that of Secretary but of 1st Assistant as formerly without otherwise affecting him.

Major Walker is to be informed that the 7th and 8th paragraphs are for his own immediate guidance, and he is required to conform to their contents in every practicable instance and to report separately, whenever he may find it necessary to deviate from the letter or spirit of these salutary requisitions, unless in as far as may regard occasional small presents of civility to the Raja or the more immediate members of his family, regarding which he is also to make use of advisable discretion and economy.

Bombay Castle, 19th January, 1809 (1809, P. D. 150/160A)

1809

Francis Warden to Barry Close, Resident at Poona.

I am directed to inform you that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has been pleased to appoint Lt. Carnac Acting Resident at Baroda until further orders, or until the pleasure of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors be known.

Bombay, 20th January, 1809 (1809, P. D. 320)

1809

Jonathan Duncan to the Court of Directors.

We cannot conclude these brief allusions to the several important topics so ably reviewed by Colonel Walker, without expressing a sincere concern at the prospect of losing by departure for England that valuable assistance which during the last seven years has so materially conducted to enable the Government to make the progress that has been effected in cementing the interests of the Gaikwad State with those of the Hon'ble Company in a manner which may, it is hoped, tend equally to the advantage of both. The Hon'ble Company will no doubt duly appreciate these able exertions of the Resident, such indeed as have already attracted, in as far as yet brought under notice, the repeated applauses of your Hon'ble Court; and it is principally by an adherence to the same general maxims of conduct, observed during this preceding period, that we may expect to consolidate and proceed in improving the amicable and desirable relations that have thus been formed.

Praising Walker

The Gaikwad Government, on the occasion of Colonel Walker's departure from Baroda, having expressed a desire to transmit to your Hon'ble Court a small token of their respect as a testimony to their sense of the benefits they have received from the Government of the Hon'ble Company, and being apprised by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker of your Hon'ble Court having established a seminary of education for the benefit of Gentlemen intended for your service in India, the Administration have judiciously preferred manifesting their respect by transmitting a considerable collection of manuscripts in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, such as the hurry of the occasion would admit of procuring.

These valuable and several of them scarce books are transmitted in the state in which they were procured, as time would not permit them to be bound and prepared. But the Raja and his heir hope they may nevertheless prove acceptable, and the Gaikwad Administration are anxious that they should be received rather as a proof of their respect and attachment to the Hon'ble Company than from any idea of their intensive value.

Catalogues of these books are enclosed, the third enclosure being that of books, which can be procured and will follow, as they may be obtained.

Lieutenant-Colonel Walker has charge of an address from His Highness the Maharaja Anandrao and from Fatesing Gaikwad to your Hon'ble Court, which that officer will have the honour to deliver to the Hon'ble the Chairman, inclusive of the aforesaid offering of books and manuscripts, which cannot, it is apprehended, but prove acceptable in view to the utility thence derivable to the Hon'ble Company's collegiate institution at Hertford, the studies of the students at which must be materially promoted by the access they will have to such a store of oriental learning.

1809 *Bombay, 4th February, 1809 (1809 P. D. 161)*

Secretary to James R. Carnac.

Changes In reference to my communication under date the 19th of last month, appointing you to the situation of Acting Resident at Baroda, I am directed to inform you that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has been pleased to nominate Captain Greenwood the 1st Assistant to the Residency, and to reduce that of 2nd Assistant, in promotion of the object which this Government has so repeatedly been enjoined to keep in view, the curtailment of the public expenditure by every practicable means.

1809 *Baroda, 20th March, 1809 (1809 P. D. 161)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Walker stays I have the honour to enclose for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a copy of a letter to Mr. Secretary Ramsay, requesting that he would have the goodness to acquaint the Hon'ble the Court of Directors that I have been induced to relinquish for the presene my intention of returning to Europe, and in consequence of this alteration the letters from the Gaikwad Government and their present of books to the Hon'ble the Court have proceeded by the *Earl St. Vincent* under the charge of Mr. Hadow.

In submitting the recommendation contained in the last paragraph to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors I trust that I may have but anticipated the sentiments of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, and under the impression of utility and propriety of the Hon'ble the Company's Government at home distinguishing their Highnesses Anandrao and Fatesingrao Gaikwads with some becoming token of personal regard, I am induced most respectfully to suggest that this measure may receive the favourable support and consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

No. 1. *Letter from Alexander Walker to William Ramsay dated on board the St. Vincent, off Cape Comorin, dated the 23rd February, 1809.*

I trust that the peculiarity of my situation may appear a sufficient apology for my addressing you. *Request*

The Hon'ble the Court will be apprised by the present dispatch from the Governor-in-Council of Bombay that I had obtained their leave to proceed on sick certificate for Europe, and embarked for this purpose on board the *Earl St. Vincent* on the 21st of January.

I have the honour to request that you would have goodness to acquaint the Hon'ble the Court of Directors that I have conceived it necessary to return to Bombay after having proceeded on the *St. Vincent* to this latitude; and that I have been induced to relinquish for the present my intention of returning to England in consequence of the desire of the Superior Government, which did not reach me until the vessel had left the harbour.

In consequence of this alteration I am under the necessity of enclosing the letters and their translates (inclusive of the lists of books) from the Gaikwad Government to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors; and the present of books from that Government intended for the Hon'ble Company's seminary of education, which the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Bombay had entrusted to my care to deliver, will now proceed in the charge of Mr. Hadow.

I would beg you most respectfully to intimate to the Hon'ble the Court that, should they be pleased to express by any suitable marks of their attention to His Highness Anandrao Gaikwad and to his brother Fatesing Gaikwad their sense of this donation of books, the circumstances would be gratifying to their allies and conducive to the interests of the Hon'ble the Company.

Bombay, 30th March, 1809 (1809 P. D. 162).

1809

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to enclose a statement of the expenses incurred by my late attempt to return to Europe as far as this circumstance has come within the knowledge of my agents, and which, I request, you will be so good as to submit to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. *Expenses*

Letter from Mr. Crawford to Alexander Walker.

I cannot with great exactness state the amount for our payment on account of your passage money and other expenses, which you have been put to; but which, I can safely say, do not fall short of eleven thousand Rupees. *Expenses*

Baroda, 19th May, 1809 (1809, P. D. 332) Alexander Walker to Francis Warden. 1809

I request you will be pleased to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of my arrival at this Residency today, and that I have resumed my intercourse with the Gaikwad Government on the former *Return to Baroda*

friendly and cordial footing. The usual ceremonies of attention and of respectful etiquette were observed on this occasion by the Administration; but their detail is superfluous, as it would be merely to repeat a relation already well known to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

In reporting my arrival at Baroda, I cannot however omit mentioning the order, tranquillity and satisfaction which are everywhere apparent; and while this appearance affords a pleasing and satisfactory contrast to the state of turbulence and licentiousness which marked the origin of our intercourse with the Gaikwad Government, it furnishes the most satisfactory testimony of the sound judgment and propriety of conduct which have enabled the Acting Resident not only to preserve, but to promote the advantages which the country has derived from its connection with the Hon'ble Company.

1809 Baroda, 9th June, 1809 (1809, P. D. 334)

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Carnac
Acting Resident I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th ultimo, announcing that in consequence of my having reassumed my functions as Resident at Baroda, the Acting Resident had been directed to resume his situation as First Assistant.

In replying to this letter I request you would have the goodness respectfully to suggest to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the apparent expediency of continuing to Mr. Carnac the designation of Acting Resident at Baroda.

The arrangement appears expedient with a view to my absence from that station, and because Mr. Carnac will have to conduct all the details of the situation during that absence. It may also be necessary and useful to the interest of Government that his exertions should be supported by all the influence that can result from form and those observances which create attention and respect.

Having also generally arranged with the Accountant General for preserving those expenses, incident to my situation at a distance from the seat of the Residency, separate and distinct, the arrangement now suggested may be further necessary to enable Mr. Carnac to transmit the accounts of the Residency direct to Bombay and thereby prevent the inaccuracy and inconvenience which may result from the delay of a protracted reference to me.

Bombay remarks.

Approval In strict propriety, there cannot be a Resident and Acting Resident on the duty of the Residency at one and the same time: but for the reasons assigned by Colonel Walker, particularly in respect to the expediency of keeping up the political influence of Mr. Carnac at Baroda, during the Resident's absence in Kathiawar, Government acquiesce in the suggestion he has made of his First Assistant continuing to be officially designated under the title of Acting Resident, of which the Resident and the Accountant-General are to be advised.

Fort St. George, 3rd November, 1809 (1809, P. D. 346)
Governor-General (Lord Minto) to Jonathan Duncan.

1809

Copies of your dispatches of the 2nd and 21st of July, containing transcripts of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's reports of the success of the military operations under his direction in Kathiawar, have been transmitted to me by the Government of Fort William. The momentous concern and urgent points of public business, which have necessarily engaged my time and attention since my arrival at this Presidency, have alone prevented an earlier acknowledgment of the receipt of those satisfactory communications, and suspended on my part that public tribute of applause, which is due to the able and successful exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker and to the zeal and gallantry of the officers and troops under his immediate command in the execution of the late important services in Gujarat.

To the prudent and judicious measures of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker and to the overawing influence of the body of troops which he conducted is principally to be ascribed the peaceable surrender of the Fort of Khandadar. It would have afforded me the highest satisfaction if the necessity of active operations against the fortress of Malia and the consequent effusion of blood had been precluded by the uncontested surrender of that fortress also. At the same time I cannot but appreciate the public benefits to be derived from a manifestation of the irresistible prowess of the British arms in that remote quarter, so signal as that which has attended the assault and capture of the fort, nor exclude from my mind the gratification naturally excited by this addition to the brilliant achievements which have distinguished the exertions and illustrated the renown of the army of the Establishment of Bombay.

I request that you will convey to Lieutenant-Colonel Walker the expression of the high sense which I entertain of the judgment, ability and seasonable energy manifested by him on this occasion, and of the military skill, intrepidity and courage which distinguished the exertions of the officers and men of the detachment employed in the execution of this arduous enterprise. I deeply lament the casualties which have attended it and the loss of those brave and valuable officers and men who have nobly fallen, a sacrifice to the glory and interests of their country. Yet it is a source of satisfaction and an additional testimony of the activity and courage of the troops that the casualties were not more extended, when difficulties so arduous and resistance so determined were to be overcome.

Board's resolution.

Ordered that a copy of the preceding letter be communicated to Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, containing a just and merited tribute of applause to the course of measures he has pursued in Kathiawar and to the gallantry and exertions of the detachment under his command.

Bombay, 13th January, 1810 (1810, P. D. 351)
Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

1810

The subject of the letter, which I had the honour to address, under date the 19th January last (See letter of 19th January 1809) being, I request

understand, still undecided, I trust I may be permitted to add a few observations to those which I there respectfully submitted.

2. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council being fully aware of the causes which induced my return, to resume the situation of Resident at Baroda, it is unnecessary to detail them; but I may be permitted to express a respectful hope that the occurrences of the last year will not be found to diminish my claim to the liberal consideration of Government or of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.

I feel fully sensible of the liberality that dictated the order by which the expenses of my passage were reimbursed, but it requires no argument to establish that a passage to Europe actually undertaken, could not be relinquished without other pecuniary sacrifices much larger than the simple loss of the passage money.

4. To the observations already submitted in my former letter it may be also added that the principal part of the past year has been occupied in another expedition, during which no other allowances have either been drawn for or claimed than those incident to my situation as Resident at Baroda. The expedition, it may be noticed, has also been attended with rather the uncommon circumstance of its having actually produced funds to discharge its extra expenses.

5. I respectfully beg leave to add a continuation of the memorandum, which I submitted in my letter of the 19th January last (1809), and which with the above additional remarks, I respectfully hope, may be included in any recommendation which the Governor-in-Council may be pleased to submit to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, whose liberality, I have every confidence, will not permit the circumstance of the past year to operate to the prejudice of my claims to their indulgence and favour.

No. 1. Memorandum.

<i>Claim</i>	Lieutenant-Colonel Walker ceased drawing the salary of 3,000 Rupees per mensem on the 30th April, 1805, the difference since that period to the 30th January, 1810, for 57 months, at Rs. 1,000 per mensem, is	Rs. 57,000
	Salary as Collector of Broach from September, 1803 to the 31st January, 1805, at 1500 Rs. per mensem, for 17 months	Rs. 25,500
	Salary as Collector of Kaira and dependences from June, 1803 to June, 1805 inclusive, at 1500 Rs. per month, for 25 months	Rs. 37,500
		<hr/> Rupees 63,000

No. 2. *Kathiawar expenses.*

No. 1. Summary of Col. Walker's contingent or miscellaneous *Claim* charges during his last progress through Kathiawar :

Charges extraordinary	Rs. 6,505-0-70
Darbar charges	„ 8,156-3-33
Contingencies	„ 1,104-0-43

Rs. 15,766-0-43

Dead stock „ 76-2-50

Rs. 15,842-2-93

This is the total amount of the extra expenses on the civil department of Lieut.-Col. Walker's expedition.

From this also is to be deducted the amount of horses transferred to the cavalry Rs. 2,500-0-00

Leaving only Rs. 13,342-2-93

No. 2. Loss on money remitted to Surat by the orders of Government originally received from the Collector's Office. This is a question which has no concern with the expedition, and it may be observed that the exchange is at a rate believed to be more favourable than if the same had been remitted from Kaira: Rs. 1,631-1-00

No. 3. Charges on account of the Supreme Government, and authorised by them previous to the expedition into Kathiawar, and would have been incurred independent of the service, to which therefore it does not appear it can be charged : Rs. 2,745-0-00

Rs. 5,343-2-81

Rs. 8,088-2-81

Minutes, 23rd January.

Ordered that a copy of the preceding summary and of the Civil Orders Auditor's statement of Col. Walker's contingent charges during the late expedition be forwarded to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone, requesting to know whether His Lordship thinks fit that the part thereof, which Col. Walker considers to have been incurred on account of the Supreme Government (*viz.*, Rs. 8,088-2-81) may be debited to that Government.

Baroda, 31st January, 1810. (P. D. 352) Alexander Walker to the 1810 Hon'ble Board.

Previous to my final departure for Europe, I deem it my duty *Pleads for* respectfully for the last time to notice to your Hon'ble Board the *Shastri* merits, services and attachment of Gangadhar Shastri with a view to solicit that encouragement and continued protection which he is so justly entitled to for his meritorious exertions and fidelity.

As a native of a part of India subject to the Hon'ble Company, his attachment and devotion to their interest is the more remarkable; and without friends it is only in the justice, the encouragement and protection of the Hon'ble Company's Government that he can look up to for support against those enemies whom the measures, he has been so zealously engaged in, may have raised against him.

I respectfully beg leave to add that the ultimate hope of this faithful adherent of the Hon'ble Company is to retire to Benares and spend the remainder of his life under the immediate protection of their Government; and I trust that, when this design shall be put in execution, he may hope to receive from the liberal patronage of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Bombay such notice of his services and attachment as may be creditable to our Government and render his retirement happy and comfortable.

Minutes, 1st February.

The Colonel to be advised that, whenever the Shastri shall retire to Benares, he will be furnished with a recommendatory letter to the Supreme Government, in which the preceding mention of his services will be recapitulated.

Section B: WALKER'S FINAL SCHEME

DOCUMENTS

1810 Bombay, 4th April, 1810 (1810, S. D. 264)

- *At a Consultation: Jonathan Duncan's minute of 31st March, 1810.*

*Comment
on Walker's
letter*

I beg to deliver in a letter and accompaniment that Colonel Walker left with me, bearing date the 20th of January last, in the intention that it might be referred with such remarks, as the Board might offer thereon, by the opportunity of the dispatch of the Court of Directors, its object being to restore to the Gaikwad Government all the territory it has ceded as security for [the] subsidiary [force] for the considerations therein mentioned, such as, if appearing acceptable under the Colonel's present elucidations or those that he meant himself to lay before the Hon'ble Court more in detail on his arrival in England. The whole of the civil, and fully half of the military charges now incurred, within the limits of the collectorship at Kaira, might become a net future saving to this Presidency, since the charges in question could not prove longer requisite. With reference merely to the two small and, in that case, only remaining revenue districts of Dhandhuka and Gogha, cessions from the Peshwa, which it would under the first suggested modification become obviously advisable to place, together with the Gaikwad's own inam or free grant of the few villages composing the taluka of Kaira, again with the latter State, which must operate a saving of above two lakhs of Rupees in the mere reduction of the judicial and collecting charges within the lands proposed to be

thus restored; and if with this be included a proportionate reduction in the Court of Circuit and Appeal for the division of Broach, or rather perhaps the entire establishment of that Court, which it might scarcely be necessary, under the strict regard to economy we are required to hold in view, to keep up for the two remaining jurisdictions of Surat and Broach, these retrenchments would aggregate nearly three lakhs of Rupees per annum; with which, if there should be included the reform of a battalion of sepoy (which might, I apprehend, be, in reference to the pressing obligations on us to every practicable economical expedient, admitted of in consequence of so extensive a circumscription of our territory) that would swell the reduction to four lakhs and seventy two thousand Rupees; to which, if there be added the troop of cavalry, which, having been raised chiefly in view to these northern acquisitions, might, on their being given up, be also dispensed with, (especially if we be likely to retain on this side of India one of his Majesty's Dragoon Regiments;) the entire saving would thus stand at about Rupees 5½ lakhs per annum.

Amount charges of the Collectorship of Kaira Rs.	1,14,136-2-90
Judicial or for the zilla adaulat	„ 60,211-3-92
Police	„ 40,000-0-00
Add for Court of Circuit and Appeal	„ 77,902-2-72
A battalion of sepoy in garrison, at 18,000 Rs. per mensem	¹ Rs. 1,80,000-0-00
Troop of cavalry, at Rs. 6,500 per month.	„ 78,000-0-00
	<hr/> Rs. 5,50,251-1-52

5. In the preceding figured statements, taken from material furnished by the Deputy Account-General, the annual expense of the Court of Circuit and Appeal for the Division of Broach is taken on its existing reduced scale of two members. If therefore it should be determined to restore it to its original complement of three judges, the saving might be taken at from twenty to thirty thousand Rupees more than here exhibited; making altogether, on that particular account, about one lakh; and, should it under these circumstances be deemed advisable to retain the establishment of this provincial Court of Circuit and Appeal, notwithstanding the eventual abrogation of one-third its jurisdiction, then the saving, brought forward in the accompaniment, should be taken at only about four and a half, instead of five and a half lakhs of Rupees per annum.

6. There is, no doubt, against the measure of the restoration of territory thus alluded to, as suggested by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, the tendency, it might be deemed by some to have, to diminish our local influence in that part of the province of Gujarat; but, as long as we maintain the military influence to the province, any ill consequence

1. In a letter from Calcutta, dated 25th September, 1810, para 6, footnote, it was pointed out that this result was wrong, Duncan remarked in his minute of the 1st November, 1810, that the monthly expenditure was wrongly put down at 18,000 instead of 15,000 Rs. The total yearly expenditure of Rs. 1,80,000 was correct.

from such a source is not perhaps very seriously to be apprehended much more perhaps than has been experienced in Mysore or in Oudh; and how far any apprehension of that description should weigh against so obvious a pecuniary amelioration in the actual distressed state of the affairs of the Hon'ble Company our Hon'ble Employers must probably be deemed the most competent to decide. At the same time that to assist them in forming a judgment on the question it might, I conceive, be advisable to submit a copy of Colonel Walker's letter to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General at Fort Saint George with a notice of the reference we purpose making of it to the Hon'ble Court, to the end that His Lordship may furnish the latter with such remarks thereon as may occur.

No. 1. Letter from Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan, dated 20th January, 1810.

Walker's proposal 1. Being on the point of departure for Europe, I naturally feel that anxiety for the interest of the Hon'ble Company which may be supposed to result from long period of service, and am of course more particularly interested in the prosperity of that portion of the Hon'ble Company's affairs, which has been committed to my management. It is probably therefore a duty to suggest any plan, by which the interests of my Employers can be promoted, such as I would willingly believe to be the case with that which I have now the honour respectfully to submit to your consideration.

2. At the present moment, when the amount of the Company's debt is so much an object of natural solicitude, and principles and practice of any economy are so strongly enforced, any scheme, the object of which is to diminish the one and promote the other, may deserve attention.

3. I am inclined to conceive that the mutual interests of the Hon'ble Company and the Gaikwad might be promoted, the resources of the Gaikwad improved, the power and influence of the Hon'ble Company increased by restoring to the Gaikwad the districts, received on account of subsidiary, for an equivalent in money, which the vast means at the disposal of the moneyed men in Gujarat would enable them to perform.

4. By the adoption of this suggestion I should conceive that a sum exceeding a crore of Rupees, or upwards of a million and a half sterling, might be raised; the application of which sum to the payment of debt would save an outlay on account of interest nearly or wholly equivalent to the subsidy and, besides, save a considerable expense to the Company in relieving them from the charge of these districts.

5. This suggestion, it must be observed, does not suppose the alternation of any part of the engagements now subsisting with the Gaikwad; on the contrary, they would derive additional strength from this circumstance, and our subsidiary treaty of alliance and all our influence in Gujarat would still remain unimpaired.

6. Many arguments probably may be found to support this suggestion, but on the present occasion it may be sufficient to observe

that, should the prosecution of this design be found worthy of the attention of the Company's Government, I conceive it would be the means of gratifying the feelings and confirming the attachment of our ally, the Gaikwad, in a manner most satisfactory to him and honourable to ourselves.

No. 2. Memorandum from Colonel Walker with reference to the subject of his address to Government of the 20th January, 1810.

The plan, which is suggested for the raising of a large sum of *Walker's* money on the Company's Jaidad in Gujarat and appropriating the *reason* amount to the discharge of a corresponding portion of the Company's debt, is founded on the extraordinary association of men of large property in Gujarat.

The facility, with which the large loans were raised for the service of the Gaikwad State, is a proof of the great wealth which exists, in the country, especially when it is considered that three loans were raised on security less certain and inferior in value to the Company's subsidy jaidad. A loan of 70 lakhs of Rupees was recently subscribed at Baroda with the greatest readiness and facility; and this was performed by a few shroffs only, and excluded many who would here been happy to have contributed. Gujarat indeed is the resort of most of the Firms of India. Hari Bhakti, Maizal Narayan, Mangal Parekh, and Ratanji Kandas are shroffs of the country, but recently Balkisan Seth of the Firm of Parbhudas, otherwise Khushalechand Ambaidas, for the sake of securing his person and property in Gujarat, has sacrificed his pretensions in Sindia's employ at the expense it is supposed of upwards of a million sterling. Trivedi Arjunji Nathji also has established a principal branch of his Firm at Baroda, and has been deeply engaged in the recently pecuniary transactions. In fact or such security as would be afforded, the moneyed would be happy to subscribe their portions, while the extraordinary assemblage of men of wealth must afford the most satisfactory proof of the increasing prosperity of the Government of Baroda.

It may here be observed that by the time the Court of Directors arrive at a decision on the suggestion submitted, the advances, that have been recently made to the Gaikwad Government by the shroffs at Baroda, will have reverted to their offers, and their funds will again be replenished to answer the new demand.

As this proposition is novel and involves some important considerations, the Court of Directors are probably the only persons who are able to decide upon it. When however it is reflected that its operation secures a very important diminution of public debt, and that neither the influence, power or resources of the Company are impaired, it may certainly deserve every attention.

Bombay orders.

Ordered that the above papers be circulated for the perusal and *Orders* consideration of the members of the Board, the subject of them being in the mean time kept a profound secret, and it being intended to transmit the whole to the Court of Directors by the *Charles Grant*,

according to the expectation expressed to that effect by Colonel Walker on his departure.

1810 *Bombay, 18th April, 1810 (1810, S.D. 164)*

At a Consultation, No. 1. Mr. Lechmere's minute.

Minute of dissent

As the question now before the Board is just at this crisis of public affairs of that magnitude and national importance which renders it indispensably obvious that no authority short of the Hon'ble Court of Directors can with propriety decide on it, it may perhaps be superfluous, if not obtrusive, my giving any opinion on the question. As the advantages or disadvantages of adopting the measure or rejecting it are in my mind so prominent and conspicuous as to preclude the possibility of their escaping the observation and wisdom of our Hon'ble Employers, I shall only briefly state in general terms that, after the most mature, attentive and deliberate contemplation of this great and important national question, I think the proposition delusive; and I am most clearly of opinion that the adoption of the measure will be ruinous to the State, destructive to our interest in Gujarat and in India generally, subversive of the very ends we have for these last eight or nine years been labouring to accomplish in favour of the Gaikwad State by relieving them from the bankruptcy and thralldom we found them in, subversive, in my opinion, of the principles of that justice under the plea of which we interfered with the concerns of Gujarat, and the still greater evil of involving that State in an enormous debt accumulating at an exorbitant interest of from ten to fifteen per cent. per annum; for which debt the Hon'ble Company by the terms proposed become *bhandari*, *i. e.* indirectly, if not absolutely, guarantee; and thus, to gain a little present aid to our concerns, we involve the interest of our ally; and lastly, if the Hon'ble Court should think it advisable to adopt the measure in question, I am fully convinced it will not ultimately realise to them the annual saving in their establishments proposed, for they cannot reduce their military establishment a single man, which is, as the Commander-in-Chief has already stated to the Board, at present inadequate to the duty expected from them; nor can they with justice and equity throw out of employment so large and so meritorious a proportion of their civil servants. When I look at the present state of public affairs at home as well as in India, and view the hosts of enemies we have to contend with, I cannot contemplate the evils, that most assuredly will arise if this measure be adopted, without fear and trembling. The motives that have actuated our policy for nine years past towards Gujarat, Kathiawar, etc. must be fully known to the Hon'ble Court; and it is they alone that must determine on the propriety of the present important question. It was my wish to have refrained from giving any opinion on this subject; but, as it has been deemed necessary that the Board should state their sentiments, I trust the Hon'ble Court will receive these observations with lenity proportionate to the deference with which they are given.

No. 2. Mr. Rickards' minute.

The evils of empire

The letter from Colonel Walker, now brought forward, involves a question of great political importance, on which I shall take the liberty of offering a few concise remarks. Time will not admit of a lengthened

discussion, as it is proposed to be submitted to the Hon'ble Court by the *Charles Grant* to sail in a few days.

2. I have often advocated the curtailment of the Company's territorial possessions in India, and have even reiterated propositions to this effect to the Gentlemen in England; one object of which, too, as here suggested, was the means of raising funds to pay off or diminish the Company's debt.

3. That our territories are now too extensive, that our aggrandisement is an object of universal discontent and dismay, that it has superinduced a preferable attention to foreign policy rather than to the improvement of internal resources, that our strength and pecuniary means are consequently wasted on remote objects, that it is a system essentially warlike and incurring heavy expense, that military pursuits will be the chief object of all Governments where a military ascendancy is found to prevail, that peace is now a vain hope, and that constant hostility internal or external has been the consequence of extended empire and will inevitably continue to employ both our arms and resources without some radical change must be evident to those who have reflected on the series of events during the late years in India, compared also with those which present to our view a picture of striking resemblance, though on a grander scale, in the European commonwealth.

4. I am of opinion however that curtailment of territory, if it takes place at all, should rather be regulated by general principles, applicable to our possessions at large and to the state of our neighbours, than by any supposed advantages of local and limited effect; and that it should be founded on a far broader basis than the trifling reduction of a few public servants or of a small portion of public debt, whilst millions are accumulating in other quarters.

5. Our most valuable possessions taken collectively are the Bengal Provinces; and in arrangements of the nature above suggested due regard should be had to the guarding and strengthening of that portion of our dominions and to the checks it may be necessary to establish against neighbours or rivals likely to assail us in that quarter. It is in this view that the line of demarcation ought to be drawn, when all beyond it might be advantageously surrendered. But this, it is evident, must require profound deliberation, minute cartographical and statistical inquiries, and a most comprehensive view both of immediate effects and of probable remoter consequences. Neither do I think it should be decided by any distant authority, but by the greatest talents that can be assembled on the spot to bestow on a question so complicated and important the most grave, deliberate and undivided attention.

6. As to the possessions on this side, I incline to the opinion for reasons to be hereafter detailed, that, under the present circumstances of India more especially, they cannot be separately or partially reduced without danger.

7. The advantages of Bombay consist in its commercial site, importance and resources, unequalled harbour and means of naval accommodation, and its situation on the western coast considered relatively to Europe and to the Poona Marathas. These are too well known to require amplification. The advantages of Gujarat (including all we hold to the northward) may be referred to its particular position, considered in respect to the other greater Powers of India, its internal resources, and to its frontier position in regard to the western Powers.

8. *First:* Whether or not any plan of general curtailment and consequent partition of territory be seriously entertained, a regular system of check, in respect to the contemrinous Native States, cannot be denied to be of the highest importance. An inspection of the coloured map of India will show that the distance from the eastern Bombay of Gujarat, say Songarh, to that part of the Nizam's territory formerly possessed by us, and now in fact occupied by a large detachment of British troops, is but short, the intervening country being open; that the northern boundary about Palanpur and Dungarpur is not far removed from the Jumna; and that armies stationed at these points, ready to move in any required direction or to co-operate, if necessary, with forces from Bengal or Bundelkhand, would give a weight to our foreign politics widely felt by those Powers in India most likely to retain, if not most able to improve their present formidable degree of strength.

9. To this head may also be referred the policy of a local act, of the nature recommended, in its effects on the other subsidised Powers; and whether it may not excite expectations or demands in other quarters, calculated to embarrass our more extended political relations. The obvious deductions from this argument would still further support the suggestion above offered, *viz.* that curtailment of territory should be a general, not a partial measure. The one might be rendered unquestionably safe, the other is at least liable to the risk of injurious consequences. It might also be asked whether the measure should not be general to be strictly just.

10. *Secondly:* The internal resources of Gujarat are great. Its wealth, both landed and commercial, is from the description given of it very considerable, and it is likely to continue one of the richest portions of our eastern empire; for independent of its rich merchants and shroffs it contains a race of landed proprietors whose rents are comparatively speaking but moderately assessed to the public revenue. The sums capable of being raised in that quarter on emergent occasions would almost surpass belief, if the fact were ascertained. These will ever be at the command of the Company's Government, while its power and influence remain unimpaired. With any material diminution thereof the continuance of at least the same extent of advantage may reasonably be questioned. In estimating the value of these resources to ourselves we should also seriously consider both the consequences and the chances of their being possessed by enemies.

11. The interference of our Government in the affairs of Gujarat is moreover liable to less objection than might be urged against most,

if not the whole of, our other late acquisitions. It was earnestly and long solicited by the Gaikwad Government, before it was given; and when given, it may be said not only to have saved that State from impending ruin, but lately to have retrieved the almost desperate condition of its affairs.

12. It is hence a matter of no small importance to know precisely both the means and the consequences of a levy of one crore of Rupees or upwards to be paid at once for the territories restored. The Gaikwad can only raise it by mortgaging this or some other part of his territorial revenue; and if his finances should thence be involved in fresh embarrassments, an evil of serious magnitude would be generated, highly desirable to be avoided as long as we continue to exercise a predominant influence in that quarter. The offer of territorial surrender might be so alluring to the Gaikwad as to render him careless of the conditions on which the price of redemption was to be provided. The money might be raised on terms that would involve certain future distraction, in which case we could neither in justice or policy refuse our interposition, and this at a time when the difficulties, if not the expense of restoring order might be greatly enhanced.

13. *Thirdly:* But of the policy of weakening or strengthening Gujarat, a better judgment may be formed after considering its frontier position in respect to the western Powers.

14. I have never yet given into the apprehensions, which have very generally prevailed, of a probable invasion of India from the West by the forces of Buonaparte. It has ever appeared to me that he has sufficient to occupy all his talents and all his power within the mutual boundary of Europe and Asia. He may skirmish a little beyond it but in feeble attempts calculated to delude, to excite alarm, or to create expense, and little to be compared with those greater energies that he has been accustomed and will still be compelled to exercise within the other sphere. Even admitting that he may ere long subjugate the whole of Europe, his yoke will neither be light or stable, or his new subjects mere machines; and like other great conquerors he may find more difficulty in the retention even of the least than in the making of the most brilliant and extensive conquests, a far greater army necessary to keep than to acquire the territory he has added and will doubtless still add to his unwieldy empire. I should therefore anticipate that he may never be able to spare a French army from Europe, of sufficient force and efficiency to reduce India also to his sway; or if he attempts it, that the means of effectual resistance, if not misused, are still within our power.

15. Though little alarmed by the threats of a French invading force in India, I by no means think our situation devoid of danger even from western foes.

16. In this estimate we may pass over the smaller Powers who, I should hope, may be found on experience to be rather additional defences in the long extended barrier than objects of great jealousy and harm. The greater Powers, however, will always require the eye of

attention and vigilance. In this number I should especially class Kabul and Kandahar, Persia and Sind. The former are distant and at present perhaps friendly disposed. Sind however has shown an excessive, nay, hostile degree of jealousy of the British Power. Its means of intercourse with Jodhpur are now ascertained to be much easier than was formerly supposed; and Jodhpur, a country of great resource and strength, bordering Gujarat on the north, is at the devotion of Mir Khan, our present declared enemy, through whose influence and power the present Raja Makansingh was placed on the throne. We may therefore in reality consider these countries as four great Muhammedan Powers capable of being leagued by religious as well as political ties; for, independent of the influence of Mir Khan in Jodhpur, the Raja is now actually supported as a kind of state-prophet, if not prisoner, on his throne by the power of another Muhammedan, Nawab Ibrahim Khan, who placed him there.

17. Though some of these countries are far removed from Gujarat, the immediate subject of discussion, they are still capable of exercising direct influence in respect to it. Persia, for example, may shortly have it in her power to influence the councils both of Kabul and Sind, either jointly or separately. Many circumstances might combine to give her an influence over both, the latter being a tributary of the former; or from the jealous nature of the Sind Government, Persia, if necessary, might easily detach her from the Kabul State to prosecute French schemes on India; and if joined with Jodhpur, whose alliance in such case it would be neither doubtful nor difficult to secure, a formidable combination is at once established on the Gujarat frontier [*requiring*] necessary forces to counterpoise, or whose eventual invasion we may very possibly be required to expel.

18. Whenever therefore Buonaparte shall have sufficient leisure from his European schemes, it must be obvious, I think, to every one that a French embassy will be forced back into Persia. It may not be dispatched till circumstances may ensure or compel its favourable reception; and when it does occur, I think it must be equally obvious that Persia, threatened with a French force on one side and a Russian on the other, threatened in fact with certain annihilation, will as certainly give in to the fullest extent of the French projects on India, even though she were now bound in brotherly attachment to the British Government, and though millions were intermediately expended in confirming her affection. We might then expect some attempts on our Indian possessions, either with the aid of a small French or Russian force (for a large one I think can never be devoted to this object), or perhaps an entire Asiatic force under the direction and discipline of French officers; and in view to such a contingency, which is at all events possible, it will be for those, with whom the guardianship of the general frontier rests, to judge whether the policy of weakening or that of strengthening the Gujarat position be best calculated to promote general security.

19. But whenever this shall occur, and late events in Europe may be thought to increase the probability, it is still more alarming to reflect that the whole of our danger will not be from abroad. In the

case supposed I think we may confidently anticipate that our tributaries and dependants in India, together with those on whom we have forced, and those who have yet to dread, a subsidiary alliance, will cordially join in common league either openly to assist or secretly to favour a western invasion. In a country where independence is highly valued, and where the prejudices of religion and of caste inspire even extraordinary notions of personal superiority, a state of subjugation or dependence can be pleasant to none of the Native Powers; to many it is intolerable. In the latter, more especially, we accordingly perceive feelings of humbled and disappointed pride, a feverish sense of degraded honour, and an eager desire of emancipation from the British yoke; while those who are yet free, must often look abroad to apprehend that submission to it may be their fate next. Numerous native officers of distinction, who have been thrown out of employment by this overthrow of the ancient order, tend by their intrigues and complaints to keep up the spirit of discontent in greater vigour and to disseminate it more widely.

20. It is therefore vain to say that we have added either to our comparative strength or real security by an extended empire. We now know and feel that we have not the power to retain; what we have acquired is at this moment suspended in a doubtful balance. Neighbours [*that*] be sure, and some of them troublesome, are no more; their possessions [are] effaced from the map of India, and the red mark of the British Empire is seen fearfully extended from the Sutlej to Cape Comorin. But we have not added all these resources to our own; we are not strong in the strength of the conquered, "we are only safe in their weakness;" and the time may justly be apprehended, perhaps it is not far distant, when one universal crash shall retort annihilation upon ourselves.

21. Against this day of retribution there appears to me to be no effectual safeguard without the general curtailment of territory above suggested and the re-establishment of that system of federation or balance of the power of States, united in political or commercial intercourse, which was formerly in force on the continent of India, began to be daily better understood, and affords, when fully acted up to, the best, if not the only security which human ingenuity can derive against the projects of ambition or the ruinous effects of reciprocal enmity. In this system unavoidable hostility is counterpoised by the certain support of some friend; it is also mitigated and tempered by the interest which each State ultimately feels in the preservation of the whole; but conquest like tyranny is "one and indivisible;" it can suffer no brother near the throne, it stands singly supported, but universally hated; and depends even for security on bearing down all that have power or the semblance of opposition.

22. These seem to me to be some of the most important points to which the question of territorial surrender in Gujarat may be referred. Viewing its geographical position, its bearings in respect to the western and to the greater Maratha Powers and to Bengal, its superior advantages, both from internal resources and locality over other comparatively

useless possessions, combining these with our limited means of supporting an independently efficient force, and the delay and difficulty of relief, when necessary from other parts and [*keeping*] more especially in view the actual circumstances of Indian policy, I think, would clearly dictate that we should improve rather than impair our strength in Gujurat. Whether for check or for offensive operations, its importance cannot be doubted, whilst to be really respectable, useful and efficient, whether at home or abroad, it is I think equally evident that we ought to be independently strong. The measure of partial surrender, considered in respect to the other subsidised Powers might also be questioned, as before intimated, on the grounds of impartial justice. But, if the wisdom of superior authority decrees otherwise, if either now or in any future general arrangement for India this portion of the Empire should be deemed of little relative importance, it might then, I think, be fairly debated, insulated as these our western possessions are, whether complete surrender would not be more politic and even more productive than a retention of territory too limited for a commanding weight in the scale of Indian politics, perhaps too limited for effectual local sway or defence, and therefore burdensome on the general resources, without the return of commensurate advantages, where diminished power or internal distraction might also give to foes fresh motives for attack and thereby add to the perils and difficulties of the situation with our means of meeting either much reduced.

23. As to the question of general entailment of territory and recurrence to a federation system of free and independent States, I should think it peculiarly worthy of the attention of a great and commanding Power, situated like that of Britain in the East. Her influence in the general balance may always be great. With the certainty of her moderation and forbearance she will be sure of many friends; but the moment of extension is the signal for alarm, and the progress of an exterminating policy serves but to generate combinations and hate, ultimately dangerous and most probably fatal to her own existence. It is very true that the duration of a conqueror's power may vary under various circumstances. Over barbarous nations it may continue for several generations, but probably much shorter over nations of internal energy and resource; whilst in India in particular we have certainly no pledge of the prolongation of this period in the total dissimilarity of religion, manners, habits, language and institutions, and in the almost total suspension of social and domestic intercourse between the conquerors and the conquered.

24. It were superfluous, and perhaps it would be tedious, even if time admitted, to quote instances in elucidation of the preceding remarks. The records of the India House and authentic publications contain many historical facts, to which I should hope these observations would be found applicable, and to verify even a long existing and not superficial knowledge in India of the true principles of the balancing system.

25. Those principles indeed must naturally arise in all countries out of the peculiar circumstances of vicinal civilised States. They must be referred to these sources, and these only, to be really useful

and permanent in their effects; and when purely exercised in the cause of self-defence, they constitute the soundest of all policies, that founded in justice, and cannot be too highly cherished or too forcibly inculcated in the direction of our foreign affairs.

26. But to develop this subject fully would lead to great length, whilst I perhaps have greater cause to apologise even for this intrusion.

Were time allowed, I should still feel that I wanted ability to discuss this question, as its importance merits. I have noticed it more from sense of duty than of competency to treat it, from conceiving that questions of magnitude, when before the Board, require from its members those opinions which local observations has enabled them to form, and which they conscientiously believe to be promotive of the public weal. It is to these motives and the liberality of the Hon'ble Court that I must [*crave*] for indulgence in respect to those now submitted, and which are most respectfully offered to maturer judgments to be considered or rejected, as to their wisdom shall seem meet.

27. The minute of the Commander-in-Chief, dated the 27th of last month, being connected with this subject, I have only to add that, under the views and impressions above submitted, his proposed arrangement respecting the European Regiment seems to me in every respect advisable and has that cordial acquiescence which I feel prompted to give to every measure calculated to improve either our internal resources or internal strength, believing, as I do, these objects to be of the first importance to the stability of our Indian possessions, and combining this particular proposal with what I conceive to be the relative advantages of increased strength in the Gujarat quarter.

28. Since writing the above the accompanying letter and enclosure from the Account-General, dated the 6th instant, have reached me in circulation. By these it appears that the annual revenue we now get from the subsidy districts, and which therefore constitutes the amount purposed to be surrendered to the Gaikwad is equal to Rupees 12,43,291.

Colonel Walker proposes as an equivalent for these upwards of a crore of Rs. or $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling, which, if we are to conclude that the Colonel calculates on the Gaikwad being able to raise on this account 1 crore and 20 lakhs, this sum will only buy up Company's paper, or diminish a principal sum of debt, equal in annual interest to Rupees 9,60,000.

To which, if we add the amount of civil and judicial savings proposed by the Hon'ble the Governor or Rs. 2,92,251, [the saving will be] Rs. 12,52,251. The pecuniary gain will be per annum [12,52,251—12,43,291] Rs. 8,960. Or, if the Battalion of sepoys and troop of cavalry be also reduced, the total gain to the Company will still be no more than Rs. 2,66,961.

29. Under this review of the case it seems to me doubtful whether even the pecuniary gain can be deemed an object of sufficient

magnitude to compensate the risk of the proposed arrangement without reducing the military part of the establishment. The actual gain appears to be a mere trifle, whilst the preceding remarks will show that I have more than doubts of the present policy or safety of this military reduction. If on the other hand, the Gaikwad be required to raise a sum sufficient to make the pecuniary compensation a desirable object, it will require near 2 crores of Rupees to raise our gain by the transaction, including only civil savings, to 5½ lakhs; and in such case, should it ever occur, the consequences of allowing the Gaikwad to borrow so enormous a sum by mortgage of his revenue, and the Company's Government to guarantee the contract, will doubtless be duly weighed.

No. 3, Major-General Abercromby's minute.

Minute of dissent A letter having been laid before the Board on the 31st ultimo from Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, our late Resident at Baroda, submitting a proposal to restore to the Gaikwad Government all the territory ceded by it as security for subsidy, in consideration of an equivalent sum of money to be paid to the East India Company, I feel that it may be expected that every member of the Board should offer his sentiments on a subject of so much importance, and one which requires the most mature and deliberate consideration, before a resolution is finally formed on it.

In attempting to perform this last, even in the most limited and superficial manner, I must labour under very considerable embarrassment; for I am conscious that my short residence in India does not render me competent to offer any opinion which can tend to assist the Hon'ble the Court of Directors in forming their judgment upon a subject of the highest political magnitude. Under these circumstances it is not my intention to go further than simply to state the few objections which appear to me to argue against the adoption of the measure under consideration.

It has not hitherto been urged, or even been shown that any advantage will arise out of the proposed arrangement beyond a pecuniary annual saving to the public of Rupees 5,50,251, as particularly detailed in our President's minute. Notwithstanding the weight and consideration which should be attached to every object tending to relieve the Company's finances, still I feel confident that, when all the objections to the present plan are maturely considered, the Hon'ble Court will see sufficient grounds to pause, before they give their sanction to a measure which ultimately may lead to serious inconvenience.

The commutation of territory for money cannot certainly be considered as an infraction of the subsidiary treaty with the Gaikwad Government, but it may fairly be viewed as an experimental innovation, purely on interested motives. Our subsidiary engagements are not confined to the Court of Baroda alone, it ought therefore to be considered what effect this deviation from the principle of the treaty is likely to produce at Poona, Hyderabad, and, I believe, I may now add Nagpur. Should the terms intended to be offered to the Gaikwad be considered as favourable to the interests of that Prince by the Peshwa, the Nizam and

the Raja of Berar, it is by no means unreasonable to conjecture that they may solicit a similar indulgence; and although [*it*] may [*be*] the opinion of some [*to*] relinquish territory in Gujarat, it might be most impolitic to restore the district ceded by the other subsidiary Powers. At all events it appears to me to be prudent that we should refrain from agitating any question bearing upon those treaties; for the warmest supporter of that system must admit that it is generally obnoxious to those who have yielded to our solicitations.

From the earliest period of our present connection with the Gaikwad it has been the leading object of the British Government to restore that Prince to his former dignity and independence by endeavouring to relieve him from the load of debt, with which we found him oppressed. Through the skill and judicious arrangement of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, the financial system has undergone a complete and thorough reform, the public debt has been nearly liquidated, and we are on the eve of arriving at that moment when the interference of the British Government in the Gaikwad's affairs will be no longer necessary. If the present proposition be acceded to, and we oblige that Prince to make a new loan of a crore and half of Rupees, he will revert to that state of misery and degradation from which through our means he has just been extricated.

It would be superfluous to make any observations on the injury which the character of the British nation would sustain in this country by having recourse to such a measure, when it must be well known that we are actuated by no other motives than the desire of reducing our own expenditure by five lakhs of Rupees annually.

To abandon at this period our northern districts would in my mind be acting in direct opposition to that policy which we have of late pursued on the western frontiers of the Peninsula. Our great object for some time past seems to have rested on the expediency of extending the British influence in that quarter. It is that principle, which within these two years has led us to send two considerable expeditions into Kathiawar; it is that principle, I presume, which has induced us to occupy Porbandar and to station a battalion at Paliyad; and it is upon that principle also that we watch with a vigilant and jealous eye the neighbouring State of Cutch; and with that view it is not more than four months since the Governor-General directed a force to be stationed in an advanced position towards that country. If experience has taught us that the Gaikwad cannot control his tributaries in the Peninsula of Gujarat without our aid or assistance, I do most humbly conceive that his difficulties will increase, when every British soldier should be withdrawn across the Mahi River and placed on the northern bank of the Narbada. To adopt such a line of conduct will be a public declaration that we abandoned every interest and influence over this most vulnerable part of our western boundary.

I am further of opinion, that it would neither be honourable nor creditable to the Company's Government in India to transfer to another Power a portion of our subjects, [who] have now enjoyed

upwards of 9th ultimo [*of the 9th year?*] the benefit of our mild and equitable laws; and this for no other reason than because it is supposed we shall make an annual saving of about £ 60,000 sterling. Such a policy must evidently operate to our disadvantage, but particularly so in those districts lying to the northward of Bombay, which were ceded to the Company by the treaty of Bassein.

The minds of those inhabitants will be in a constant state of doubt and anxiety from an impression that they, like those of our northern districts, may also be again placed under their former Sovereigns.

If we take a view of the States which surround Gujarat, and it is admitted that it is our interest to maintain an influence in that Province, I do conceive that it must appear obvious to the most superficial observer that, instead of abandoning the districts proposed to be sold to the Gaikwad, it is in that quarter we should assemble every disposable soldier under this Presidency. A force so stationed is in a situation to overawe Kathiawar, and to [withstand] any attack that may be made from the side of Cutch, Sind or Jodhpur. It would also be advantageously placed for opposing the progress of an enemy advancing from Malwar by Dorode [*Dohad?*] and Baroda. Having submitted with every diffidence the forgoing observations, I shall now conclude by making some remarks on the saving which, it is [alleged], will arise by the adoption of the plan proposed by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker.

Our Resident in his minute estimates the full amount of the annual saving at Rupees 5,52,257; but in that statement he anticipates the reduction of one battalion of sepoys and the troop of native cavalry. In the minute, which I submitted to the Board on the 27th ultimo, I endeavoured to point out in a clear and distinct manner that the military establishment under this Government was very inadequate to the duties the troops were called upon to perform; and I must now in the most pointed and decided manner state it is my opinion that, even if the arrangement now in contemplation should ultimately be carried into effect, it will by no means warrant the reduction of our present force. For it cannot be considered as sufficient to have men enough for the tranquillity of the country; but, on the contrary, it should be ample not only to uphold our interests but to secure us from foreign attack. Independently of this consideration, I cannot avoid feeling a thorough conviction that we shall at all times be obliged to maintain a respectable corps in the districts now in question, even supposing they should be ceded to the Gaikwad.

If my sentiments therefore are founded on correct principles, a deduction of Rupees 2,58,000 must be made from the Governor's estimate, which will only leave an annual saving of Rupees 2,92,251; and a further diminution should also be allowed for the salaries of the Gentlemen of the Civil Service, who will be removed from their situations, as well as for portions we may be called upon to grant to the native agents employed in the judicial and revenue departments, and who may find employment under our successors.

Fort William, 25th September, 1810 (1810, S. D. 272)
N. B. Edmonstone to Francis Warden.

1810

I am now directed to transmit to you for the purpose of being *Letter* communicated to the Hon'ble Governor-in-Council, the enclosed copy of the address of this Government to the Hon'ble the Secret Committee, dated the 22nd instant, on the subject of the propositions submitted by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, to the consideration of the Secret Committee in his letter for the restoration of the territory ceded by the Gaikwad to the British Government, in lieu of subsidiary, both as a separate question and as placed in connection with further suggested restitution of territory to other States of India.

Letter from Lord Minto to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 22nd September, 1811.

1. The principal purpose of this dispatch is to submit to Your Hon'ble Committee our sentiments on the proposition for the commutation of the territory, ceded to us by the State of the Gaikwad as security for subsidy, referred to your decision by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Bombay, copies of the proceedings of that Government having (as already intimated to Your Hon'ble Committee) been transmitted to us to enable us to form and communicate to you our opinion on that important question. *Calcutta protest*

2. The reference however to Your Hon'ble Committee, we observe, is not confined to the question above stated; but occasion has been taken strongly to urge the policy of restoring to the Powers, from which we derived them, the whole of the territories in India, ceded as security for subsidy; or rather, as will be found on a consideration of the subject, of abandoning our subsidiary alliance and restoring the whole of our conquest in the late Maratha wars. To this extraordinary proposition we shall advert more particularly in a subsequent part of this address. In this place we shall only remark that it would perhaps have been more proper if a suggestion, involving a change in the political state of India more extensive and momentous than ever engaged the speculative deliberations of the Legislature, had been submitted to Your Hon'ble Committee in communication with that superior local authority which is exclusively vested with the immediate cognizance, superintendence and control of our external relations in this quarter of the British dominions.

3. On the question of commutation, as applied to Gujarat, we have little to add to the argument stated in the minutes of the several members of the Government of Bombay, who appear unanimously to oppose the measure, on grounds which in our opinion are conclusive. The most material objections appear to us to be the certain diminution, if not the absolute extinction of our present efficient political ascendancy in the province of Gujarat, the more than probable return of the State of the Gaikwad to that condition of pecuniary distress and pecuniary dependence on the native capitalists, with all its attendant evils, from which through the great ability and exertions of the late Resident at Baroda we have been enabled to retrieve it, the inability of the State of the Gaikwad under the pressure of its pecuniary difficulties and under the consequent disorganisation of its system of Government to

fulfil the obligations of the alliance, the augmented probability and frequency of the occasions for the employment of our troops in suppressing internal disorders or repelling external danger, the discredit of attending a traffic of territorial dominion for a pecuniary consideration, and the obloquy not to add the inhumanity of transferring by sale a body of people from a subjection to the mild and equitable laws of a British Government to the miserable oppression and injustice of a Native Administration.

4. On the other hand, the pecuniary benefits of the proposed arrangement appear to us to be even more problematical than they have been represented by the Government of Bombay.

5. The only case, in which any positive advantage could be supposed to arise from the discharge of a portion of the capital of the India Debt by a sacrifice of a part of the public income, corresponding in amount to the production of interest, would be that in which the public securities having been depreciated, in consequence of their amount exceeding the demand for them, it might be requisite to adopt measures for withdrawing a portion of those securities from the market with a view to restore the credit of the public funds. But, as that does not exist, and is not likely to occur in the present and flourishing state of public credit, the benefit of the measure in this view of it is remote and speculative, and is balanced by the possible disadvantage of the measure in a contrary event of the further improvement of credit and the consequent reduction of the rate of interest on public securities below that which is here contemplated.

6. Admitting the practicability of reducing a battalion of sepoy and the troop of cavalry, after the restoration of the ceded districts in Gujarat (a measure however which Your Hon'ble Committee will observe is decidedly opposed by the professional judgment of the Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, in whose opinion we are disposed to concur) the annual amount of the saving arising from the proposed transaction will not exceed 3,02,960 Rs. Without the reduction of the battalion and troops, the annual saving is, as stated in Mr. Rickards's minute, only 8,960 Rs.

Reduction of interest ..	Rs.	9,60,000	
Reduction of civil charges ..	„	2,92,251	
Troops of cavalry ..	„	78,000	
1 Battalion Native Infantry ..	„	2,16,000	
		<u>15,46,251</u>	Rs. 15,46,251
Reduced revenue of ceded districts in Gujarat to be restored ..	„	<u>12,43,291</u>	„ 12,43,291
		Annual Saving	Rs. 3,02,960 ¹

1. The Hon'ble the Governor of Bombay has calculated the annual expense of a battalion of native infantry at Rs. 1,80,000; which reduces the whole saving to Rs. 2,66,960. But this is an error of calculation, as the monthly charge of a battalion is stated at Rs. 18,000 per mensem, which makes Rs. 2,16,000 per annum, not Rs. 1,80,000. (Note included in the letter). See Note to Duncan's letter of 4th April, 1810.

7. But at the period of discussing this subject the Government of Bombay could not have had in contemplation the measures now in progress for the reduction of the rate of interest on the whole of the India debt to 6 per cent. If those measures should ultimately succeed (and of their success we have at present no reason to doubt), this may be expected to have taken effect at Bombay by the time when, supposing Your Hon'ble Committee's approbation of the proposed plan, the commutation would take place. In that event therefore the actual saving of interest on the India Debt would be of course one-fourth less than that which is at present computed, and the result of the transaction would exhibit an annual loss of 2,31,040 Rupees instead of an annual saving; if no reduction is made in the military establishment of Bombay, and with that reduction [*there is*] a saving of only 62,960 Rs.

[*If no reduction in the military establishment*]

Revenue of ceded districts	[Rs. 12,43,291.
Reduction of interest	,, 7,20,000.
„ of civil charges	,, 2,92,251.
	<hr/> Rs. 10,12,251.
Annual loss	Rs. 2,31,040.

[*If reduction in the military establishment*]

Reduction of interests	Rs. 7,20,000.
„ „ civil charges	,, 2,92,251.
1st battalion native infantry	,, 2,16,000.
Troops of cavalry	,, 78,000.
	<hr/> Rs. 13,06,251.
Deduct revenue of ceded districts	,, 12,43,291.
Annual Saving	Rs. 62,960.

8. On the whole therefore it may be observed that political objections, of great weight oppose the suggested arrangement, that they are of a nature not to be counterbalanced by the utmost supposable advantage to be derived from them in a pecuniary point of view; but that in fact no advantage even of that description, but on the contrary an annual pecuniary loss, is likely to result from the adoption of it.

Bombay, 1st November, 1810 (1810, S. D. 272)

1810

Jonathan Duncan's minute.

I cannot but very sincerely regret that the Supreme Government *Self* should, in the 2nd paragraph of their letter to the Secret Committee *defence* of the 22nd of September last, have construed any part of our letter as "urging strongly the policy of restoring to the Powers, from which we derived them, the whole of the territories in India, ceded in security for subsidy, or rather, as will (the Governor-General observes)

be found on consideration of the subject, of abandoning our subsidiary alliance and restoring the whole of our conquests in the both Maratha wars."

2. I am not aware of any expression in the letter, adverted to from the Presidency, that conveys the very comprehensive idea thus deduced from it, in so much that I feel but little apprehension it will be so received and understood by the authority to which it is addressed; the whole discussion on our part originating obviously in a proposition, not of our own, but from Colonel Walker, in whose judgment the Supreme Government have not failed, on every antecedent occasion, to express and exemplify the most unbounded confidence; nor had any of the remarks in this Government's letter for substantive object aught beyond the submission of a suggestion from an authority so respectably accredited to the tribunal by which that officer had himself desired that the merits of it should be determined; reserving to himself to adduce before the authorities at home such further observations in illustration of his object, as not even this Government have any accurate or detailed knowledge of; esteeming as we did the whole question as but indirectly appertaining to ourselves, at the time that we were unaware of any solid objection to its undergoing a fair discussion, as affecting either the subsidiary cessions by the Gaikwad or (as was altogether incidentally and unpremeditatingly subjoined) any other spots of our territorial acquisitions in the part of the world that might appear to our Hon'ble Employers "cumbersome or unnecessary," such as the Bengal official documents in general circulation evincing to have more or less existed in the north-east of India, in the opinions of the highest local authorities, as late as the year 1805. It might not unreasonably be presumed that the purely accidental and, as then viewed, altogether harmless remark in question bore at least more allusion to these considered inconvenient acquisitions than to those from the Peshwa or Nizam; the former of which it might seem the less probable that we should intend to suggest the giving up, as in doing so, in concurrence with the greater part of the territory from the Gaikwad, the landed dependencies of this Presidency must be circumscribed to such a degree as to reduce very materially the importance of our own Government; but in truth no local allusion was particularly in the view of this Government, the observation being essentially a fortuitous one, contingently arising out of the discussion of the other and principal subject of the address.

3. Perhaps however the Supreme Government may not have meant to lay material stress on this casual observation in the body of our letter; which is rendered the more probable by recurrence to the 9th paragraph of the address from that high authority to the Secret Committee in which "proceeding" (as they notice) to state a few observations on the project of a general surrender of the territories, acquired by our connection with foreign States, it is remarked that this proposition, as submitted to the consideration of the Secret Committee by the Government of Bombay, appears to have originated with Mr. Rickards, and the grounds of it to be exclusively stated in

his minute of the 13th of April; whence (without my meaning to enter into the highest examination of the contents of the minute, on which the Right Honourable the Governor-General is therein pleased to animadvert) it must be evident that, in thus affording conveyance according to uniform usage and his undoubted right to the sentiments of our colleague, as therein expressed, the other members of the Board's stand in no wise committed as parties to, nor ought to be concluded on that ground to have adopted the strain of sentiments therein contained, each member being on all such occasions answerable for no more than his own opinion, as happens likewise to be rendered most particularly obvious in the present instance by the terms of the postscript to our already cited communication of the 10th of April, wherein it is specified that "the minute in question as well as those from the Hon'ble Major-General Abercromby and Mr. Lechmere having been received, since the body of that letter being written, and there not being time with a view to the impending close of the packets for a full and deliberate consideration of their contents, the whole subject (*i. e.* of the proposition suggested by Colonel Walker, and not the sentiments thereon of any single member in particular) was submitted to the consideration of the Hon'ble Committee, under which course of procedure it can never be justly inferable that any one member adopted the separate sentiments of any other. Nor was there, I believe, among all, or either of us, any such concurrence in the tenor of each other's minute further than as respected the reference of the whole at large to the Supreme Authority in England, with a combined resolution to take an early opportunity (as the same postscript continues to express) of communicating on the subject with the Governor-General to the end that our Superiors in India might be reasonably enabled to send home their own remarks on what had thus occurred.

4. I shall only add to these explanatory observations that, with regard to the sum brought forward in my minute of the 31st of March as the annual expense of a battalion of native infantry on the general establishment of this Presidency, it is not by any means so erroneous as supposed in the annotation to the 6th paragraph of the letter from the Supreme Government to the Secret Committee, since including the moiety of the pay and allowances to the Colonel of the Regiment, which my former statements did not include, the whole amount disburseable for a battalion of native infantry, consisting of 700 privates on the Bombay Establishment, is no more than Rs. 1,85,068-3-20, being about 5,000 Rs. per annum more than I had previously brought to account, although in specifying the monthly amount the copyist must erroneously have written the figure *eight* for the figure *five*, which led to the Supreme Government's calculation of the yearly aggregate by the latter criterions.

C. JAMES RIVETT CARNAC

Baroda, 15th April, 1809 (1809, P. D. 162)
James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

1809

The Gaikwad Government having requested the annexation of my *Bhandari* bhandari to the originals of the accompanying papers (translate of *to bankers* which is also enclosed), empowering two wealthy soukars of Surat to

open a firm at Baroda, I deem it my duty respectfully to solicit the previous sanction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

At the same time I beg leave to observe that a compliance with the wishes of this Government is not subject to any conditions beyond the interference of the Hon'ble Company's Agent at Baroda in the preservation of the personal rights of the soukars, in whose behalf the bhandari may be executed.

Whilst the obvious advantage, which arises from the connection of the moneyed men at Baroda with the Hon'ble Company by ensuring from them at all times a prompt attention to their exigencies, the acceptable service, which will be rendered to this Government by encouraging the resort of these soukars, will no doubt operate with the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council in affording the sanction (if liable to no serious objection), which it is the object of the letter to acquire; and in the meanwhile this Government has been informed that I have referred for the commands of Government to affix my bhandari to the documents, which have been presented to me for that purpose.

No. 1. Translation of a parwanah from the Gaikwad sarkar to Parekh Saldas Kisondas of Surat.

Parwanahs

You wish to come to Baroda and to trade without interruption from the sarkar, for which you require the sarkar's bhandari and parwanah. Upon hearing this, we have sent you this parwanah, that you may come and trade free of molestation, for which Mr. Carnac on the part of the Hon'ble Company is bhandari.

Dated Baroda, 23rd March, 1809.

N. B.—Another parwanah is produced in favour of Maneckchand Rupchand Bengali, for which Mr. Carnac is also bhandari.

1810 *Baroda, 14th March, 1810 (1810, P. D. 357)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Carnac's request

Lieutenant-Colonel Walker having now departed for Europe, and the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council having been pleased to reappoint me to the Residency at Baroda on the former footing, I deem it an act of duty and justice to myself, however painful to my feelings, to make a last appeal to their liberality and equity on the subject of Mr. Secretary Osborne's letter of the 4th December, 1809.

I am fully persuaded that the justice of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council could never have intended that the property of any individual should suffer from the performance of his public duty. Under this conviction I respectfully beg leave to submit a detail of the amount by which the expenses, incident to my situation as Acting Resident at Baroda, has exceeded the amount assigned to defray them for the whole period that I was so acting.

I trust the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will give me credit for the assertion that these have been incurred exclusively on account of my public situation, and that they have been confined within the

narrowest possible limits, and that under these circumstances the hope (which I respectfully beg leave to express) of receiving reimbursement from the public may not be deemed either unreasonable or improper.

Statement of expenses incurred by Lieutenant Carnac, Acting Resident at Baroda, beyond the allowance granted by Government.

Sum total of all expenses	Rs. 6,859	Account
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Bombay orders.

The Acting Resident at Baroda may be reimbursed in the amount thus demanded, and the Deputy Accountant-General in charge is to be advised with this further notice that, as the absence of Col. Walker from the Residency was occasioned on duty in the field in a fully equal proportion on account of the political views of the Supreme Government in respect to Cutch and Porbandar as on account of the interior affairs of the Gaikwad State or the concerns of this Government, one half of the extra charge is to be placed to the debit of the Bengal Presidency, or to that rather of charges incurred in pursuance of orders from the Supreme Government, and the other moiety thereof to that of this Presidency. *Sanctioned*

Baroda, 22nd November, 1810 (P. D. No. 365)

1810

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden Esquire.

It is with sincere regret that I have to communicate for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the melancholy tidings of the death of my Senior Assistant, Captain Greenwood, which took place at Cambay yesterday morning. *Greenwood*

Baroda, 14th February, 1811 (1811, P. D. 370)

1811

F. D. Ballantine to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter conveying the sanction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to the usual donations on the Holi and Muharram holidays, and expressing the pleasure of the Hon'ble Board that it would be more agreeable to be omitted in future; to which I have to remark with the greatest respect that the donations individually may be considered trifling, but insurmountably blended with prejudices and the unavoidable habits of a native Court, the conviction of which has probably influenced the Hon'ble Board in their sanction to the same disbursement of 8 years past. *Making presents*

I have the honour to furnish a statement, extracted from the books of the Presidency, to exhibit each yearly amount of expenses on account of presents and donations since the first institution of the Presidency in 1802.

I respectfully trust this statement, which includes every description of such charges as well as those incurred in the two separate services under Colonel Walker in Khathiawar and after him the late Senior Assistant, will be satisfactory to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. The inam of Kaira is brought to the same account as a cession

subsequent to the establishment of the Residency, to which also, it is presumed, those of Chikhli, Chorasi, etc. would be equally applicable; but from the tenor of the orders of the Hon'ble Board being cessions antecedent to the institution of the Residency.

Bombay decision

Mistaken view Ordered that it be signified to Mr. Ballantine that Government are not in the least degree aware of any foundation for the sort of connection he would seemingly desire to trace between the inam grants from the Gaikwad State to the Hon'ble Company and the obnoxious system of making presents on so many occasions to its officers; as if the one could for a moment be understood to constitute a fund for the other.

It may however be fit to set Mr. Ballantine right in respect to misconceptions of such importance by informing him that the pargana of Chorasi was made over to the Company, partly and primarily in fulfilment of a promised donation of it to the Hon'ble Company by the late Govindrao in the year 1800, and because also the accomplishment of that engagement was made the indispensable condition¹ of extending the assistance, which Govindrao's successor, the present Anandrao, required in concurrence with his Minister, Raoba, to be afforded to him by the Hon'ble Company against the numerous difficulties in which that Native Government stood then involved.

In like manner, was the grant of Chikhli afterwards made in testimony of the grateful sense of Gaikwad State for the advantages and stability derived to it by our consequent interposition, both which donations were anterior to the establishment of the Residency; while the small grant of Kaira took place after the Residency had for some time been in duration, in consideration to the extended experience, by the same Government, of the benefits of our alliance.

There seems the less reason for our perseverance in the system of dealing out presents at Baroda, as at neither of the festivals of the Holi or Muharram is the Company subject to any such expense at Poona; which it would be very desirable to see imitated at Baroda, for which also the President at the Superior Court of Poona might appear to afford a sufficient authority.

1811 *Bombay, 18th February, 1811 (1811, P. D. 369)*

James R. Carnac to Jonathan Duncan.

Carnac's appointment I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Chief Secretary Warden's dispatch of yesterday's date transmitting an extract from a letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors on the subject of my appointment to the Residency of Baroda; and while I feel impressed with the distinguished honour bestowed on me by the consent of the Hon'ble Court to my trial in the office of Political Resident at Baroda, I trust that the motives, which now influence me in offering with every deference the following observations for the particular

1. This statement is flatly contradicted by Jonathan Duncan. See Gaikwads of Baroda, Vol. IV, p. 88, marginal heading: Duncan's declaration.

notice and consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will meet with the appreciation which to my humble apprehension the important public interests committed to my charge seem to deserve.

2. The tenor of the Hon'ble Court's commands have decided that I should undergo a trial as Acting Resident at Baroda under the peculiar circumstances of my recommendation and with a view to the great importance of following up the system and cementing the friendship so well established by my predecessor, Colonel Walker, with the Government of the Gaikwad.

3. I beg leave respectfully to submit that the Hon'ble Court, when they ordered a trial of my qualifications for the important and responsible office of Resident at Baroda, intended that it should lead to my confirmation as Resident, if found competent, or to my removal for a fitter person, if found deficient.

4. I venture to presume that by the test of experience I was to be tried by your Hon'ble Board; and if in your estimation the result should justify your first selection, according to the letter and spirit of the Hon'ble Court's orders, the consequence was designed to be my permanent appointment to the office, which I hold by a temporary title while under the trial of my qualifications.

5. Trusting that this conclusion is reasonable and just, I will proceed to observe that a period of two years has now elapsed since I had the honour of being charged with the superintendence of affairs at Baroda; and repulsive as it must prove to my mind to enhance the estimation of those public acts executed in the course of my duty, I may be justified on the present occasion in appealing to the records of Government whether in the responsible and extensive office confided to my management I have in any instance disappointed the expectations of the Hon'ble Board, whose repeated expressions of approbation will ever continue a source of infinite gratification to my feelings.

6. It will not be necessary perhaps in this place to enumerate the occasions wherein the approbation of Government was conferred, but probably a reference to a letter, nearly at the close of the last year, conveying a sentiment of Government being abundantly satisfied with my proceedings at the Residency, will be a conclusive evidence that I have undergone a trial creditable to my exertions.

7. Here then I might confidently rest my fair claim to the full appointment which my predecessor held with so much advantage to the public interests; but it is not upon these grounds alone, in which I am so personally interested, that I solicit with earnestness the attention of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to the propriety of my assumption of the nomination of Resident; it is in gratification of the wishes of the Gaikwad family and Administration, and that in the discharge of my arduous duties I may be allowed to have every advantage that could give efficiency to my public situation.

8. I can conscientiously assure the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of having received reiterated interrogations from Fatesing

and generally from the Gaikwad family as well as from the Administration regarding the permanency of my appointment at the Residency of Baroda; and I have had the satisfaction to perceive that all parties have discovered an anxiety and solicitude for my success.

9. To place the Hon'ble Board at once in possession of a knowledge of the sentiments which influence the minds of the persons in power at Baroda, I can refer to no period more interesting than at the death of Babaji. The counsels given by that respectable minister to Fatesing and to his son have already been reported; but the last words uttered by Babaji to me were his hope that his son and myself should proceed with the same confidence and friendship that subsisted with him, and that I should continue for some years at least, until he had acquired experience in public life, or during the operation of the important reforms in the Gaikwad State, to afford him my sincere advice and assistance.

10. This material circumstance will convince the Hon'ble Board with what satisfaction my permanent appointment at Baroda will be viewed by the family of Babaji; and to exhibit in a more pointed manner their expectation to that effect, I beg also to mention that Babaji has not merely made me a party to his will, but specially directed that a copy should be lodged in my possession, and that the concerns of his household should, when necessary, be guided by my counsels.

11. These circumstances, if the Hon'ble Board require any additional testimony, the Gaikwad vakil, a confidential servant of the late Babaji and now at the Presidency, will fully corroborate.

12. The influence, which I fortunately possessed with Fatesing, on my appointment to be Acting Resident at Baroda in January 1809, has, I trust, been improved; but is it probable that I shall be able to maintain that essential predominancy in public matters, whilst I am considered to hold my office by the uncertain tenure of a temporary appointment?

13. I am charged with, and my reputation in public life is staked on, the successful execution of those reforms planned by the ability of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker; and considering the great importance placed by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors on these salutary measures, I should presume that, if my qualification to conduct the duties of Resident at Baroda are admitted to give efficiency to my public situation and consequent ability to accomplish the ends expected, the nomination of Resident under these circumstances, in lieu of Acting Resident, would be a measure of advantage to the public service.

14. It is not probable, while a change is expected in the constitution of the Residency, that many people, whose interests are affected by the operation of the reforms, will pay that attention to my agency or control as if my appointment appeared decided.

15. A trifling delay in the progress of any of the reforms will be of infinite detriment to the Gaikwad Government; and I submit it to

Government whether any accession to the respectability of my situation is not justified, where so much is placed at hazard.

16. The youth of Fatsing renders him liable to imposition through the machinations and interested views of his dependants; and however much this young Prince may be prepossessed in my favour, the uncertainty of my continuing at Baroda, which the continued nomination of Acting Resident must inspire, will naturally relax his confidence or predilection in my advice and may prove a powerful inducement, on the part of those whose private views are involved, to produce an indifference that must prove prejudicial to the public interests and subversive of the anxious desire expressed by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to promote our friendly relations with the Gaikwad State.

17. So much impressed indeed was Lieutenant-Colonel Walker of the urgent necessity for the public service for my influence being supported that, when the Hon'ble Board were pleased after the return of that officer from Ceylon to Baroda to direct me to assume the appellation of Senior Assistant in charge of the Residency, Lieutenant-Colonel Walker submitted the expediency of my continuing to hold the nomination of Acting Resident, afterwards acceded to by the Hon'ble Board.

18. If this was admitted when that valuable officer was serving within the province of Gujarat, with what renovated force must that reasoning be applicable, not exclusively in concordance with the wishes and expectation of the Gaikwad Government, but on public principles?

19. And here it may be permitted me also to advert to the effect which an appointment having a provisional construction may produce on the conduct of those men who have rejoined their family after rebellion. I allude more particularly to Kanhoji Gaikwad, whose communication with the Gaikwad Government, you are aware, Hon'ble Sir, is for important reasons confided exclusively to the Resident.

20. To preserve therefore that control over his actions as well as over the demeanour of many others of the family who have been redeemed from their ill-advised conduct, in concert with Kanhoji, I trust I may be allowed to observe that my permanency at Baroda will considerably facilitate so desirable an object, an object on the attainment of which, not only the discontinuance of domestic feuds, but the future peace and tranquillity of the country in a most peculiar and material degree rest.

21. In conclusion I respectfully apply to the Hon'ble the Governor himself and generally to the records of Government for a testimony of my services at Baroda, and to entreat for the reasons assigned in this address that on the grounds of public expediency, combined with a general construction of the orders of the Hon'ble Court, I may after two years of probation be authorised to assume the appellation of Resident.

Bombay resolution.

Red tape. With reference to the application conveyed in the above recorded letter, for the Governor's testimony as to the services rendered by Captain Carnac at Baroda, the former embraces with satisfaction the opportunity of recording that these services have uniformly appeared to him (the President) to be of the most beneficial description and to prove this officer very fit for the trust reposed in him.

On the other parts of Captain Carnac's letter it is readily admitted by the Board at large that the trial, which the Hon'ble Court have directed to be made of this gentleman's qualifications, must have been with a view to his confirmation as Resident, if found competent. But it is not so clear that our Hon'ble Employers meant to leave the decision on this point to this Government, it seeming rather implied that it is one which they reserved to their own cognisance; or otherwise there is no doubt but the members of the Board, would even before the present date have felt disposed to confirm Captain Carnac in the permanent charges of the Residency.

But, as Captain Carnac has placed his succession to the full designation of Resident on the grounds that, whilst it will prove a gratification to the Gaikwad family, he will thence also be enabled to discharge the duties of his station with more effect and energy, as removing the doubts that appear now to operate in the mind of Fatesing, with reference to the causes which may have occasioned to prolong a state of hesitation, it seems not only allowable but even to become under such circumstances the duty of the Board to accede so far to the general wishes of the Administration at Baroda as to permit Captain Carnac to drop in his future official proceedings the restrictive qualification under which his important official functions are now conducted, and to authorise him to carry them on under the single designation of Resident, subject equally to the confirmation of the Hon'ble Court, as if the modification thus authorised had not taken place; whence our Employers will reap the benefit arising out of the additional efficiency, incident to the present arrangement, without in any degree curtailing the free scope of their own discretion in the event (which is however far from being apprehended or contemplated) of their disapproving in any degree of the measures thus intermediately adopted with the view of benefit to the public interests in Gujarat, combined with the useful and salutary object of facilitating the duties of Captain Carnac, and affording to him at the same time a reasonable testimony of the high and merited respect which Government entertain for the now sufficiently ascertained ability, temper and discernment with which they are abundantly satisfied that this officer will not in future fail to do justice and even honour to the weighty trust reposed in him.

1811 Baroda, 6th April, 1811 (1811, P. D., 372)

Board's resolution.

Civil Service in Residencies The death of the late Captain Greenwood, occasioning a vacancy in the First Assistantship to Residency at Baroda, it becomes a question in what manner and by whom such vacancy should be supplied,

It is sufficiently obvious from the last communicated commands of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors that they continue very adverse to the system by which military officers have so long continued to fill the political residencies throughout India; notwithstanding which, they have not objected, under the peculiar circumstances of that case, to our having placed, Captain Carnae in the line of succession to the late Colonel Walker, in which this Government has since taken on themselves, in view to the urgent motives connected with the measure, provisionally to confirm that officer, subject of course to the final approbation of the Hon'ble Court.

But whether the principle should be carried further, so as to furnish a continued line of military assistants to occupy, as they may occur, future vacancies in the Residency, becomes a question of very serious consequence, such as requires to be particularly attended to in the supplying of the one which is above mentioned to be occasioned by the demise of the late Senior Assistant to the Residency; to which in ordinary course it might be expected that Lieutenant Ballantine, the present Second Assistant, should be allowed to succeed.

But independent of the objections on record against this officer being at all introduced into the regular line of succession to the Residency, the intention of our Hon'ble Employers is, as already observed, so pointedly adverse to any general perseverance in a line of observance, which they would appear to have refused so much as to tolerate in regard to their representations at the two principal Darbars of Hyderabad and of Poona, now occupied by Residents from the civil line of the service, that Government consider themselves bound in duty to act upon this knowledge of the Hon'ble Court's views so far as to avoid giving any more extended operation or consistency to an arrangement which the Court so evidently desire to see confined within the narrowest practicable limits.

Besides this, when Mr. Ballantine applied, on the occasion of the impending return of Colonel Walker to Britain, for admission into the line of assistants to the Residency (that gentleman having theretofore acted only as Translator), his own views were by some at least understood not to aspire beyond the Second Assistantship. But however that may be, since he merely obtained the nomination at the earnest solicitation of the late Resident and by a vote of only the majority of the Board, till the pleasure of the Court of Directors be known, which has not yet been signified, it is in every point of view fit and suitable that this officer should remain as he is by continuing in his capacity of Second Assistant to the Residency, till the Hon'ble Court's answer and instructions be received.

Under this view of the circumstances of the case, and as two Assistants to the Residency are not more than are required, for the business daily transmitting at it, Mr. James Williams of the Civil Service, is, at the nomination of the President, appointed First Assistant; the salary attached to the appointment being however to be receivable by Lieutenant Ballantine from the end of the month in which Captain Greenwood died till the first of March; from which last

date the appointment of Mr. Williams is to have effect. That gentleman left the Presidency some time ago, at the same period with the present Resident, in view to the intention then entertained by the President to suggest the measure now proposed.

1811 *Baroda, 16th September, 1811 (1811, P.D. 379)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Letter In acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Goodwin's letter dated the 21st ultimo, giving cover to a letter to the address of His Highness Anandrao Gaikwad, I have the honour to forward a kharita, accompanied by a translation, addressed to the Hon'ble the Governor, containing a letter in reply to that communication.

Anandrao Gaikwad to Hon'ble George Brown, Governor of Bombay.

*Duncan's
decease* It was with sincere regret that I learnt from the respectable Captain Carnac, on the 22nd August, that the Hon'ble Jonathan Duncan Governor Bahadur, had become an inhabitant of Paradise on the 11th August. He was the person who formed the intimate friendship which at present exists between the sarkars, and by his means both Governments have reaped much advantage. I am grieved when I reflect on his good qualities and attachment.

It is however the will of the Almighty that everything that has birth, shall also have an end; and as grief would be unavailing, I submit with patience having performed the ceremonies due to friendship.

Your friendly letter dated the 27th August was delivered to me by Captain Carnac at a fortunate moment, and I was glad that the power and authority of him who is in paradise, had devolved on you.

I am perfectly satisfied (according to the very friendly tenor of your letter) that you and colleagues in Government will continue those relations of friendship, which have been so firmly established between the sarkars by the late Governor. On this subject I need not dwell as Captain Carnac is always writing. Always continue to gladden my heart by friendly letters. What more can I write ?

No. 4. LAWLESSNESS IN GUJARAT

THE documents deal mainly with the Kolis, the Mewaris, the Grassias and the Pindaris. The last were marauding mercenaries who made inroads into the country; the first three were inhabitants of Gujarat, but with apparently no sense whatever of the most fundamental principles of right and wrong. It is not however the misdeeds of these people which are specially recorded, but rather the way in which they were dealt with by the servants of the Company, specially by Mr. James R. Carnac, the Acting Resident at Baroda. A few documents deal with the Mahi Kantha settlement.

Section A: KOLIS

ATTACK ON KAIRA

DOCUMENTS

Baroda, 26th May, 1810 (1810, P. D. 358)

1810

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

1. The correspondence already submitted to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, respecting the attack on the jail at Kaira, with the report of the Judge and Magistrate, has placed the Hon'ble Board in possession of the manner which it was determined to adopt for the punishment of the perpetrators of the outrage and to prevent the recurrence of a similar act of aggression. *Use of
Gaikwad
troops*

2. The usual mahsuls on the offending villages having produced no effect, the detachments of the Company and Gaikwad joined at Godavi, a village situated on the northern frontier of the Dholka pargana and, from its situation in the vicinity of the villages which participated in the attack on the jail, was well calculated for commencing the operations of the detachments. From Godavi they marched to Santaji, a strong Mewasi village in the Kadi district and five kos distant from Godavi.

3. This appearance of the resolution of the two Governments to punish the aggressors against the public was attended, I am happy to say, with the most beneficial effects.

4—22. [*All the villages involved were successfully dealt with.*]

23. From the preceding detail I trust the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will perceive the aid which the occasional co-operation of a body of Gaikwad troops is calculated to extend in promotion of the public peace and security, the offenders against which, when combined and in numbers, would be beyond the ability of the

civil power to coerce, and would probably elude the operation of the Company's regular troops acting independently.

25. The zealous exertions therefore of Mr. Ballantine throughout the whole of this duty, and particularly in preserving that cordiality which has contributed so much to success, may be deserving the notice and approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, and the Gaikwad commander is much gratified with the ready and cordial manner in which Captain Roome, commanding the detachment from Kaira, co-operated to ensure the united objects of the two Governments.

27. I have delayed during some days to submit the proceedings above detailed to the notice of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council with a view of ascertaining from the Administration their intentions regarding the disposal of the offenders in the custody of the authorities at Ahmadabad.

28. The sentiments, entertained by the Gaikwad Government tend to the execution of signal punishment on the principal criminals of their jurisdiction, implicated in the attack on Kaira.

29. The danger of letting loose upon society a set of men who have been guilty of the enormous offence of attacking the capital of the Hon'ble Company's Government in Gujarat, in order to rescue a notorious offender condemned to transportation by the Court of Circuit, and whose guilt has been acknowledged by their own spontaneous confessions and by corroborative testimony, and considering that lives have been sacrificed by the audacious attack, point out the necessity, I respectfully conceive, of rendering an example.

30. The Gaikwad Government are however cordially disposed in this case to attend to the suggestions of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council and to wait, if necessary, the result of the investigation into the conduct of the offenders now in confinement at Kaira.

No. 1. Bombay resolution of 6th June.

Trial of guilty The Governor-in-Council is much gratified by the meritorious conduct of Lieutenant Ballantine, such as it is not doubted must have very materially contributed to the general success of the expedition.

With regard to the latter part of the preceding dispatch, by which the Gaikwad Government seem desirous of obtaining the sentiments of this Government on the medium to be pursued with respect to the Kolis of the dominions of Anandrao Gaikwad, who have been apprehended and brought in prisoners, and remain in custody for their participation in or having abetted the attack on the jail at Kaira, the Acting Resident is to be informed that, whilst this Government desire to abstain from all interferences in regard to the interior administration of justice by the Gaikwad State, it will at the same time have no objection, should the Gaikwad Administration be disposed to make over for trial in our courts such of the said Kolis as did actually repair in hostile array along with the late Bacher Koli for the purpose of making the attack on the jail at Kaira; nor would such transfer of the

said parties for trial be in the appreciation of this Government unconformable to the letter and spirit of the treaties between the two States; at the same time that Government are not disposed to insist on, or even to agitate such a question with the Hon'ble Company's ally on the present occasion, in the event of Mr. Carnac's considering it is liable on its discussion to give rise to the least umbrage on their part; and with respect to the other Kolis, taken up for their general connection only with the insurgents personally concerned in the attack on the jail, their fate and the disposal of them must rest entirely on the discretion of the Gaikwad Administration; who will no doubt be inclined to temper justice with mercy as far as the circumstances of each party's case may appear to admit.

No. 2. *Letter from Francis Warden to James R. Carnac, dated 6th June, 1810.*

N.B.—The letter is but a repetition of the Bombay resolution of the same date.

No. 3. *Letter from James R. Carnac to Francis Warden, dated 28th June, 1810.*

1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch under date the 6th instant and request you would have the goodness to state that the indisposition of some part of the Administration has prevented the agitation of the subject regarding the delivery of the principal offenders now confined in Ahmadabad, engaged in the attack on the jail at Kaira, to the authorities of the Company's Government. *Trial of guilty.*

2. Although I have every reason to believe that the Gaikwad Government would be unwilling to dissent from the proposals expressed in your letter now acknowledged, many considerations, on deliberate inquiry, induce me respectfully to suggest that the criminals, adverted to, may be left at the disposal of their own Government.

3. It will probably be admitted that the participation of the subjects of this Government in the enormity of the attack on the jail, and the protection which they had afforded for some time to the principal instigator of these crimes, demands from the Gaikwad the exercise of the most rigid justice as an example to the Koli tribes, numerously dispersed within the limits of their jurisdiction.

4. The power of the Gaikwad of making this example will become removed by transferring those men, now in custody, to the Adaulat at Kaira, who actually repaired in hostile array to the attack on the jail.

5. The persons already in confinement at that station, whose confessions of their offence supported by other evidence leaves no doubt of their criminality, may afford sufficient grounds of rendering a useful admonition to the Company's subjects that crimes of magnitude shall not pass with impunity.

6. Under every impression therefore of the subject, I would strenuously recommend to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that we require no privilege from the Gaikwad

Government, which could in the most remote degree be construed into an exercise of a power at variance with the rules and customs of the country.

7. Some degree of reluctance would probably be felt in resigning established usages, well disposed as the Administration might feel to concur in the proposals of the British Government; and from the first advances to deviation from prescribed usages, however restrained or palliated by particular circumstances, effects would possibly arise that might gradually disturb the cordial co-operation already experienced in affording prompt reparation for offences committed within the respective jurisdictions of the allied Governments.

Bombay resolution, dated 17th July.

Approval We approve of the Acting Resident not having agitated the subject (in regard to the delivery of the principal offenders now confined in Ahmadabad, who were engaged in the attack of the jail of Kaira) with the Administration at Baroda, for the reasons he has adduced.

Section B : GRASSIA TROUBLE IN MAHUDAH

DOCUMENTS

1810 *Baroda, 1st June, 1810 (1810, P. D. 358)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Use of Gaikwad troops 1. I have the honour respectfully to submit to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the enclosed copies of correspondence with the Judge and Magistrate at Kaira, in consequence of a proposal from the Collector at that station to engage the services of the Gaikwad troops, with a view of acquiring redress for alleged offences committed by Gaikwad villages situated on the borders of the Hon'ble Company's district of Moondeh [*Mahudah*].

2. In expressing a hope that the sentiments, which I have deemed it my duty to communicate to Mr. Diggle with reference to the proposed measure of Mr. Rowles, may meet the approbation of the Hon'ble Board, it may be necessary in this place to offer a few observations in explanation of my motives for disagreeing in the expediency of the Collector's plan.

3. At the time that the Gaikwad force was employed against the offenders engaged in the outrageous attack on Kaira, the extraordinary circumstances attending that event required the application of coercive means to apprehend and punish the parties.

4. This Government having cordially concurred in the employment of their forces, I submit it to the judgment of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council how far it would be proper to divert the Mahi Kantha mulukgiri troops from the execution of their particular duties by requiring their aid from Dehgam and Paranti to the borders of the Moondeh pargana for the purpose of redressing wrongs committed

by a few villages in that neighbourhood, immediately subsequent to their co-operation in the Company's districts.

5. Willing to grant every justice to the zeal of Mr. Rowles, I am concerned that he should have considered my letter to the Judge and Magistrate at Kaira in a sense very foreign to my real intentions.

6. The services of the Gaikwad mulukgiri force in the instance under review might have been the employment of coercive measures, where from past experience and established usage, I trust, it may be found unnecessary.

7. Exclusive however of this consideration, it does not follow that, because the Gaikwad Government have granted the assistance of their troops for the purpose of apprehending the offenders engaged in the attack on the Kaira jail, the same assistance is to be expected or repeated on occasions of partial importance, more especially where such assistance must be detrimental to the Gaikwad Government by diverting its troops from a specific duty.

8. To secure the general peace and security is undoubtedly an object of extensive importance and serious consideration, but the employment of the Mahi Kantha mulukgiri force to rectify the offences of a few villages certainly appears to me an object of partial consequence in opposition to the means by which it has been proposed to accomplish that object.

9. No necessity however becomes apparent to justify a resort to these measures, when the usual means adopted by the Gaikwad will, I hope, have the desired effect of obtaining redress from the offending villages.

10. These usual means are the application in the first instance of more lenient measures than those of positive coercion by placing mahsuls on the offending parties, or appealing to the securities pledged for the peaceable demeanour of the villages in which they may reside.

11. With reference to the agency no doubt intended by Mr. Rowles for facilitating objects of general benefit, I presume with all due deference that an extra interposition, where prompt reparation afforded by the Gaikwad is gratefully acknowledged, is unnecessary and not expedient.

12. It is this persuasion of having given redress for offences committed by the Gaikwad subjects that would constitute, I apprehend, a concession on their part for the employment of an agency; and I conceive that it would not be agreeable to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to sanction Gaikwad emissaries to distinguish certain criminals in their jurisdiction, when the authority of their civil power is capable of apprehending and bringing them to punishment.

13. In concluding this subject I have also respectfully to observe that one of the principal inducements for the objections to the proposal of Mr. Rowles has been occasioned by a conviction that it is

always the substantial interest of every Government to await the operation of lenient means and the regular course of the civil power before it reverts to the services of a military body; which also in this instance appeared to my judgment materially unadvisable, the Kapadvanj and Attarsumba districts being the jaidad possessions of Mir Kamal-ud-din Husain and Amin Saheb, two principal sardars in the Gaikwad service.

14. The application of coercion to the Mewasis in every petty misdemeanour or transgression might alienate the attachment of these tribes from their Government, while the adoption of moderate proceedings, except on extraordinary occasions, is the only sure means of reducing them to obedience and to a more civilised condition of society.

No. 1. Letter from Byram Rowles, Collector, to Henry W. Diggle, Judge and Magistrate at Kaira, dated 17th May, 1810.

Rowles' request Understanding that a mulukgiri force belonging to the Gaikwad Government is now in the vicinity of Kapadvanj, I beg leave to suggest to you the measure of soliciting through the Resident at Baroda the services of that force in obtaining fresh security from the Gaikwad villages situated on the confines of the Moondchpargana.

Should you coincide with me on this subject, I need not add the pleasure I shall feel in sparing an intelligent agent to accompany the Gaikwad force and point out the villages from which the Hon'ble Company's dependencies are most molested, and give information of the principal acts of aggression which have been committed within the last few years.

No. 2. Letter from James R. Carnac to Henry W. Diggle, dated 21st May.

Carnac's objections 1. I am honoured by the receipt of your favour under date the 18th instant, enclosing copy of a letter from the Collector at Kaira.

2. In reply I beg leave to state that the proposal of Mr. Rowles appears susceptible of some objection arising from the recent co-operation of the Gaikwad forces, and that an arrangement may be effected with reference to the villages, which are alleged to have committed trespasses, by a direct application through the regular channel to this Government.

3. To expect the application for the services of the Gaikwad army for the accomplishment of an object which can be effected, I hope, with facility by the usual means, and on occasions where the advantages proposed to be obtained are partial, is in my apprehension not expedient and unnecessary.

4. The deputation of an agent to point out the villages, adverted to, would not only be unacceptable to this Government, who have uniformly shown the utmost promptitude in affording reparation without the intervention of such agency, but the concession of the

Gaikwad to such a proceeding might be followed by a similar request on their part, which, I conceive, would be deemed as objectionable as it would be superfluous.

5. Under every consideration therefore I would beg leave to suggest that a memorandum may at the present time be furnished of the villages which are said to have offended.

No. 3. Letter from Byram Rowles, Collector at Kaira, to Henry W. Diggle, dated 27th May.

1. Yours of the 25th, enclosing a copy of Mr. Carnac's sentiments on the inexpediency of the plan I suggested in my letter of the 17th, I have had the honour to receive. *Rowles' defence*

2. As the motives, which induced me to address you, originated in the general benefit which would accrue to the inhabitants of that quarter, I sincerely regret that the plan I suggested should have met with such severe animadversions from the Acting Resident.

3. The subject however being of that extensive importance to merit the most serious attention, I must beg leave further to intrude on your time with a few observations in reply to Mr. Carnac's letter.

4. In regard to the objection made in the second paragraph, founded on the recency of the co-operation of the Gaikwad force, I should have myself considered that event as tending more to uphold the measure than calculated to detract from its expediency. Benefits cannot be too generally diffused; and as the advantages, which have been derived from the operations of that force in one neighbourhood, are universally admitted and gratefully acknowledged, no other motives could surely be wanting to recommend the pursuance of similar operations in another quarter.

5. In reply to the third paragraph I beg to observe that the punishment and control of Mewasi villages especially in the parganas of Kapadvanj, Attarsumba, Antroli, etc. has seldom or even been effected without calling in the service of an armed force, and that such is the usual means resorted to, nor can the advantages arising from the maintenance of good order in society be considered as partial.

6. Ready at all times to acknowledge the promptitude displayed by the Gaikwad Government in their endeavours to afford reparation for injuries sustained from their districts, I should not have tendered the services of a karkun, had it appeared to me that to acquiesce in such a measure would be viewed as a concession on the part of His Highness the Gaikwad, while so inoffensive a mode of promoting a beneficial object, the success of which must otherwise be considered as doubtful, hardly deserves the epithets of objectionable and superfluous.

7. In conformity to the suggestion conveyed in the last paragraph, and in compliance with your wishes, I have the honour to forward thirteen memoranda of aggressions and molestations committed from eighteen different villages in the neighbourhood of the present opera-

tions of the Gaikwad force. As other circumstances of a similar nature may be brought to my notice, I shall have the honour to communicate them.

Bombay orders.

Decision It is not doubted but Mr. Carnac will cause the requisite securities to be given so as to prevent the recurrence of outrages of the nature and description which Mr. Rowles has laudably pointed out; whilst to Government it will be most agreeable that this measure should proceed and be effected in the manner that shall prove the most agreeable to the Gaikwad Government.

1810 *Baroda, 4th July, 1810 (1810, P. D. 359)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Dealing with Grassias 1. The correspondence which I had the honour to submit in my letter of the 1st ultimo, will have placed the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council in possession of the information regarding excesses committed by Grassia proprietors of the Kapadvanj and adjoining districts on villages situated in the Company's district of Moondeh.

2. The measures proposed by the Collector to remedy these excesses being of a nature which, I conceived, would not be acceptable to the Gaikwad Government, the Judge and Magistrate at Kaira accordingly followed the course suggested by me to furnish a memorandum of the several instances in which the Hon'ble Company's subjects had been aggrieved.

3. The promptitude of the Gaikwad in pursuing those measures which appeared best calculated to obtain redress for the alleged offences committed by their subjects, will fully appear in the accompanying copy of a letter to Mr. Diggle, informing that gentlemen that a letter had been dispatched by the Administration by jassus with particular injunctions to the Grassias to refrain from disorder, and directing them to proceed to Baroda for the purpose of concluding a permanent arrangement of their claims.

4. I have the honour also to enclose copy of the reply from the Judge and Magistrate at Kaira, forwarding transcript of a letter from the Collector.

5. It was fully the intention of this Government to have assembled the parties at Baroda, in order that an adjustment might be made by which any future molestation on account of grass dues should be entirely obviated.

The communication however of the contents, in the accompanying copy of a letter from Mr. Diggle with its enclosures, alter the intentions of the Administration from experience of the vindictive conduct of the Grassias, who would probably commit serious excesses in consequence of the death of one of their brethren in the affray at the village of Wurtal in the Moondeh pargana.

7. The recourse to arms by the inhabitants of Wurtal is certainly to be regretted; and nothing but the prompt measure, noticed in the

accompanying transcript of a letter to Mr. Diggle, will in all likelihood prevent the relatives of the deceased Grassia from taking signal revenge for their loss.

8. In conformity to the request of this Government I have consented to depute Lieutenant Ballantine with the person who has been appointed to inquire into the circumstances which have led to the unfortunate catastrophe at Wurtal, and generally to effect a reconciliation and adjustment of past transgression and future claims.

9. While I beg leave to express a respectful hope that my compliance with the wishes of the Gaikwad Administration in deputing Lieutenant Ballantine may meet with the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, I trust the motives which have instigated that request and the anxiety evinced by the Gaikwad Government of affording reparation for offences committed by their subjects, will appear entitled to regard.

10. I have instructed Lieutenant Ballantine to accomplish in union with the person deputed from this Government the most equitable arrangement of the subsisting differences between the Grassias and the Hon'ble Company's subjects as circumstances can possibly admit.

11. The result of the exertions of this officer in the execution of his instructions will be duly submitted for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

No. 1. Letter from James R. Carnac to Henry W. Diggle, dated Baroda, 18th June.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your several *Carnac's* dispatches having reference to excesses by Grassias in the Kapadvanj, *advice* Antroli and Attarsumba districts.

2. In order to prevent the continuance of these excesses, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Gaikwad Government have dispatched written orders to the local authorities of the districts, adverted to, by jasus, giving particular injunctions that the Grassias desist from making demands on the Company's subjects until their just amount may be examined and finally adjusted.

3. The Administration having in the meanwhile thought proper to order the several Grassias to attend at Baroda as affording the best means of settling the disputes for their dues, I would suggest that you have the goodness to direct the parties, from whom extra exactions have been made, to proceed also to this place, under the assurance that I shall endeavour to concert such an arrangement with this Government as appears calculated to obviate in future the vexations conduct of these disorderly tribes.

No. 2. Letter from Byram Rowles to Henry W. Diggle, dated Kaira, 23rd June.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of *Rowles'* to-day's date enclosing copy of a communication from the Acting *complaints* Resident at Baroda of the 18th instant.

It affords me unfeigned pleasure to observe the apparent interest taken by the Acting Resident in bringing to a satisfactory issue these multifold and really serious causes of complaint which, so far from having ceased in consequence of the orders transmitted by the jasus, continued, to the latest period of my information, in their full plenitude of vexatious interruption and arbitrary exaction.

Confident that every justice will be done to the interests both of the Hon'ble Company and their subjects by the Gaikwad Administration, when our cause is so powerfully advocated, I have in compliance with Mr. Carnac's suggestions directed Kristnaji Trimbak, my karkun at Moondeh, to collect all the aggrieved parties and proceed with them to the residency at Baroda.

Among the subjects requiring adjustment I am sorry to observe that of the attack made by the Kolis of Araul of the village of Soori in the Matar [Matar] pargana now of more than a year's existence, and from the consequences of which the Hon'ble Company's revenue sustained considerable detriment, such as will not be recovered even in the present year without the adoption of some efficient measures by the members of the Gaikwad Government.

No. 3. Letter from Byram Rowles to Henry W. Diggle, dated Kaira, 30th June, 1810.

Further complaints I beg leave to bring to your notice and eventually to that of the Acting Resident at Baroda the lamentable circumstances narrated in the accompanying extract of a letter from Kristnaji Trimbak, my karkun at Moondeh, by which you will become acquainted with the continued excesses committed by the subjects of the Gaikwad in the Hon'ble Company's villages, amounting to open hostility and threatening both the lives and property of those so justly entitled to our protection.

It is with regret that I observe these increasing molestations extend to such a degree as to render the desertion of the villages and the defalcation of the revenue almost inevitable, while I shall be at a loss what reason to assign to my Hon'ble Employers for the losses to which they will thus be subjected.

No. 4 Translate of a letter from Kristnaji Trimbak karkun of the Moondeh [Mahudah] district to the Collector of Kaira, dated 29th June, 1810.

Excesses Wastabhoy and his five brothers of the village of Burkunda of Kapadvanj came and stayed two days at Wurtal of this (Moondeh) district. The patel gave them victuals, etc. These Grassias had before made a settlement for their gras; but under pretence of former claims, they yesterday evening departed, having excited a disturbance. Going to the boundary of the village, they drove off two bullocks belonging to the patel and plundered a Brahman of his clothes. An alarm was immediately in consequence sounded; when assistance having reached from the village, an affray ensued; arrows were discharged from both sides, by one of which a nephew of the Grassia being struck he died on the spot. One of the village sepoy's has also been wounded

in the hand by an arrow. The inhabitants from fear of the Grassias have begun to remove their effects. The village is in a state of alarm and confusion. I have in consequence sent Muckabhoy (a brother of Ajubhai Desai of Moondel) accompanied by sarkar peons in order to prevent the people from carrying away their property, but they place no confidence on his assurance.

No. 5. Letter from James R. Carnac to Henry W. Diggle, dated Baroda, 2nd July.

2. The unfortunate circumstances, which have occurred at Wurtal *Directions* in Moondel pargana, have been brought to the notice of the Gaikwad Administration, who have in consequence deemed it proper to direct a person to proceed to the Kapadvanj district, in order in the first instance to prevent the Grassias from revenging the death of the nephew of Wastabhoy, occasioned in the affray adverted to in the enclosure to the Collector's dispatch.

3. While it is to be regretted that the inhabitants of the village of Wurtal had recourse to arms, the consequence, which might be expected from the vindictive spirit of the Grassias, appears to the Administration likely to become obviated only by the above measure; and they have requested that my Assistant, Lieutenant Ballantine, might also proceed to inquire into the causes of the Wurtal affray as well as to terminate all the differences which appear to subsist regarding the dues of the Grassias on some of the villages of the Hon'ble Company.

4. In notifying to you therefore the departure of Lieutenant Ballantine in company with a person from this Government to-morrow morning, I beg to suggest that, in place of directing the ryots of the Moondel district, who have complained of grievances from the Grassias, to proceed to Baroda for redress, they may be referred to Lieut. Ballantine at Kapadvanj, who will communicate with you in the progress of an arrangement.

5. At this particular season of the year it will also be more convenient for the Company's subjects to attend at Kapadvanj than leaving their occupations of cultivation during the protracted period to which their journey to Baroda would expose them.

6. Lieutenant Ballantine has been instructed to effect, in unison with the person deputed by this Government, full and satisfactory securities from all the Grassias who have claims on the Company's possessions, and to accomplish an arrangement of past transgressions as conclusive and equitable as circumstances can possibly admit.

7. With the aid, I am confident you will have the goodness to afford Lieutenant Ballantine, the apprehended defalcation of revenue to the Hon'ble Company will, it is hoped, be prevented.

Remark in the Diary.

The deputation of Lieutenant Ballantine to inquire into the *Approval* circumstances, which have led to the unfortunate catastrophe at Wurtal, is approved; and Government are fully sensible of the

laudable intentions evinced in the present instance by the Gaikwad Government.

1810 Baroda, 31st July, 1810 (1810, P.D. 360)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

*Panchayat
tribunal*

1. In continuation of the subject of my letter dated the 4th instant, apprising you for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of the deputation of Lieutenant Ballantine in order to acquire securities from the Grassias of the Kapadvanj and neighbouring districts in conjunction with an agent from the Gaikwad Government, I have now much pleasure in submitting a copy of a report from that officer, detailing his proceedings and the successful manner in which he has been able to provide against any interruption of the public peace or detriment to the Company's revenue by obtaining the execution of deeds from the several Grassias, stipulating to abstain for the present from prosecuting their avowed claims.

2. The perusal of Mr. Ballantine's report will, I trust, satisfy the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that, however desirous of reconciling the differences subsisting between the Grassia proprietors and the ryots of the Hon'ble Company's Government, it was found quite impracticable to enter into investigations that would require the attendance of the parties for some considerable time, to the serious detriment of their own interests at this season of cultivation.

3. The earnest solicitation also of the parties induced my Assistant to abandon his original intentions of making a permanent settlement of differences, and probably Government may be disposed to conceive that every object has been effected by acquiring securities for the peaceable behaviour of the Grassias, which circumstances at this conjuncture could possibly admit of.

5. The repeated instances, which have occurred, to enable the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to form a correct estimation of the character of a Grassia, will render any remarks superfluous on the expediency of conceding to the customs of people, when such accordance with their prejudices is likely to afford the same advantage that an adherence to our own legal forms would assuredly produce.

6. The security bonds, procured by the agents of the Gaikwad Government and Lieutenant Ballantine from the Grassia proprietors, specify that a panchayat or court of arbitration shall decide on their claims on the villages of the Hon'ble Company in the course of 8 months.

7. The Administration are also desirous to leave to the same medium of investigation the several complaints preferred by the Collector at Kaira against their Grassia subjects.

*Panchayat
system*

8. The institution, denominated a panchayat, is familiar to the mind of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, the members of which are generally men of substance and property, and acquainted with the usages of the country as well as the subject submitted to their inquiry.

9. They are solicited by the parties themselves, consequently possessed of their confidence; and their proceedings are always under the inspection of some authorised person on behalf of Government. No tribunal can therefore be better calculated to adjust differences among men similarly situated as the Grassias than that of referring them to the arbitration of respectable persons, uninterested in the point at issue and acquainted with the nature of the subject required to be investigated.

10. It may also be questionable whether the half civilised Grassias would regard the decision even of their own Government when at variance with their established usages of investigation; and duly considering all circumstances, I respectfully conceive that the adjustment of the subsisting differences by panchayat is the surest means of guarding against the repetition of offences which might eventually assume a more serious character.

No. 1. Letter from Lieutenant Ballantine to James R. Carnac, dated Kapadvanj, 21st July, 1810.

This letter is practically summarised in the preceding one.

*Kaira Collector's Office, 31st August, 1810 (1810, P. D. 361)
Byram Rowles to H. W. Diggle.*

1810

1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter intimating to me that at the earliest and most convenient period a panchayat would be assembled to decide upon the just extent of the rights of certain Grassias, residing in the Gaikwad territories, to property situated in the Hon'ble Company's district. *Objections to panchayat*

2. As the result of the arrangement may, if not proceeded on with the utmost caution, prove highly detrimental to the Company's interests, and be productive of the most alarming consequences to the future welfare of the State, I feel it my bounden duty, before any further steps be taken, to submit to you the following observations, in order that they may be laid before the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

3. That, however unobjectionable the recourse to a panchayat, to decide on the rights between individuals, it by no means follows that it is equally unobjectionable where the Government constitute one of the parties in the dispute.

4. That the property in question being entirely situated within the jurisdiction of the Kaira adaulat, the Grassias, as far as relates to their claims, are subject to that court; and if justice be their object, nowhere could it be obtained with greater facility.

5. That any infringement on the rights of the Grassias, since the territory has come into the possession of the Hon'ble Company, could be easily ascertained, and immediate redress would be given; while any innovation, previous to that period, should be submitted to the Gaikwad Government, as redress in such instances must operate in diminishing the value of the cession to the Hon'ble Company, and therefore requires indemnification.

6. That, as property once enjoyed by Grassias has at various periods been sequestered through every part of Gujarat, the restitution of it in this instance by a panchayat would be productive of innumerable claims, equally founded on original right, and requiring, if admitted, a relinquishment of lands which now produce to Government several lakhs of Rupees.

7. That, as a concession to Grassias, residing out of the Company's districts, to lands under our control would naturally awaken all claims of this nature, it would be requisite, in case restitution of any land should be made by this panchayat, that the Gaikwad should also sacrifice to individuals, now living in the Company's districts, those possessions which they formerly enjoyed in any of the parganas constituting part of the Gaikwad territory.

8. That, as such a measure would be productive of the utmost confusion, would rouse all the latent claims in the country, and give rise to innumerable irregularities in order to bring such claims into notice, while on the other hand it would create an alarming reduction in the revenue now derived from the country, it cannot be desirable that recourse should be had to any kind of arbitration likely to produce such distressing consequences.

9. I cannot but view it as highly dangerous that a case, involving such extensive political objects, should be submitted to the decision of a panchayat, half the members of which would undoubtedly be desirous of getting as much as possible, while the other half could not be expected to object to anything established in right, though at ever so remote a period; and the Government, before whom the proceeding would be laid, would feel itself compelled by its own principle of conduct to concur, provided the members of the panchayat were not influenced by either corrupt or grossly partial motives.

10. The above reasons lead me to hope that, if in opposition to the sentiments I entertain, the panchayat you apprise me of should ever be assembled, such restrictions may be laid upon their proceedings as to confine their investigation to the period the territory has been enjoyed by the Company, and that the place of their assembly may be within the Company's districts where the property is situated.

1810 *Baroda*, 12th September, 1810 (1810, P. D. 361)

James R. Carnac to Henry Wadham Diggle.

Panchayat defended 4. It is with feelings of regret and disappointment that the Admiration of this Government have discovered that objections should anywhere exist to a course of proceeding founded on the customs of the people, with whom we have on this occasion to deal; and that these objections have appeared in opposition to a unanimous sentiment of approbation on the eligibility of the means by which we have proposed to adjust the claims of the Grassias residing in the districts adjoining the Company's pargana of Mundeh.

5. The Gaikwad Government perfectly concur in the observations of Mr. Rowles with reference to the redress which their subjects would

obtain by an appeal to your person, or the Court of adaulat at Kaira; under the influence of which sentiments, excited by the uniform impartiality and justice of the judicial proceedings of the Company's Government, they can entertain no objection whatsoever to the Grassias proceeding to Kaira in preference even to the proposed court of arbitration for the settlement of their litigated claims.

6. It cannot however be consistent with justice that the Gaikwad Government should compel their Grassia subjects to attend at the adaulat; and as we have found in the present instance that these people are decidedly averse to any other method of settling their claims than by a panchayat, it follows that the Administration by concurring with the established customs of the Grassias have laudably regarded the preservation of the public peace and the interests of the respective Governments.

7. It is not necessary to dwell any longer on a subject, when the experience possessed both by you and the Collector has rendered the character of the uncivilised Grassia familiar to your minds; but I have the pleasure to express the feelings of this Government in assuring you that no course would have been more acceptable than that the Grassias in question should have conformed to the regulations established in the Company's Government.

8. With reference to the observations of the Collector on the detriment which would ensue to the Hon'ble Company's revenue by agitating claims founded on right, I must perfectly concur with you that, when such claims are established upon justice, Government will not probably be disposed to dispute the award.

9. It is not however necessary to discuss questions of this extensive importance, when the objects in contemplation cannot be productive, I conceive, in their consequences of the distressing effects predicted by the Collector, from assembling a panchayat. The fears therefore expressed by Mr. Rowles will become, I trust, entirely removed by the provision that has seasonably been made by the Gaikwad agent and Lieutenant Ballantine determining a specific period as the basis of an arrangement of their gras claims; nor do I imagine that the Grassia from his ready concurrence in this necessary limitation has ever had it in view to agitate or much less expect to succeed in chimerical schemes for the restitution of rights that have now become obsolete.

10. The objects of these Grassias have obviously been directed to the permanent attainment of the gras dues enjoyed by them since the period of the cession to the Hon'ble Company or during recent years, while the Government have proposed a panchayat for the clear definition of these claims to remedy the repeated broils occasioned by an arbitrary exaction. If these are therefore admitted to constitute the principles on which the intended panchayat is to be convened, it may be difficult to conceive why the members composing it should take the trouble of adverting to claims foreign and distinct to the express objects submitted to their arbitration,

1810 *Baroda, 16th September, 1810 (1810, P. D. 361)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

*Panchayat
defended*

3. The solicitude, which this Government had evinced in consequence of the reiterated complaints and the melancholy effects which Mr. Rowles had announced to be inevitable, unless some immediate measures were adopted to restrain the rapacity of the Grassia proprietors, has been followed by a corresponding degree of chagrin and disappointment that the Collector should now protest against the very means by which the disturbances of the Grassias are intended to be repressed and a permanent arrangement effected for the satisfaction of the respective parties in their disputes.

4. Under the influence of such feelings I beg respectfully to submit for the notice of Government my reply; and it may be only requisite to point out the candour and liberality of the Gaikwad Government in acknowledging the advantages of their Grassia subjects having recourse for redress to the court of Adaulat at Kaira, while they are not disposed by such deference to the judicial proceedings of the Company's Government to concur in any insinuations detracting from the merits of a court of panchayat.

5. The advantages of this valuable institution are so familiar to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council (and I apprehend has been resorted to on many occasions under the Company's Government) that it is not necessary to occupy his attention by adverting to them in detail; but in the instance of the Grassias having claims on the Company's subjects, it is unfortunate for the opinions expressed by Mr. Rowles that the permanent security of the public peace will not probably admit of our pursuing any other course than that which has already been resolved under the approbation of Government.

6. No considerations, I am concerned to observe, have hitherto prevailed on the half civilised Grassias to proceed either to Kaira or Baroda; which leaves therefore no alternative than to conform to the customs of these people in adjusting their litigated claims. The object however being the preservation of the peace of their districts and to obtain for the Grassias the payment of their legal dues, Government may probably be satisfied with obtaining these ends without insisting on the observation of forms, to which, it is presumed, the Grassias will not peaceably conform.

7. It is quite superfluous for me to engage the attention of the Hon'ble Board by remarking further on the accumulated objections submitted by the Collector at Kaira. It may be proper I should notice that it comprised a primary consideration, when I consented to the deputation of my Assistant with an agent from the Gaikwad Government, that the payments made to the Grassias during the mulukgiri circuits of Babaji, Shivram Gardi, or immediately antecedent to the cession of the districts to the Hon'ble Company, should be admitted as the standard to which the court of panchayat would be limited, obviating by such a provision the retrospective operation

which, Mr. Rowles conceives, would be fraught with much detriment and confusion.

8. With reference to the proposal of Mr. Diggle that the Grassias should refer to the Kaira Collector's office to ascertain the admitted amount of their gras claims, I am reluctantly obliged to repeat the apparent impracticability of prevailing on these men to concur in so desirable a proceeding, but, reflecting on the observations contained in Mr. Ballantine's report, dated the 30 July, of the probability of the Grassias having augmented their claims since the cession to the Hon'ble Company, it may appear advisable that a court of arbitration should determine the Grassia claims according to the period at which they were at the most moderate standard.

9. It need scarcely be remarked that the Administration here are perfectly indifferent as to the place where it may be deemed proper to assemble the panchayat; and I have accordingly suggested to Mr. Diggle with the entire concurrence of the Gaikwad Government that the panchayat be convened at the Hon'ble Company's kasba of Moondeh in consideration of its contiguity to the court of Adaulat at Kaira and the residence of the Grassias.

10. In conclusion, I will venture to express a respectful hope that, aided by the cordial co-operation of the authorities at Kaira, the Grassia disputes, which have already occupied so much of the valuable time and attention of Government, will be brought to a satisfactory issue, confiding that the proposed mode of adjustment will still be honoured by the support and approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Bombay orders.

It appears to Government that the precautions, suggested by *Orders* Mr. Rowles in the last para of his letter of the 31st of August, will be substantially attended to by fixing the retrospective period for investigating these claims to a date recently antecedent to, or rather contemporaneous with, the date of the cession of the pargana of Moondeh to the Hon'ble Company; and the arbitrators should be limited to this period accordingly, and directed to hold their meetings within the Company's limits.

Bombay resolution.

In the event of any of the Company's Grassias having similar *Approval* claims, as suggested by the Collector at Kaira, on the territories of the Gaikwad, there can be no reasonable objections against their being adduced before, and adjusted by, the same tribunal of panchayat. Besides which, in the event of the arbitrators' awards involving anything very unreasonable and extravagant, it will be easy for the officers of both Governments to coincide in suspending the effect of any such undue decisions, till a report thereof can be made to the respective Governments and their sentiments obtained. Under this view of the case, there can be no objection of sufficient weight against allowing the panchayat to proceed as already authorised.

Section C: MEWASI REVENUE DEFAULTERS

DOCUMENTS

1808 Baroda, 11th November, 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. 252)

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Kaira request 1. I have the honour to forward for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the copy of a letter from the Collector of Kaira, requesting the assistance of the Gaikwad troops in the ensuing collections of the districts of Vijapur.

2. I have also the honour to forward a copy of my reply, enclosing the original order of this Government to the officer commanding the Gaikwad troops, directing the performance of this service; which however under the favourable prospect of the return of tranquillity on the western frontier may probably be declined by Mr. Diggle under the expected assistance of the Hon'ble Company's troops.

No. 1. Letter from H. W. Diggle, Collector of Kaira to Alexander Walker, dated Kaira, 5th November, 1808.

Troops required 1. The repeated and earnest applications which I have recently made through the prescribed channel to the commanding officer of this division for military aid towards the current year's settlements with the Mewasis of the Vijapur pargana as well as the napar-jamin and ghasdana adjustments for the past and present Mrigsal have been unsuccessful by reason of the various detached parties of Lieutenant-Colonel Heath's battalion.

2. I have therefore the honour to apprise you that the present period is that at which the settlement of the Vijapur pargana should be made, and to solicit that, in the event of the existing disputes with the Kathis not admitting of any part of our regular troops being withdrawn from the western part of our jurisdiction for revenue duties, you will have the goodness to consider the propriety of securing the half of the Gaikwad mulukgiri army at Vijapur in the course of its circuit, which I understand is to take place in the present month.

3. The revenue at stake in or near Vijapur and Napar from the deficiency of our means at Kaira is upwards of 1,00,000 Rupees; and though under any other circumstances it might be unadvisable to take advantage of the Gaikwad troops for this service, I trust that on the present emergency you will concur in the propriety of the measure and be enabled to secure their attendance.

No. 2. Letter from Alexander Walker to Henry W. Diggle, dated 10th November.

Request granted 1. In acknowledgment of the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant I have the honour to send for your information the copy of a letter from Captain Corsellis, which gives reason to hope a speedy termination of the disturbances among the Kathis.

2. In consequence of these favourable appearances I have intimated to the Judge and Magistrate at Kaira that the extraordinary troops, hitherto employed in that part of the country, may be withdrawn for the revenue duties of your collections.

3. This arrangement may probably supersede the eventual use of the accompanying order on the commander of the Gaikwad Mahi Kantha troops to halt and assist your duties in Vijapur, which however you may still avail yourself of, should the aid of the Company's military not be forthcoming.

No. 3. Letter from Anandrao to his Junior, Jitho Gaikwad, dated 11th November.

When your force proceeds to the neighbourhood of the Vijapur *Orders* pargana, you will settle the revenues of its Mewasi villages for the current year, taking the security bonds and fil-zamini, which you will make over to the officer of the English Company Bahadur.

Bombay Orders

Lieutenant-Colonel Walker to be advised that the eventual *Approval* arrangement suggested in the concluding para of his letter is approved of by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Bombay, 18th March, 1809 (1809, P. D. 162)

1809

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter *Dealing with Mewasis* of the 11th instant yesterday and its enclosures on the subject of the Mewasis of Vijapur.

2. The causes of these disturbances are to be referred solely to the state of the society.

3. With people so uncivilised, who follow robbery as a profession and commit murder without compunction, little can be done by authority.

4. Old customs are not easily broken, and these insubordinate tribes have ever been accustomed to refuse the dues of their Government, although they may be moderate and just, until they were demanded by a military force. They incongruously link with this idea their honour and independence.

5. The present instance however of their resistance to the demands of the Company seems marked with uncommon obstinacy and perseverance; and it is extremely probable that this has been the consequence of the inactive and undecided conduct of our troops.

6. The collection of revenue by means of the regular forces is on general principles very objectionable, but the peculiar and extraordinary dispositions of these tribes render military aid necessary; and whenever this aid is resorted to, policy and humanity require that it should be effectual.

7. The wavering and undecided conduct of the troops will not have escaped the observation of the Mewasis; and the intelligence,

gained probably of other circumstances by private agents, would naturally add to their appearances of resolution and persistency on the present occasion.

8. This resolution however, I conceive, would only last so long as it may be maintained with impunity, and the pernicious effects of an example of a successful opposition to Government would much overbalance any result that can be expected from more resolute proceedings either in a compassionate or a political point of view.

9. Under the considerations I conceive that the best means of composing these disturbances would be by authorising the Collector to make a judicious exhibition of the Hon'ble Company's troops, aided by such of the Gaikwad forces as he can obtain in the course of the circuit of the Mahi Kantha mulukgiri army or from any of their districts adjoining to Vijapur, and to proceed either to overawe or to chastise such of the Mewasis as may persevere in opposing the equitable demands of Government on them for revenue.

10. The Collector is probably the best judge of the justice and severity of the measure; and by confiding these in a considerable degree to his discretion the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council would be most likely to quiet and compose the dissensions that prevail in Vijapur, which appear at present to receive obstruction from the diversity of deliberations and opinions to which they are subject.

11. Should the Collector or his Assistant in the progress of his proceedings find a sufficient cause for admitting of an abatement in favour of any of the Mewasis, it might be useful and expedient to authorise any indulgence which may be just.

12. With respect to the future management of Vijapur, it would be impolitic to manifest to the Mewasis in that division our inability to control their habits and to afford protection to the peaceably disposed. When these people have acquired a more intimate knowledge of our Government, of our justice and general character, they will become more tractable and be convinced of the folly of their opposition.

13. Should however the Hon'ble Company not possess this means of control, the actual condition of the district may point out the advantage of collecting its revenue through the agency of a Gaikwad mamlatdar, whose character or attachment to us may prevent him abusing his trust, and who may possess sufficient influence to obtain the assistance of the troops of his Government without requiring any extraordinary military aid from the Company.

14. The selection of the Gaikwad officer for this charge may require some consideration, but I conceive that a system for the administration of Vijapur, whether founded on this suggestion, or conducted under the more direct agency of the Company's servants, might be carried into effect; which would secure the Hon'ble

Company's revenue, maintain their influence in Vijapur, and afford their subjects every reasonable security, without the recurrence of the dissensions and ineffectual contests which have now for several months disquieted that district.

Bombay, 7th April, 1809 (1809, P. D. 162)

1809

Francis Warden to Alexandar Walker

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 18th of last month, and to inform you that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has anticipated the general suggestions you have offered, in as far as respects the Collector's availing himself of the junction of the Gaikwad mulukgiri force to assist in co-operation with the Hon'ble Company's detachment in overawing and coercing the really contumacious, without however deeming it unnecessary to extend a reasonable degree of relief to those of the Mewasis in question, whose rental appears to have been suddenly raised on them just previously to the cession of the pargana to the Company, and who have since been endeavouring to get it reduced under promises which they allege to have obtained from the local authorities; in which case Government cannot but deem it expedient that expectations, thus founded, should not be pertinaciously resisted, but yielded to in a reasonable degree; beyond which if these parties continue contumacious, it will be the duty of the Collector, and he has been accordingly discretionally authorised, to apply the joint force thus at his requisition to quiet turbulence. Before however force be in any case had recourse to, the local authorities have been enjoined to be certain that they have justice indisputably on their side.

*Mewasi
policy*

Your suggestions in respect to the future management of Vijapur are under the consideration of the Governor-in-Council.

Bombay, 28th February, 1811 (1811, P. D. 371)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I am favoured by the receipt of your letter bearing date the 21st ultimo transmitting for my information, copy of a letter from the Collector at Kaira and requiring my opinion how far the Gaikwad Government may be likely to feel disposed to co-operate with the Hon'ble Company in the measures proposed by Mr. Rowles.

*Use of
Gaikwad
troops*

It may almost be needless to assure the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Administration at Baroda would be interested in the execution of any arrangements by which our revenue could be enhanced, or the amelioration of society become promoted. Impressed with these sentiments, the justice of which the cordial co-operation of the Gaikwad Government on former occasions has so fully testified, I should deem it at the same time a dereliction of my duty, were I for a moment to suppress the expression of my persuasion that our ally would reluctantly consent to any interference within his own limits of jurisdiction.

Whatever may be our ideas of the expediency of suggesting and acting upon certain principles in the government of their internal affairs, the Gaikwad Government might not easily yield the palm of superiority to our judgment. The tranquillity which has reigned in Gujarat and the acknowledged exertions of the local officers of our ally have all tended with great reason to sharpen their natural tenacity of extraneous interposition.

Having with the utmost respect submitted these general observations, I may not be overstepping the bounds of my official duty by remarking that a repeated call for the Gaikwad troops in concerns, in which they have no substantial interests beyond that arising from the subsisting amity and good understanding, will not probably be calculated to strengthen the high sentiments of respect and veneration, to which the Government of the Hon'ble Company and the experience and ability of their subordinate officers are so eminently entitled.

Should it however be deemed a matter of great importance to ask the assistance of the Gaikwad troops to enforce the projected regulations in our revenue and police, that assistance cannot in justice be expected to any protracted period, since such absence of the troops from their allotted stations must operate to the detriment of the Government to which they belong.

1811 *Baroda, 19th March, 1811 (1811, P. D. 371)*

Board's resolution:—

*Use of
Gaikwad
troops*

1. It is to be noticed that, whilst we may not probably be even yet sufficiently informed as to the real state of society in Gujarat to enable us safely to pronounce with full confidence and decision on the relative rights of all the classes of its population, there can at the same time be no doubt that, in as far as abuses and corruptions may in the lapse of time have accumulated, it is equally consistent with justice and policy to endeavour to provide against the effect of these evils by a gradual amelioration rather than by any very hasty or forcible means that could be applied with a view to enforce improvement, real or supposed, in the general tenure of the society, according as we found it on entering into possession. An observance which, although requisite and advisable in all countries in which an amendment of the received habits of the people is an object, must be more especially expedient with reference to the few districts we possess in Gujarat, surrounded as these are by the more extensive territories of the Native Governments of their Highnesses the Peshwa and Gaikwad, unaided as we must expect to be and even virtually counteracted under the certainty that they will not fail to persevere in their old system of irregularity, laxity, interestedness and cupidity, such as must ever have a powerful effect in stirring similar dispositions in those who are the objects of this description of rule over them, as far as their power happens to extend.

2. The observation in the concluding part of the instruction of 23rd of February, 1809, is accordingly to be chiefly understood with allusion to the banditti therein specified.

12. It is desirable to avoid the making of frequent calls for military assistance of the Gaikwad State.

15. The Committee or the Collector will furnish Government with the instance prohibitory of the self-immolation of the Bharats in the enforcement of their engagements as securities, an extremity, which although certainly most undesirable to be recourse to, must yet, if the negative of it be promulgated, tend powerfully to counteract, if not entirely to subvert the system and the degree of utility, of which it is certainly susceptible. Whence it should not be announced to be forbidden in all cases whatever, the ill consequences of which have been already experienced. What Government conceive to be chiefly and alone wholly criminal is the immolation by Brahmans Bhats or Bharats of themselves, their wives, or children, or other helpless perhaps fanatical females, in promotion of their self-interested and sinister designs, as has in consequence been provided for by the regulation of the Supreme Government marked in the margin (Regulation XXI, 1795,) of which the Committee are now to be furnished with a copy, that they may consider and report how far they may now view a body of similar provisions as calculated for observance with the zilla of Kaira, under such exceptions, alterations, or qualifications as any difference in the local habits from what stands described in the preamble to the regulation in question they appear to them to require, and which they will in that case carefully specify and point out.

16. Neither need the system of Bhat securities, be rightly given up, even if attended occasionally with the loss of the lives of those who make such undertakings a profession. The question as to which resolves itself into the simple consideration whether more of good or of evil is involved therein; and there seems little doubt but the former preponderates. It will accordingly be probably found to have been uniformly practised in all Hindu Governments as supplying the easiest means of realising the revenue, and that, at the least cost to the public or the parties paying it, since the reward of the Bhats weighs as nothing, when put in the scale against what must be paid to shroffs or the moneyed men for their similar intervention. It is besides a constituent part of the native constitution; to withdraw or annul any part of which, that is not positively and even atrociously criminal, may be apt to endanger the whole fabric; and if on such principle our Government-General refrains from prohibiting widows ascending the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, or various religious castes to quit life by drowning, or voluntarily descending into their graves, without other object than the indulgence of the superstitious notions of such deluded victims, it may well be matter of hesitation to seek to eradicate one, certainly liable in itself to as little objection, whilst it involves several considerations of public utility. Thus it operated during the six or seven years that the present Governor of Bombay was Resident at Benares, and saved no doubt in many instances the necessity for the resort to more coercive measures in the departments either of revenue or police; at the same time that there did not occur during that period one instance of

consequent suicide, though often of course threatened, but always anxiously guarded against by the solicitude of the defaulters, to such a degree that in one remarkable instance a well known Brahman fill-zamini reduced [*a chieftain*] to the necessity of surrendering his gurhi or stronghold and submitting himself a prisoner merely through dint of fasting or perhaps of only affecting to fast with his family, and sitting with them in that condition in dharna for a certain number of days, and threatening to persevere in the practice till the refractory party in question should return to a dutiful demeanor towards Government, such as but for this expedient must have cost the march of a military detachment and, in all probability, the loss of at least more lives than could have ensued from the most extreme consequences that the resolution of that Brahman's security could have occasioned.

Gaikwad's army 21. Finally, it will be agreeable to Government to receive hereafter for their own observation as well as that of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors a quarterly return of the strength of the Gaikwad army according to its establishment, as fixed by the reforms accomplished during the period of the late Resident, as ultimately reported in the letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Walker of the 2nd September, 1808, accompanied by an explanatory notice from the Resident as to what stations they have been posted at, and how they have during each preceding quarter been employed, with such explanatory remarks as to the Resident may on such occasions appear necessary to throw the fullest light on the subject and to demonstrate that the native Administration is maintaining in due efficacy the system thus prepared for their observance as far as regards its military branch. The earliest of these reports should be made on the first of April, the 2nd on the first of August, and the 3rd and 4th on the corresponding dates of November and January of each year.

Section D: PINDARI INROADS.

DOCUMENTS

1812 Baroda, 2nd November, 1812 (1812, P. D. 389)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Military command I request you will have the goodness to submit for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the enclosed copies of correspondence with Lieutenant-Colonel Carden, commanding the northern division of Gujarat.

I deem it necessary to offer these papers with a view of ascertaining with precision, for the sake of the important public interests of this province, the relative situation of the Resident with the officer commanding at Kaira in the event of troops moving from that station for the protection of the territories of his Highness the Gaikwad, in pursuance of an article of our definitive treaty with this Government... A perusal of the Adjutant General's letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Carden having apparently given powers of acting at his own discretion,

and of requiring, as he may see necessary, troops from the subsidiary force, my reference on the subject will, it is hoped, appear reasonable... It may be proper for me respectfully to remark that a discretionary power of moving troops in the province must virtually remove the political influence to other hands, and that the duty of the Resident, hitherto under the orders of Government, to concert measures for the defence of the province will also necessarily cease.

Under the construction which the Adjutant General's letter appears to me to afford, troops can now move into the Gaikwad possessions independently of the knowledge of its Government, and that the subsidiary force is at the disposal of the officer commanding at Kaira. The latter circumstance might affect the stipulation for the protection of Baroda and the person of the Raja, which induces me to lose no time in submitting the case to Government, and to remark that, if I have mistaken the spirit of the Adjutant General's letter and the impressions which it appears to have made on the mind of Lieutenant-Colonel Carden, my anxiety for a clear definition of our relative duties, when interests of primary importance are likely to come to issue, is the entire cause of my addressing you on the subject

No. 1. *Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Carden to Captain James R. Carnac, dated Kaira, 31st October.*

I beg leave to enclose you copy of a letter received this day from the Adjutant General of the army, by which you will perceive I am directed to communicate with you on the subject to which it relates. *Carden's powers*

No. 2. *Letter from Robert Gordon, Adjutant General, to Colonel Carden, dated Bombay, 22nd October.*

As Government has not directed that any expense should be incurred for the purpose of adopting effective measures of precaution, His Excellency directs you will endeavour to procure the earliest intimation of the approach of the Pindaris, if the province of Gujarat should prove to be the real object of their attack. His Excellency desires you will in that case act upon your judgment according to circumstances by employing the whole or part of the disposable force stationed at Kaira. *Orders*

Should you deem it necessary, in consequence of the detachment which has been lately formed under Captain Cunningham, His Excellency desires you will strengthen your out-posts, and instruct the officers commanding them to be vigilant, enjoining them to transmit to you with the least possible delay any reports that may reach them of the approach of any of the marauders alluded to.

His Excellency further directs you will communicate with the Resident at Baroda in the event of the Pindaris entering the province by the northern or eastern frontier, and you will either detach assistance to Baroda, or require it from thence according to the circumstances of the case.

No. 3. *Letter from James R. Carnac to Lieutenant-Colonel Carden, dated Baroda, 2nd November.*

Carnac's reply 2. It will give me great pleasure to apprise you of any information of the approach of the Pindaris in conformity with your request.

3. The probability of the Pindaris attempting an invasion of Gujarat, under the information communicated by the Resident at Nagpur, will certainly render it an object of importance to be prepared with a sufficient equipment of troops to repel any such attempt; but no circumstances, you will perhaps agree with me, at present call for an expenditure of money in anticipation of the event.

4. Admitting it to be requisite to move any troops from the station under your command into the territories of His Highness the Gaikwad, permit me to suggest that under the spirit of my orders it should be in concurrence with the wishes of this Government.

5. This observation arises from the Adjutant General's letter to your address, which may admit of a construction that the force from Kaira is immediately to be employed at whatever point your intelligence satisfies you to be the object of the invading party. At the same time it is almost needless to say that I shall derive much pleasure by making known to you any information that appears necessary and in every other respect to promote with your co-operation the interests of the public service.

1812 *Camp at Kaira, 5th November, 1812 (1812, P. D. 389)*

Lieutenant-Colonel Carden to Captain James Rivett Carnac.

Explanation I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd instant. The permission, adverted to in the 4th paragraph of your favour, I should consider as virtually applied for in my address to you on the subject of protecting the eastern frontiers; but, if any more formal application is necessary, I beg you will use your influence with His Highness the Gaikwad to obtain the necessary permission, as my orders are peremptory to move in case I hear of the approach of an invading enemy.

1812 *Baroda, 7th November, 1812 (1812, P. D. 389)*

James R. Carnac to Lieutenant-Colonel Carden.

Carnac's refusal I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 5th instant and to acquaint you that, under the orders of Government relative to the movement of troops into the Gaikwad territories, I am led to conceive that the Gaikwad Government in conjunction with myself, on seeing the necessity of the aid of our troops for the protection of their possession, will prefer the application. No further instructions having intervened, you will perceive that I am unable to depart from the prescribed course of proceeding, where the interests of this State are chiefly implicated.

In continuation of my letter bearing date the 2nd instant, I have to acquaint you that no additional information has been received of the Pindari force, but that bodies of troops are moving in Malwa,

some of which, it is not improbable, may advance to the confines of the Gaikwad territory in promotion of the objects of their own Government.

Baroda, 7th November, 1812 (1812, P. D. 389)

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of Govern- *Pindaris* ment that the Administration have received accounts of a Pindari force having crossed the Narbada, and it is in contemplation to detach a body of Gaikwad horse to Songarh with a view of strengthening the principal pass from the province of Khandesh into the athavisi.

Baroda, 19th November, 1812 (1812, P. D. 389)

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to enclose copy of a deposition of a pair of *Pindaris* kasids, stationed at Udaipur the Less, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Deposition of a kasid from Udaipur.

The force consisting of 6,000 men, belonging to Sindia, have marched and encamped at Rajod, distant 20 kos from Dhar, and other troops from Ujjain have assembled there, amounting to 15,000 men, 6,000 of which are Pindaris, the remainder Pathans or Sindhis.

Baroda, 20th December, 1812 (1812, P. D. 390)

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to submit copy of a letter which reached me *Pindaris* this morning from the Resident at Sindia's Court, reporting the intelligence he has received of the intentions of the Pindaris' force under Dost Muhommad.

Letter from Richard Strachy to Captain James Carnac, dated Sindia's Court, 24th November.

The present intelligence states that from the verbal report of *Pindaris* Rarkaras an incursion to the British provinces was found to be impracticable, in consequence of the precautionary measures which had been adopted on our part. That plan having been frustrated, it is added that a body of Pindaris, who would otherwise have attempted an inroad in that quarter, had gone towards Berar. It afterwards states that, on an expedition having been proposed against Gujarat, they came to a determination to dispatch one to that quarter in the course of a week.

Baroda, 2nd February, 1813 (1813, P. D. 393)

1813

J. Williams, Assistant-in-charge, to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to report to you for the information of the *Pindaris in* Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I have this day been *athavisi* advised of a body of Pindaris having penetrated into the athavisi by the Songarh pass and plundered the town of Navsari, I beg leave to remark that a body of Gaikwad horse have for some time past been

stationed at Songarh, and that consequently they must have entered the athavisi by some other pass. Immediately on receiving the above information I consulted with Colonel Holmes on the measures most proper to be adopted on the present occasion, and we have deemed it requisite with the concurrence of the Administration to dispatch a party of Gaikwad horse, amounting in all to 1,500, into the athavisi with directions to co-operate with the officer commanding the southern division.

1813 *Baroda, 3rd February, 1813 (1813, P. D. 393)*

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

*Against
Pindaris*

I have the honour to advise you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that his Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad has deemed it necessary to direct Vithalrao Babaji the Khasjidiwan to proceed with a body of troops to occupy the Bawapir pass on the Narbada, and that as many horse as could be spared have been ordered into the athavisi to act in conjunction with the officer commanding in that district.

1813 *Baroda, 4th February, 1813 (1813, P. D. 393)*

J. Williams, Assistant in charge of the Residency at Baroda, to Francis Warden.

*Pindari
designs*

I have the honour to report to you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the measures that have been adopted, at the solicitation of the Gaikwad Government, for the defence of the eastern frontiers of the Gaikwad territories. Having received intelligence from the Gaikwad officers stationed at Songarh that a large body of Pindaris were in the Kukshi pargana, distant not more than 80 kos from Baroda, and the native Government having received through various channels information of the intentions of the Pindaris generally to invade the province of Gujarat, they, construing the circumstance of a party of those freebooters entering the athavisi at the same time when other large bodies were assembling at Kukshi and other adjacent parts, have been led to conceive that the irruption into athavisi was merely intended as a feint to cover their real intention of plundering the more northern districts of the Gaikwad State. I accordingly made known these circumstances to Colonel Holmes and requested his opinion as to the best measures to be adopted to meet the wishes of this Government.

I have now the honour to report that a detachment of 600 rank and file with two six-pounders will be directed to proceed to occupy the pass of Sankheda, which forms the principal entrance into the Gaikwad territories. They will act in conjunction with the Gaikwad troops at present stationed there, and will be ready to move on any point where an invasion may be attempted. I have also written to Captain Ballantine directing him to concentrate the Mahi Kantha mulukgiri force to be ready to act as circumstances may require; and on the arrival of the troops of native cavalry they will be detached in that direction. I have also to apprise you that I yesterday made acquisition on Colonel Carden for a squadron of European cavalry,

who will be directed to join the detachment under the command of Captain Tandy.

I shall subsequently have the honour to report any other arrangements that may be adopted in conjunction with the Administration for the defence of the north-eastern districts, and I respectfully solicit the approval of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to the measures as above reported.

Baroda, 5th February, 1813 (1813, P. D. 393)

1813

James Williams to Francis Warden.

I have now further to advise you that, in consideration of the very few men which the march of the detachment will leave at Baroda for the security of the town, not exceeding 1,200 men, including the sick, and the positive stipulation in the treaty of alliance with His Highness the Gaikwad that on any emergency similar to the present not less than a battalion should remain for the protection of his person, I have deemed it requisite to request Colonel Holmes to call in a detachment of 400 rank and file from the battalion at Paliyad, where I do not conceive their services in the present state of the country can be required, and solicit the sentiment of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council on the subject of withdrawing the battalion altogether from the station. *Baroda troops*

Baroda, 15th February, 1813 (1813, P. D. 394)

1813

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to forward copy of a letter which I deemed it advisable to address to the Judge and Magistrate at Kaira. *Letter*

Letter from J. Williams to Thomas M. Keate, Judge and Magistrate at Kaira, dated 12th February.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter with its enclosure of yesterday's date, relative to the advancing of a detachment of the Kaira force into the Gaikwad territories. *Movement of troops*

I have in reply to inform you that the Gaikwad Government do not at this junction require the presence of any additional troops from Kaira, as their intelligence does not lead them to consider it desirable. Should an irruption of Pindaris be likely to take place, it is most probable that we shall have the earliest intelligence of it. The officer commanding the Gaikwad subsidiary will be directed to move in any quarter in which they may be expected, with authority from me to require the advancing of any troops that may appear to him necessary.

I have therefore for the present to request that the detachment under Major Burr do not advance into the Gaikwad territories without my previous sanction to that effect.

Baroda, 16th February, 1813 (1813, P. D. 394)

1813

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to report to you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that my kasids, who were dispatched towards Kukshi to obtain intelligence of the *Information*

movements of the Pindaris, state that for 20 kos round that place there was no appearance of them, but that those who have been so long encamped between Satwas and Rajghar positively intended marching towards Khandesh. Parties of Sindia's troops, were traversing the country raising contributions. The detachment under Captain Tandy remains in the neighbourhood of Sankheda ready to move on the least alarm. But I trust the report of the moving out of this small force has had the desired effect of inducing the Pindaris to relinquish their intentions of invading the north-eastern districts of the Gaikwad Government. My letters from Songarh mention the encampment of a body of Pindaris at Nandurbar on the Tapti, consisting of those who plundered Navsari, and reinforced by others from various quarters; in consequence of which Vithalrao Babaji the Khasgidiwan moved from Bawapir to Dorah Retore on the Tapti; since which I have heard nothing further of their movements. The Gaikwad Government appear perfectly well satisfied with the arrangements that have been made for the protection of their territories.

I trust I shall not be considered to have acted prematurely in refusing my concurrence to the advance of additional troops from Kaira, more especially as this Government have expressed no wish for their presence.

Minutes, 25th February, 1813.

Orders Ordered that the Resident be advised that orders have been given that none of the Company's troops are to enter the territories of the Gaikwad, unless applied for by the Resident.

1813 *Baroda, 27th February, 1813 (1813, P. D. 394)*

J. Williams to Francis Warden.

Pindaris advance I have the honour to communicate heads of intelligence from different quarters relative to the movements of the Pindaris, a body of whom amounting to 3,000 men, are encamped at Shahjahanpur, and are stated to be in the service of Holkar, and to be on the move for Burhanpur. I learn from the Udaipur Raja that 4,000 or 5,000 Pindaris have lately entered Khandesh, and encamped at a village called Betawud.

1813 *Baroda, 8th March, 1813 (1813, P. D. 395)*

James R. Carnac to Sir Evan Nepean.

Pindaris in Malwa I have the pleasure to acquaint you of my having arrived at the Residency early this morning. From the information which I have been able to acquire in so short a time, I have found nothing additional to that transmitted to Government from hence under date the 6th of March. The movements however of the Pindaris into Malwa will require us to be on our guard in this quarter. I am happy to say that I have found everything at Baroda and generally in the province as Government could anticipate under existing circumstances.

Baroda, 10th March, 1813 (1813, P. D. 395)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

The Gaikwad Administration have furnished me with the accompanying return of men killed and wounded in opposing the Pindaris who recently invaded the Surat athavisi. Casualties

This Government at the same time is not disposed to assert that their opposition was efficacious in repelling these invaders; but it is not willing that the mind of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council should be impressed that their troops were deficient in devotion to the public interests or in respect to their own reputation as soldiers.

The rapidity of the Pindari movements did not afford the Gaikwad or ourselves any time for preparation; and some horse were absent on duty in the neighbourhood when the event took place. The constitution of the Gaikwad silahdars under such circumstances was by no means favourable, as it is customary for the cattle to graze in the neighbourhood of the encampment, which was actually the case when the Pindaris appeared. To account for their troops not having pursued the invaders into the athavisi, the Administration have stated that the Gaikwad officer having certain information of a much more considerable body (reported to be 10,000) being above the Ghats, he considered it imprudent to leave the post of Songhar unguarded, as giving this party an opening to follow their associates.

On the return of these marauders, opposition was offered, and 23 Pindaris' horses taken. But it will not be difficult to account for the little success attending any efforts that may have been made by 500 troops, when it is considered that the Pindaris (who in their late irruption were universally allowed to be excellently mounted) are supposed by the Chief of Surat to have amounted in numbers to 4,000 or 5,000 men.

This Government have now detached a respectable body of horse for the defence of the athavisi under the command of Amin Saheb, an officer of much merit. They will continue in that quarter, unless the rains preclude the movements of troops in the interior.

List of silahdars and horses killed and wounded with the Pindaris.

					Killed.	Wounded
Bhala Mamush (the principal silahdar)	...				5	—
Silahdars	..	..	..	...	—	18
Horses	...	..	...	..	3	—
Total ..					8	18

Baroda, 13th March, 1813 (1813, P. D. 395)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

2. The reliance, placed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council on the attention and activity of the Gaikwad Government for the protection of the province, I am happy to remark, is commensurate with the measures already adopted for that purpose. Gaikwad troops

3. The success of the irruption of a body of Pindaris into the athavisi has impressed the Administration with the expediency of a more active system of preparation, in the expectation that by following this course the Pindaris will either be deterred from the execution of any enterprise against Gujarat, or in the event of its taking place that the means of resistance may immediately be available. With this impression the Government has stationed bodies of troops at the various points by which Gujarat is usually accessible, and I have the honour to furnish you with a particular return presented for my information.

4. In pursuance with the plan, now determined on by the Administration, and in unison with the opinion and advice of Colonel Holmes, the detachment under Captain Tandy will immediately occupy a position in the neighbourhood of Jarod (but as far advanced as the Gaikwad limits will allow), with a view of moving upon the inlets leading from Godhra or Sankheda. As connected with this measure, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will perceive by a reference to the return, that, exclusive of the defence of the athavisi, the passes of the Bawapir at the Narbada and Sankheda will be provided with Gaikwad troops, with which the British detachment can co-operate at the earliest notice or *vice versa*, as circumstances may demand.

5. The situation of the Mahi-Kantha mulukgiri force will be found, by looking at the map, well calculated to oppose any forces attempting to penetrate across the Mahi River from the passes usually known by the names of Dungenpur and Lunawada, and as favourably situated to receive assistance from Kaira and to cover the Gaikwad and Company's possessions.

6. In noticing these several arrangements I should not omit to remark that, while they are considered in the military opinion of Colonel Holmes to be sufficient for ready opposition against predatory incursions to the northward of the Narbada, the augmentation of our forces in the field must naturally be contingent on the numbers with which the province may be assailed.

7. Considering the existence of these arrangements, which have apparently the advantage of providing for internal security with adequate efficiency and within a reasonable expenditure of public money when the evil is anticipated, but does not actually exist, and reflecting on the circumstances that no Pindaris are reported to be near that part of Gujarat by which our possessions can be readily affected, as well as on Lieutenant-Colonel Carden having detached two squadrons in lieu of one and the troops of cavalry applied for by my Assistant, which would encourage a reasonable deduction that this officer was under no apprehension for the security of his command with the force still at Kaira, I have been induced under such circumstances, united with the authority conveyed in your letter dated the 18th February to retain the Dragoons with Captain Tandy, as forming an essential part in the efficiency of that officer's detachment. In expressing a respectful hope that the grounds, on which I have deemed

it right to adopt this step, will be recognised by Government as founded in propriety, I beg leave to recommend that the Dragoons be continued with Captain Tandy; and I would further suggest to Government that I may be authorised (an authority I am prompted to solicit from circumstances which will be detailed in the sequence) to require, when it appears necessary, a force of no great extent to join the Mahi-Kantha troops. This would complete the line of defence pointed out to me by Colonel Holmes; it would be considerably in advance of the limits of the Company's possessions, and consequently combine their protection as well as that of the territories of our allies.

8. Before I conclude this report I have to solicit with the utmost deference and respect the attention of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to the orders issued to Lieutenant-Colonel Carden in consequence of his representations of doubt and embarrassment under the divided objects of yielding aid to the Gaikwad and extending protection to his own command.

9. Urged by my sense of duty, I cannot suppress from the knowledge of Government that in my humble apprehension the latitude, which the orders adverted to, has given for the exercise of the judgment of the officer commanding at Kaira, on applications of military assistance, may eventually militate to disadvantage to the general and important interests in the province.

10. The orders now given to Colonel Carden leave him at liberty to withhold compliance to my requisition if it endangers the security of the Company's districts. With whatever feelings of delicacy I proceed to submit my observations, it will doubtless be contemplated as connected with my duty to point out how far the political obligations contracted by the British Government may become affected by the operations of such indefinite authority to the commanding officer at Kaira.

11. It may scarcely be necessary in the first place to observe that the insulated situation of our possessions, surrounded on all sides by those of our allies, by violation of which our own can only be endangered or injured, would almost put it out of the power of the Resident to prefer any application by which they would be left unprotected.

12. In withdrawing the force to any extremity, which would expose the Company's districts, he would be relinquishing the territories also of our allies, which it is his specific duty to secure from violence or devastation.

13. A reference to the map of Gujarat will at once show the correctness of my observation on the local position of the Company's districts and of their being encircled by those of the Native Powers in alliance; and in reference to the means for protecting these districts it follows from their relative situation that the protection of the Gaikwad districts is actually affording the most effectual guardianship to those of the Company.

14. On the other hand the nature of the orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Carden, if executed, as they may be on any emergency to our allies, are susceptible of militating to the non performance of one of the fundamental articles of our treaty of alliance with the State of the Gaikwad, which provides for the resistance of any violation of its limits, exclusive of the means afforded by its own subsidised troops; and these means are assuredly inadequate for the extended line of defence that the Gaikwad territories afford, particularly as one-third of such means are stipulated to remain at the capital of Baroda for the protection of the Raja and the Gaikwad family.

15. Again, the British Government are implicated in Gujarat not independently of our relation with the Gaikwad, but as the ally of the Peshwa in virtue of the treaty of Bassein. The sentiments of Colonel Close, on the invasion of Khudabad Khan in the year 1809 of the possession of Balasinor belonging to the Peshwa, but a component part of the former of Ahmadabad to this Government, pointedly referred to our obligation to defend the territories of the Peshwa, though under the management of another Power. This defence both to this Power and to the Gaikwad has on many occasions been rendered, and by auxiliary troops from all the northern stations under the Presidency applied for, when requisite, by the Resident.

16. Having submitted these circumstances my object in doing so will, it is hoped, receive the indulgent consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. By the operation of the orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Carden it has appeared to my judgment that impediments might be experienced from the best of motives on the part of the commanding officer. Unacquainted with our political relations, and in the impression of providing for the defence of our own possessions, we might inadvertently be rendering our public engagements subordinated to our individual interests. Under such accumulated circumstances, as I have ventured to describe, it may probably appear that separate and independent powers of action, where from local causes the public interests in Gujarat are so intimately blended, might lead to inconvenience. With such a view of the case the commanding officer at Kaira might perhaps be desired to grant assistance at my application; or that in the protection of the Company's districts ample consideration may be given to the political authority, in whose hands the means for the defence of the territories of the Peshwa and Gaikwad has been confided.

Return of troops belonging to the Gaikwad Government and the place where they are stationed.

	Sibandī	Horse	Total.
	foot	men	
Baroda	485	250	735
Bawapir Pass on the Narbada ...	375	20	395
Mahi Kantha troops in the neighbourhood of Balasinor ...	1,736	1,078	2,814

Surat athavisi (inclusive of those in the mahals)	761	1,509	2,270
Sankheda	„	1,441	1,441
Mahals, for internal arrangement ...	485	1,568	2,053
Kathiawar	1,885	1,165	3,050
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Total ...	5,727	7,031	12,758
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It is to be observed that the efficiency of the horse may be less in the present year than usual from the great scarcity of hay and grain. To account for the increased number of Gaikwad troops than former statements have established, 1,000 additional foot have been retained since the irruption of the Pindaris into the athavisi; they will be discharged when apprehension of the appearance of these freebooters may cease.

Bombay resolutions.

In reference to the six first paragraphs of the above recorded *Approval* letter, ordered the Resident be informed that we have derived considerable satisfaction from observing the very efficient measures, which the Gaikwad Government has adopted for the protection of its territories against the incursions of the Pindaris; and which, it is not doubted, will effectually provide for that important object.

Under the circumstances stated in the 7th paragraph, the Governor-in-Council has no objection to the squadron of Dragoons remaining attached to Captain Tandy's detachment; and should Captain Carnac at any time require a force to join the Mahi Kantha troops, an application to the officer commanding the northern division of Gujarat would no doubt be immediately complied with.

With regard to the observations contained in the 8th and subsequent paragraphs of Captain Carnac's letter, he may be informed that, as the responsibility of defending the territories of the Hon'ble Company rests principally with the officer commanding at Kaira, the Governor-in-Council cannot weaken that responsibility by directing him to comply with every requisition he may receive for military aid, without the exercise of a discretion on the occasion to determine how far he can comply therewith consistently with the defence of our own territories. It must be known to Captain Carnac that our military establishment is extremely circumscribed and scarcely adequate to meet the extensive calls upon it for the security of our own possessions. It is therefore incumbent upon the Government to vest in its local officer a latitude to judge how far applications for military aid for the defence of the territories of our allies should be complied with. A similar rule is established with respect to the applications from the civil power; and the Governor-in-Council deems it upon the whole advisable not to supersede the orders in question, the more especially as no event is likely to occur of so emergent a nature as to render it inconvenient to refer applications

of this nature for the previous opinion even of the Commander-in-Chief and of the Government.

On the 14th and 15th paragraph it is necessary to observe to Captain Carnac that the articles of the treaty of alliance with the Gaikwad and Peshwa, providing for the security of their dominions beyond the means afforded by the troops expressly subsidised for the purpose by those Powers, obviously refer to cases of an extraordinary nature. It cannot be expected that, to repel an apprehended predatory incursion by the Pindaris, or to resent the violation of the territories of our allies by freebooters, British troops, in addition to those subsidised, should be liable to be called upon on such ordinary occasions. It was certainly understood that the military resources of the Gaikwad would be, as they appear to be, sufficient for such purposes of internal defence; and that therefore the obligation involved in that article would not be operative, except for the defence of our allies against the attack of a powerful enemy.

It was principally therefore with the view of guarding against the force subsidised by His Highness the Peshwa being called upon on ordinary occasions, and of maintaining it at all times complete to meet requisitions of an important nature, that the British Government has been endeavouring to prevail on His Highness the Peshwa to place his forces on a more efficient footing; to which His Highness has at length consented. But, as the troops of our ally the Gaikwad appear to be in a better state of discipline, the Governor-in-Council confidently relies on the attentions of the Resident to urge that Native Government to arrange the distribution of his own and the British subsidiary forces for the defence of his territories in such manner as shall supersede the necessity of any requisitions for aid being preferred on the limited means which we possess for the defence of our own possessions.

1813 *Baroda, 16th March, 1813 (1813, P. D. 395)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Pindaris Although the intelligence, stated in the accompanying translate of a letter from the Chief of Udaipur the Less, is similar to that already laid before Government I am induced to submit it, as the information of a large body of Pindaris having gone towards Burhanpur in Khandesh is corroborated.

Translation of a letter from the Chief of Udaipur to Vithoba Pilaji.

A spy has arrived bringing intelligence that a body of 8,000 or 9,000 Pindaris, which are encamped at Betawud, have marched towards Burhanpur and Asir. [See entry of the 27th February, 1813].

1813 *Baroda, 16th April, 1813 (1813, P. D. 397)*

James R. Carnac to Nathan Crow.

Pindari danger. I have the honour to apprise you that the body of Pindaris, who have lately been plundering in the neighbourhood Shajahanpur, have marched in a southerly direction with a view, it is supposed, of joining their associates on the Narbada.

My accounts also from Khandesh repeat the information, already sent you, of the Pindaris meditating another irruption into the Surat athavisi. It is not therefore unlikely that the attempt may be made on a more extended scale than the last attack, considering that the Pindaris, by the means of the numerous spies they have entertained over the whole country, are aware of the force prepared to resist them. A detachment of these freebooters has moved towards Burhanpur.

Cambay, 22nd May, 1813 (1813, P. D. 398)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

The near approach of the monsoon, and in consequence of having received no accounts relative to the Pindaris, indicative of an intention to molest Gujarat, as formerly evinced, I request that you will be pleased to submit for the approval of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council my concurrence in the opinion of Colonel Holmes to withdraw the detachment under the command of Captain Tandy.

Governor's Minutes.

Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that the Governor-in-Council approves of the detachment under command of Captain Tandy being withdrawn.

Baroda, 3rd May, 1813 (1813, P. D. 397)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acquaint you in reply to the Secretary Babington's dispatch dated the 22nd ultimo, with its enclosure, that the Gaikwad Government has no objection to our troops occupying a position in its territories best adapted to cover the athavisi and to co-operate with the horse stationed at Songarh.

In reference to the remark offered by the Chief of Surat regarding this fort (*Songarh*), it may be necessary to apprise the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that our detachment was withdrawn chiefly for the extreme insalubrity of the climate, which the severe sickness of the sepoys and the loss both of officers and men had fully evinced.

I am not also aware of any advantages which could attend the occupation of Songarh as a post. It is situated many miles from the pass; and unless the detachment, which was appointed, became supported with promptitude; its duties must be merely confined to the protection of the fort, amply provided for by the present garrison of the Gaikwad troops.

Section E: MAHI KANTHA SETTLEMENT

DOCUMENTS

Baroda, 15th June, 1812 (1812, P.D. 387)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

In my letter, bearing date the 4th August last, I had the honour to report the deputation of my Assistant, Captain Ballantine, to Kathiawar, in pursuance of the orders of Government of the 14th June

preceding, and to make known that the attention of this Gentleman would in the first instance be directed to obtaining the consent of the tributary Chieftains in the Mahi Kantha to decennial engagements similar to those executed by the Chiefs of Kathiawar.

In pursuance of the further authority, conveyed in Mr. Secretary Babington's dispatch of the 19th of August, Captain Ballantine accordingly entered on the arrangements in question, antecedent to his proceedings to Kathiawar.

The limited period, which this Gentleman commanded of carrying his first instructions into effect, has not enabled him to execute all the objects in contemplation, and my mission into Kathiawar compelled him to return to Baroda to resume charge of the Residency in my absence.

I have the honour hcrewith to forward the accompanying reports from Captain Ballantine, detailing his progress with the Mahi Kantha Chieftains; and it affords every hope that by his continued exertions the decennial engagements will be entirely accomplished.

In the promotion of this object, which has attracted the attention of Government and the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, I request you will submit to the approval of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council my having directed Captain Ballantine to resume his deputation to the Mahi Kantha, prior to the assumption of his duties in Kathiawar.

It will be perceived in the enclosure that the Koli Chieftain of Amliyara, whose misconduct on former occasions are on record at the Residency, is again disposed to excite disturbances and to have recourse to his former habits of rapacity.

The Gaikwad Government, I have to add, are willing to use every endeavour to save Bhataji from error by conciliatory remonstrance and representation of the consequence of misconduct; and in the event of his persisting in similar proceedings, the Hon'ble Board will no doubt recognise the policy of inflicting punishment for an obstinate disregard of authority and engagements, which Bhataji has executed under the bhandari of the Company's Government as set forth in the communication to you of the 30th of October, 1808.

Bombay Minutes, 23rd July.

Orders The Governor-in-Council approves of the Resident at Baroda having directed Captain Ballantine to resume his deputation to the Mahi Kantha, previous to the assumption of his duties in Kathiawar.

The intention of the Gaikwad Government to endeavour to reclaim Bhataji from error by conciliatory means, is equally entitled to the approbation of the Government. On the failure of which it is desirable that the Gaikwad authority should be left to their own discretion in prosecuting whatever other measures, they may deem necessary to punish his misconduct.

Camp near Kursoli, Pargana Parantij, 28th August 1812 (1812, 1812 P. D. 387).

F. D. Ballantine to James R. Carnac.

I have the honour to report to you the arrival of the Gaikwad troops at this ground on the 25th instant, which, owing to the unusual severity of the weather and bad state of the roads, has been materially impeded. *Bhataji's conduct*

In the course of the march the Gaikwad officers have been employed in settling with the neighbouring zamindars for two years' arrears of mulukgiri dues, among whom has been settled two years' dues from Amliyara, although I feel it my duty on this occasion to bring to your notice the unfavourable disposition to an amicable adjustment, evinced by Bhataji's vakils.

I am also led to apprehend this Chief will be as little disposed to meet the views of Government in contracting for the proposed decennial arrangements or in granting redress for numerous acts of violence and injustice; the frequent appeals for which, as well as to induce Bhataji to repair (as customary) personally, or to depute an agent fully empowered to camp, I have in unison with the Gaikwad officers addressed him (Bhataji) in the spirit of the accompanying parwanah, which I beg to enclose for your information and approval.

Having taken steps to acquaint myself with Bhataji's present disposition as well as learning the unbecoming declaration of his vakils in camp, I have been the more cautious in the tenor of this paper, not to afford him (Bhataji) an opportunity of equivocating or denying the charge of misdemeanours, too well established, by particularising them. It is hoped it may prove useful to show him that his errors are known to the sarkar, and that he will thereby be induced to obey this summons to camp, where he may personally meet the objects in view, or empower his agents to that effect.

I was much concerned also to learn that his people had actually fired on a party of Gaikwad horse, who had been detached in front to choose grounds of encampment for the day; and unwilling to afford him an opportunity of embroiling himself in intermediate hostilities with the troops, I requested the jamadar to change the line of march.

In the case of a Rabari, whose relations are now complainants in camp, the conduct of Bhataji's vakils has been extremely ill-advised. The Rabari in Bhataji's confinement is an inhabitant of Kajodra of the pargana of Dehgam, seized by him on the mere supposition of his having being accessory to an affray between some Kolis of Amliyara and the Sindhi jamat of Attasumba, in which one of the Kolis was killed. Bhataji's only motive in this affair is an avowed thirst of revenge, and it is clear to me that, since finding his relations are seeking redress in camp, this treatment of the unfortunate sufferer is marked by acts of extreme cruelty and hardships.

I have much reason to apprehend any remonstrance on my part for the release of the prisoner will not be attended to, neither that he

is disposed to contract for the decennial arrangements; and as I am informed it is the intention of the Gaikwad officers to submit the treatment towards this ill-advised person entirely to the Company's Government, who would otherwise immediately seek their own means of redress, I beg therefore to be favoured with your early instructions for my guidance therein.

I need scarcely remark to you that, were Bhataji to be successful in impeding our progress in the proposed arrangements, the example might be very injurious to a ready termination of the general reform. His thwarting a measure, in which the Company's officers are personally concerned, would at the same time appear a disavowal of his acknowledged obligations to them, and might in every point of view, it is feared, operate as an injurious precedent.

The mehta Oodimram will proceed as directed to Amliyara, and has been instructed as to such further general admonitions as may, it is hoped, influence Bhataji to alter his conduct, and of which I shall be happy to afford you the earliest information.

The mehta will return by the way of Lohar. I am informed it is the intention of that Chief to repair personally to camp; and which I am the more disposed to encourage, as it may probably influence his neighbour, Bhataji, to a similar line of conduct.

My letter of the 10th instant will have apprised you to its being intended to summon to this ground such of the Mahi-Kantha Chiefs as reside within a certain distance; and I have now the honour to acquaint you that the Chieftains enumerated in the margin have been summoned in the usual manner, the settlements with whom, if they take place, shall be respectively reported for your information.

No. 1 Parwanah from Captain Ballantine to Bhataji.

Warning Your vakil, having been summoned to this camp for the adjustment of the usual Gaikwad dues of two years' standing, will have apprised you of my being here; indeed you will have learned this from other channels.

I much regret on this occasion that, from the report of the Gaikwad officers as well as the numberless complaints of the surrounding inhabitants, you do not seem to evince a conciliatory disposition, neither to have an adequate idea of the benefits you have derived from the benevolent influence of the Hon'ble Company's Government exerted in your behalf. It would be useless now to [*insist*] on this subject further than to say I apprehend that in the course of the impending arrangements it will become an unavoidable duty on my part not only to exhort you in terms of pure friendship to a more discreet demeanour, but to call on you in the united names of the two sarkars for redress in cases of flagrant violence and inhumanity.

The circumstances under which your agent has appeared in this camp, as well as his personal conduct has, I am sorry to say, rendered it impracticable on my part to give him further countenance than that of an interchange of outward civilities. I thereby write you this

parwanah to desire that you will depute a respectable agent immediately to camp, being fully empowered to give satisfaction and redress in cases of actual grievances and to contract with me and the Gaikwad officers the necessary deeds for a ten years' adjustment of your dues to that Government. In this spirit of the general bandobast, with which you have been separately made acquainted, you cannot fail to disappoint your enemies, who are hoping to see you act in a manner to bring upon yourself the displeasure of the sarkar; while so desirable a demeanour, recommending you to the favourable countenance of two Governments, will at the same time convince the world that you are sensible you owe to the benevolent influence of the Hon'ble Company's Government the peaceable enjoyment of your patrimony and its right in the bosom of your family and friends,

It is notorious to all, the interest my Government has taken in replacing you as well as the Chief of Lohar in possession of your respective Chieftainships. You will be aware I am anxious you should appear among the first in this camp to meet the views of the sarkar, and further that you give me an immediate and implicit obedience to this notice.

With a view to fully explain to you the disinterested and salutary motives that influence the sarkar in this bandobast, I depute Oodimram Mehta, to whose verbal account give implicit reliance, as proceeding from me in motives of pure friendship towards you, and as being solicitous that you should entitle yourself to a degree of confidence in the Gaikwad officers, and that you should preserve your respectability undisturbed as a tributary zamindar of this zillah.

No. 2. Letter from J. R. Carnac to F. D. Ballantine, dated 3rd September.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the *Bhataji* 28th ultimo giving cover to a copy of the parwanah addressed by you to Bhataji of Amliyara, and of which I perfectly approve.

Should Bhataji however, after due remonstrance and exertion on your part, united to that of the Gaikwad commander, still persist in declining to conform with the proposed arrangement, it would be advisable that this petty Chieftain should be left alone, until measures can be more favourably adopted to punish him. At the same time I request that every conciliatory endeavour may be made to obtain reparation for the acts of violence committed by Bhataji or his dependants.

Camp, 2nd September, 1812 (1812, P. D. 389)

1812

Captain F. D. Ballantine to James R. Carnac.

Soon after joining this camp and on communicating with the *Way of* jamadar as to the most advisable mode of conducting the general *proceeding* bandobast, it was submitted to my judgment as most advisable that the subordinate zamindars and many in each district should be left to the kamavisdars and their dues under the heads of ghasdana should be realised by them.

Under a consideration of the reasons advanced for this measure, I was disposed to accede to its advisability, and I had the honour of requesting your instructions thereon. It was obvious that the troops could not be employed in the districts without material injury to the abadi, and cultivation, at this season. There are few of these subordinate Grassias who may not be disposed to discharge the dues without difficulty to the sarkar, but in any case the local establishment of the kamavisdars may be sufficient to enforce obedience, while, if necessary, a detachment would always be sent at their requisition from this force as circumstances might require.

Should the adoption therefore of the measure meet your approval, I would beg to be furnished with your sentiments in view to directing, the kamavisdars to this effect.

1812 *Baroda*, 25th September, 1812 (1812, P. D. 387)

F. D. Ballantine to James R. Carnac.

Progress In my several dispatches I had the honour to keep you apprised of our progress in the proposed decennial arrangements with the Mahi Kantha Chieftains; and it will no doubt be satisfactory to you to be informed that, with the single exception of Bhataji of Amliyara, whose misconduct has already been brought to your notice, the salutary proposed decennial arrangements have been hailed by the Mahi Kantha tributaries as essential to their interest and honour, and accepted as a token of the disinterested and honourable motives of the British Government to their well-doing.

Soon after joining the Bucha Jamadar's camp on the 3rd August, no time was lost in summoning the parties to camp, after the same forms as were observed by Colonel Walker in his first circuit through Kathiawar in 1807.

Although I am not aware of any instance, where due attention was not paid to this summons, yet it will not be wondered at, considering the severity of the season and constant rain that fell during that and the succeeding months, in which the troops were actually prevented marching from one encampment to another for the space at least of 15 or 20 days at a time, that none of the vakils arrived in camp until the latter end of August.

As a proof of the ready disposition at least of the principal Chieftains of the Mahi Kantha, I beg leave to enclose for your information translates of letters from the Chieftains, expressive of their readiness to enter into the engagements and of their intention to send an agent to camp for that purpose.

I had the honour to apprise you of those particular Chieftains who had been summoned to the camp at Aneara Baroda, and previous to my departure the vakils from Ahmadnagar, Modasa, Pethapur, Mansa and Wuesorah (*Varsoda*) had arrived in camp.

I reported to you the arrival in camp of Gaiindulji of Lohar, Kasi Miya of Karaul, and Jodiya Miga of Porbandar. I beg to apologise to you for not having reported at the time the complete settlement

with the two last persons, on the principles of the decennial bandobast; which, it may be proper to say, I was prevented doing from the hurry in which I left camp to repair to Baroda and from an indisposition I laboured under at the time.

These settlements having been concluded to the entire satisfaction of the parties themselves and the Gaikwad officers, they were dismissed after receiving the usual presents at my tents and the Gaikwad Darbar, which in fact were a return of the horses they respectively presented to me on their first visit in camp, as is customary on such occasions.

I propose at a future period to bring to your notice the precise terms of the engagements. It will occur to you that my absence from the Gaikwad camp, where the several deeds and papers are of course in deposit, renders this on my part at present unavoidable.

I am happy to state that the ready disposition evinced by Gaiindulji of Lohar may be accepted as a tender of his gratitude to the Company's Government and of his sense of the benefits arising from a more peaceable line of life.

I received unequivocal assurances from Gaiindulji of his determination to abide to his engagements with the Gaikwad sarkar. I had the honour to submit my reasons for accepting Gaiindulji's proposal of personally visiting me in camp, under a conception that it would work a reform in *Bhataji's* very exceptionable demeanour, and induce him to follow a similar line of conduct.

Although I was very solicitous to have afforded Gaiindulji a proof of my sense of his good conduct in this instance, as is known to you that any settlement with him could not be made at the time, as from the particular season of the year of abadi he had not received the regular permission of the sarkar to collect his gras dues, and from the embarrassed state of his affairs any settlement of the decennial arrangements became in a great measure impracticable.

Gaiindulji was therefore dismissed from camp for the present with assurances of early attention being given to the state of his concerns, and after receiving a present in lieu of a horse he presented to me on his first visit.

It may be unnecessary to state further on the subject of the demands still existing against the Thakur of Gorasier than that their unadjustment has been a cause of regret with the Gaikwad commander, and I would still beg leave to recommend them to your notice.

It will be known to you that the prescribed forms, observed in such cases by the native army, were rendered abortive.

In regard to the petty Grassias and zamindars actually residing within the sarkar districts, and of course amenable and subordinate to the local authorities, I beg also to recommend the mode of adjustment with them submitted in that despatch for your approval.

I have much pleasure in adverting to the sentiments of approval expressed in your letter to me of the 3rd September being in acknow-

ledgment of my report of the 28th preceeding on the highly reprehensible conduct of Bhataji of Amliyara.

In speaking from my personal experience of the rapacious and oppressive habits of the Amliyara Koli, I can only further assure you that his meeting with a suitable check is essential to the preservation of the public interests and honour of the Gaikwad State, and will be hailed by the surrounding community with avidity and heartfelt satisfaction.

His successful excesses are the more particularly to be regretted in the district of Modasa. The fine village of Tarapur, worth 10 or 12,000 Rupees a year, is entirely desolate and its fertile lands waste, on the unwarrantable subterfuge, I am informed, of its being a gift to him or some of his family.

The indiscriminate seizure of the subjects of the Gaikwad Government and the unheard of cruelties practised upon these is also to be noticed; but it may seem here unnecessary to dwell further, as it is your intention to take a suitable opportunity of punishing this refractory Koli and reducing him to a proper sense of duty and allegiance to the superior State.

Previous to my leaving camp, it was my intention to have submitted to you the advisability of settling with the Chief of Modasa, having in view the litigated claim of Idar for the possession of the chieftainship.

You will probably perceive that a present settlement with Modasa might not interfere with the eventual award of the Gaikwad Government; and supposing the arbitrated claims to take up much time to decide on, the intermediate conclusion of these engagements will be useful to the peace of the country and to the undisturbed realisation of the Gaikwad tribute.

In conclusion I should have been most happy to have accompanied this report with any general observations on the peculiar relations of the country and the manners and customs of its inhabitants and rulers.

It no doubt occurs that a research of this nature does produce some useful information, although probably not immediately connected with the subject of the report; and in this instance I have to apologise and regret that, from my abrupt departure from camp, my observations and researches were too general and unconnected to be noticed here.

The most considerable chieftainships, comprised in the Mahi Kantha tributaries, are the ancient capitals of Idar, Balasinor and Palanpur; of these, Idar is considered the most ancient and considerable. Its rulers are of the ancient Rahtor tribe and connected with the Marwari dynasties, and observe the peculiar tenets of that ancient race, and partake of all the splendour of their court.

Balasinor is the sole remaining possession of the family of the Nawab Jamiat Khan commonly styled Babi, the former rulers of Baroda and its dependent territories, and in whose possession it was, when taken by the Gaikwad family; but it is too well-known to require observation that Farid Khan Jamadar owes more to good fortune than right in the dominions of Palanpur.

It is however but justice to this enlarged officer to say that his government not only gives satisfaction to all people, but his administration, superior to prejudice and impartial in the right of individuals, is also strictly consistent with his duty and allegiance to the Superior State.

The country bears many signs of the Muhammedan government; and their particular institutions and mode of governing the refractory Koli tribes would form a curious subject of research on the spot, and probably produce many useful hints for the better management of those particular tribes.

As this report has already swelled to an extent much beyond my original intention, I beg to be excused for the liberty of the digression and from the insertion of these desultory observations.

I have therefore only to express a correspondent conviction that my endeavours would have been crowned with every success in the accomplishment of the salutary engagements, and respectfully to trust my conduct hitherto will be honoured with your approval and the eventual approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

No. 1. Letter from Maharaja Gambhirsing of Idar.

I was favoured by the receipt of your friendly letter requesting *Agent* the attendance of a karbari. In a few days having assembled the sardars and karbaris, and after having maturely deliberated, a man shall be sent to you. For accounts upon other subjects attend to, and believe the representations of Bucha, jamadar, and mehta Oodiram. Always write me friendly letters and favour me with orders of service.

No. 2. Letter From Jamiat Khan Babi of Balasinor.

I received your letter containing a request that I should send to *Agent* you a trusty person for making such an arrangement respecting the ghasdana as would give satisfaction to all parties. When I became acquainted with your wish, I prepared such a man as you had mentioned; and on a lucky day he will be sent to wait on you, and from his representation you will receive a necessary intelligence.

Considering me a loyal well-wisher of the sarkar, arrange this business properly. By settling such matters you take me under friendly obligations.

No. 3. Letter from Maharaja Karansing of Ahmadnagar.

We have received your letter and derived great pleasure from *Agent* a perusal of its contents. We have this morning sent our agent to camp to you, Sir, who will thoroughly acquaint you with all particulars from this quarter. There was no objection of any nature to sending an agent to camp, for at this place we are all attached to the sarkar and amenable to its pleasure.

No. 4. Letter from Maharaja Pratapsing of Modasa.

We have received and perused the sarkar's letter with great *Agent* satisfaction. Our manager is at Modasa. We have sent to call him; and on his coming here, he shall be deputed to camp. He will acquaint you with all particulars. There is no hindrance sending an agent, every consideration here is connected with, and amenable to, the sarkar's pleasure.

No. 5. KATHIAWAR EVENTS

THE documents referring to the events in Kathiawar clearly bring out the policy followed by the servants of the Company in their dealings with banditti, pirates and Chieftains. They are published under four headings: Kathiawar policy, banditti, pirates, and Kathiawar Chieftains.

Section A: KATHIAWAR POLICY

DOCUMENTS

1809 Baroda, 10th January, 1809 (1809, P. D. 150-160 A)

Alexander Walker to Captain Samuel Greenwood.

Instructions

1. You have already been apprised of my intention to depute you into Kathiawar, and generally of the objects which require that measure; but it will be necessary for you to pay attention to the following observations, which are intended to guide your conduct during the period of your stay in that country.

2. You are aware that the object of the Hon'ble Company's interference in that country was to induce the Chiefs to enter into a permanent engagement for the payment of the just dues of the Gaikwad Government and to prevent the periodical advance of an army to enforce these payments.

3. Agreements to this effect have accordingly been executed. Your own acquaintance with the several details of this measure renders recapitulation unnecessary; but it will be your duty to watch over the progress of these arrangements, to see that they are duly performed, and to act in cases of difficulty as a mediation between the bhumias and the officer commanding the Gaikwad troops.

4. In performing this duty considerable caution, conduct and delicacy will be required; but I trust I need not recommend them to your attention, and am equally confident you will not disappoint the expectations which the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will entertain of preserving by your prudence the permanency of the engagements entered into in Kathiawar, and preventing by a timely mediation and interference the necessity of a more active participation in the affairs of that country.

5. The fil-zamini engagements with the Chiefs of that country have fully provided the right of the Hon'ble Company demanding through the Government, to which the bhumias are tributary, satisfaction for any injury which any of them or their dependants may commit against the Hon'ble Company or their subjects. It will be your duty therefore in all cases, where any of the Company's subjects may have occasion to solicit your assistance, to support their claims through the Gaikwad officers, who will be instructed in all such cases to assist you.

6. Of this nature are all the outstanding claims for cattle and plunder carried away from the districts of the Hon'ble Company by the plundering Kathis; protection afforded to Bharwuttias or outlaws; and generally those practices that are subversive of good order and tranquillity.

7. You are acquainted that the tranquillity of the Company's western districts has been temporarily disturbed by the plundering incursions of a body of Kathis. This evil is as much owing to the unsettled habits of the people as from any other cause; and the mode, that offers the best practicable chance of removing the evil, is by inducing these people to adopt a settled mode of life, and encouraging them, under the joint assurances of the protection of the Governments of the Hon'ble Company and the Gaikwad, to pursue their domestic occupations in comfort and tranquillity.

In doing this however it will be previously necessary to adjust to the best of your ability all previous claims, with a view to remove every latent cause of enmity; and under the preceding considerations, should any of the Kathis, who were not included in the recent engagements, accede to similar terms, you are authorised to extend to them the protection of the Hon'ble Company.

8. Independent of this, there is another outstanding affair the early adjustment of which under your exertions will be an acceptable piece of service to the Gaikwad Government. I allude to the recovery of the balances due from Morvi, and for which the small fort of Tankara was placed as a pledge in the hands of Sunderji Sivji. By some remonstrances, judiciously urged on the spot, I should trust you will be able to induce the payment of this money and promote the restoration of this place to the Morvi Raja.

9. Another point to which I beg to call your most solicitous attention is to superintend the arrangements which have been made for the suppression of the practice of female infanticide among the Jahreja and Jetwa Rajputs.

10. Your further attention will also be required to the preservation of the arrangements which have been made for the abolishment of piracy. The agency which has been established will be required to correspond with you on this subject, and you will take due care to make early reports of any infringement of these engagements that may come to your knowledge.

11. You will have learnt from the correspondence in the office that some proposals were made some time since for placing the Hon'ble Company in possession of a share of the customs of Porbandar. The negotiations for this object are still continuing, but their success depends probably upon some contingent circumstance occurring that may favour the Company's views. You will however be pleased to keep your attention to this point and superintend the impending proceedings with a view of ultimately realising the Hon'ble Company's object, whenever a favourable opportunity may occur.

1809 *Baroda, 1st March, 1809 (1809, P. D. 161).*

James R. Carnac to Capt. S. Greenwood.

Instructions

It may however be proper to add that the anxiety of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to accelerate the liquidation of the debt due by the Government of the Gaikwad to the Hon'ble Company, induces me to request your attention to the earliest possible realisation of the money arising from the nazranah payable by the Rana of Porbandar for the capture and restorations of the fortress of Kandorna Ranaka, and which sum amounting to above 60,000 or 70,000 Rupees has been engaged to be appropriated for the above purpose by this Government.

You are also acquainted that since the departure of Col. Walker the vakil of Fateh Muhammad, Jamadar of Cutch Bhuj, has arrived at Baroda for the purpose of preferring his claims on behalf of his Master against the Raja of Navanagar. You are in possession of a copy of my letter to Government on this subject, and it is my intention to direct Cooverji Mehta, the vakil, to accompany you, as the business of his claims may be much more accurately investigated on the spot, and his presence with you will enable you to prosecute the further instructions of Government with reference to Cutch.

My letter to Government of the 11th February will have apprised you of the consent of Fateh Muhammad to remove his thana from Positra. The sentiments of Government in this respect will be hereafter communicated; but I would recommend that you lose no time in placing the Hon'ble Company's agent in that port to prevent any more piratical equipment, which from recent advices from Sunderji there would seem cause to apprehend.

I have the pleasure to enclose you letters to the Gaikwad local authorities and to the principal bhumias with whom your instructions may lead you to have communication, as well as to the officer commanding at Paliyad, the officer commanding the Company's cruiser on the Positra station, and to Sunderji Sivji, requiring their future communication to be made through you.

Copy of a letter from Lt. James R. Carnac, Acting Resident at Baroda, to the following persons: the Nawab of Junagarh and the Rajas of Morvi, Gondal, Navanagar and Bhavnagar.

Greenwood

This letter is to inform you that the respectable Captain Greenwood is deputed into that country to superintend the Company's concerns. It is therefore requested that any business which you would wish to communicate, you would make known through that Gentleman, who will convey the same to me; and that you will also consider any communication made through that Gentleman the same as from myself.

1809 *Baroda, 3rd March, 1809 (1809, P. D. 161)*

James R. Carnac to Robert Holford & H. W. Diggle.

Greenwood

I have the honour to apprise you that Captain Greenwood, the first Assistant to this Residency, is deputed to Kathiawar to superintend the affairs of the Hon'ble Company's Government in that country.

James R. Carnac to Thomas Corsellis.

Captain Greenwood having been directed to proceed to Kathiawar *Greenwood* to superintend the affairs of the Hon'ble Company's Government in that country, I request you would be pleased to refer the disputes of the Kathis to his adjustment and to direct Pingelsing and the several Kathis residing at Paliyad, to attend Captain Greenwood for that purpose.

Bombay, 25th April, 1809 (1809, P.D. 162)

1809

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

4. The importance of the events, now passing in Cutch, to our *State of Kathiawar* future interests may justify a statement of my sentiments of the transactions in Kathiawar, as they are connected with those events and the arrangements concluded between the Chiefs of the peninsula of Gujarat and the Gaikwad under the bhandari of the Hon'ble Company.

5. The first and most prominent occurrence within the peninsula was the invasion of its territory by Fateh Muhammad. Since that period Fateh Muhammad has invited to his assistance a large body of Sindhis.

6. While Cooverji Mehta, the agent of Fateh Muhammad, was promising to withdraw his thana at Positra, the place has not only been considerably reinforced, but we have reasonable proofs that the Jamadar supports piracy and partakes of its spoils.

7. The detachment of troops likewise, which Fateh Muhammad maintains at Jodiya under a specious but unauthorised pretext, must be viewed as an infringement of the territorial rights of the Gaikwad and in violation of those rights which stand guaranteed by the Hon'ble Company.

8. Besides the realisation of their revenue and tribute, the Gaikwad Government is the paramount authority in Kathiawar. They have no right to tribute, unless they afford that country protection. They must not only protect it against foreign enemies, but against intestine commotions. So much is this power and the rights, arising from it, acknowledged that no State in Kathiawar can prosecute its own cause by arms, when the Gaikwad is present or his armies in the country, without the express invitation or permission of the paramount Government. This is the muluk sarishta, which is explained in many letters. The Company is the guarantee of this rule, and it is a violation of this rule for any foreign State to send troops into Kathiawar.

9. These acts of Fateh Muhammad appear remote from any intention of cultivating a friendly connection with the Hon'ble Company's Government.

10. The distracted state of Machhu Kantha and the depredations of the Kathis are no less prejudicial to the interests of the Hon'ble Company and of the Gaikwad and evince the necessity of some acting interference in the affairs of the country. The conduct of Malia is

placed in the fullest and most accurate point of view by Captain Greenwood.

11. The annual revenues which the Gaikwad derives from Morvi are at stake, as well as the arrears of one and a half lakhs of Rupees. These must be wholly lost, or Malia reduced.

12. The existence and security of this band of robbers has hitherto been maintained by the possession of a fortress which is of sufficient strength to baffle the little military skill that exists in this country.

13. Were however the Government of the Hon'ble Company to undertake this enterprise, it would be productive of the most beneficial consequences to the interests of their ally, the people of Kathiawar, and to their own reputation. It would disperse a society which no engagements can bind and no punishment reach save that inflicted by the Company. It would enable their ally to realise the annual dues from Morvi without hesitation or delay, as well as the arrears from that place, and exhibit to the whole country a most salutary instance of the determination of the Company's Government to maintain the engagements which have been contracted under their authority for the administration of Kathiawar.

14. It would be a proof of their power, which would be estimated in proportion to the celebrity which the fortress of Malia has obtained and the extensive injuries which it has inflicted on the country. As this power would be exerted in the maintenance of engagements and for the preservation of order and tranquillity, the moral consequence of the reduction of Malia, would not be less beneficial than the advantage which would result to the country; and while it would be received with pleasure and approbation by all the Chieftains of the province, it would, by removing the impunity which in this case attends the commission of crimes, have a tendency to diminish the number of offences.

15. It is not the territory of the Morvi Raja only, although his district principally suffers, but the whole extent of Kathiawar is exposed to the depredations of Malia.

The necessity, the propriety and justice of extending our protection to those who have accepted our guarantee, need not probably be further insisted on.

16. There is however another point of view of this subject which it may not be useless to submit to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

17. The superstitious bonds of a fil-zamini security afford the principal security for engagements and for property in this country, but this security in fact derives all its efficacy from the constant support it meets with from Government.

So long as Malia is permitted to pursue her depredations with impunity, there can be no security whatever in the country.

What Chieftain can be expected to venerate a fil-zamini, when they see its violation daily practised with success, and riches acquired by the plunder of the poor and defenceless.

18. To eradicate however the thieves of Malia would be proving to the whole country that crimes were no longer to be committed with impunity; it would be evincing that the Company are determined to maintain engagements, and that the correct and regular will be protected in their persons and property.

19. It would be creditable to the Company's arms to interfere for the suppression of this daring band of robbers, and it may be observed that the Chieftains of the country will hardly conceive that the Company have any serious intention of compelling them to perform their pecuniary engagements to the Gaikwad when they permit the enormities of Malia to pass with impunity.

20. The preceding reasonings are hardly necessary to show the necessity and advantage of the measure of reducing Malia. Its execution seems to be rendered indispensable under our recent engagements, unless we wish unequivocally to declare to the country that the guarantee of the Company is a thing of no force or effect.

21. These observations are applicable in every respect to the pirates of Positra and to the petty Chieftain of Khandahar.

22. The obstinacy and determination of this man to continue his old ways and his success in doing so, point him out as an object of just resentment and chastisement.

23. This impunity is closely connected with the depredations of the Kathis, and to ensure the salutary object of their suppression it is necessary that the Chief of Khandahar should receive a punishment adequate to his deserts.

24. The fort of Khandahar has been the constant refuge of all the plundering Kathis, and is at this moment the repository of most of the plundered property.

25. The intelligence of the entire destruction of Kodinar by the Kathis has induced the commander of the Gaikwad army to proceed to Amrcli, and to relinquish for the present his intention of marching to Khandahar and of compelling this Chief to restore his plunder. But the mere circumstance of restitution does not appear in this case an adequate punishment, and it is doubtful whether the Gaikwad army could effect the reduction of the fort without the assistance of the Company's troops.

26. From these premises I conceive that it will be indispensably necessary for the future tranquillity of the country that Malia, Positra and Khandahar should be reduced.

27. It is however more difficult to suggest any permanent security against the roving Kathis, who seem to consider a security engagement made to be broken,

28. Waldan Reffrio, Curpurra Chubba and the Bhimura Kathi with others, I believe, afforded to Vithalrao Diwanji last year that security of fil-zamini. But the moment his attention was engaged at Porbundar, they broke their engagements.

29. The Kathis are still in a pastoral state, which in every age and in every situation has consisted of thieves. This has been mistaken for a state of innocence, but from history and experience it is distinguished by fraud and violence, and it has unfortunately proved the most seductive state of society, from which men have with most reluctance and difficulty passed forward to improvement and civilisation.

30. The Kathis, who are described by the historians of Alexander under the same name and portrayed with the same habits as they are known by at this day, afford a remarkable instance of an adherence to this mode of life. It is probable that a people of this description can only be reclaimed by necessity and severity or by taking advantage of some favourable accident which may incline them to industry. At present however their poverty, idle and unprincipled habits induce them to plunder; and our fertile villages as well as those of the Gaikwad, so wholly undefended, afford them too great a temptation, which they will always embrace whenever the immediate fear of punishment is removed.

31. It is difficult to suggest any expedient sufficient to eradicate vices firmly and deeply rooted. By attending to one circumstance it might probably tend to diminish the robberies of the Kathis. This would be to punish the buyers and receivers of the stolen property. To make those, in whose talukas it may be found, doubly responsible would have a good effect if rigidly enforced.

32. This regulation is in some measure already enforced by the Gaikwad Government in compelling restitution and in exacting fines from those in whose possession property is found. This expedient however is not effectual; but a small part is recovered, which generally consists of cattle; and movables are seldom restored. Great part of the cattle are conveyed to Vagad by means of the Malia people, and thence to Cutch. Were Malia reduced, the Kathis would be deprived of one outlet for their iniquitous gains.

33. Another still more effectual mode of reforming the Kathis might be suggested, which has also been partially and occasionally attempted by the Gaikwad Government, but the designs has never been regularly and systematically pursued. It has occasionally produced expensive and not bloodless contests which invariably devastated the country.

34. As the superstition of the Kathis prevents them using fire arms, they generally hire Sindhi match-lock men, whom they obtain from Wardhwan, Bhavnagar and the surrounding countries.

It would probably be an effectual step to the reform of the Kathis if the Chieftains, from whose talukas they obtain mercenaries, were made answerable for their excesses.

Bombay, 16th January, 1810 (1810, P.D. 351)

1810

Alexander Walker to Captain Greenwood.

The object of the expedition into Kathiawar being terminated, it will be your duty to remain in the country to superintend and forward the execution of the arrangements, which have been introduced, under the following instructions for your guidance. The general principles of your instructions under date the 10th January, 1809, still remain unaltered; and they are equally applicable to the present occasion. But there are some additional points to which your attention is required, arising out of the recent transactions in the country. *Additional instructions*

You will particularly understand that there is no object in which the Hon'ble Company is more interested than in the preservation of tranquillity in the Peninsula, this, it is expected, will be maintained by the Gaikwad commander alone, by the exercise of those legal and constitutional powers which the customs of his Government and the muluk sarishta authorise. This, it is expected, he will be at all times able to effect under the salutary impression which has been made by the arms of the Company during the recent campaign.

The first important duty, to which your attention is required, is to ensure the recovery of the money for which bonds have been taken during the recent service. Some portion of this money belongs to the Gaikwad Government, concerning which you will hereafter receive further instructions from Government, to whom it is under reference, and the amount of the remainder will be remitted as recovered to the Presidency through the Resident at Baroda.

You are aware that the Hon'ble Company have acquired certain permanent interests at Porbandar, and that in the hurry of my departure from that port several arrangements were left unfinished, to which your early attention will be required. The demands of Parmanand, the late Diwan in the State of Porbandar and those of Halaji on Parmanand, require to be settled under the arbitration of the Company's Government. Some arrangements have been sanctioned under the guarantee of the Company. It will be so far your duty to see that these arrangements are not infringed, and when the obligations are released, to report the same for the information of Government. This duty will afford you opportunities of becoming acquainted with the state of affairs at Porbandar, as they affect the Company's guarantee or bhandari to that State. A concise exposition of these may be a useful and acceptable document. Lieutenant Maxfield, the Superintendent of the Hon'ble Company's share of the customs, and the commanding officer of the detachment have both been apprised of the political relations of Porbandar to the Baroda Residency; and they will be happy to afford you every assistance in promoting the object of your instructions. It is however my intention to submit to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the expediency of refraining from interfering in the internal details of Porbandar; and you will of course abstain from this interference further than affording your advice on such occasions as it may be requested for the benefit of the Rana's family and to justify the confidence he has evinced in the Company's Government by placing himself under their protection.

1811 *Bombay, 8th March, 1811 (1811, P.D. 371)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I beg to solicit the consideration of Government on the apparent expediency of the deputation into Kathiawar being resumed by an Assistant from my department.

*Agency in
Kathiawar*

The causes which formerly suggested the advantage of an agency of this description appear at present in no degree lessened; and although it is not necessary to engage the time of the Hon'ble Board by adverting to recent instances, wherein the presence of my Assistant would have proved beneficial, it may not be calculating too highly on the good effects of such a measure by remarking that the future tranquillity of the country may probably become secured by its adoption.

It is proper I should here state that in my last interview with Vithoba Diwanji on my departure from Baroda this respectable officer expatiated with considerable interest on the eligibility of a European Gentleman being fixed for the present in Kathiawar. The good resulting from this step was not only, he observed, in the weight it carried for the due execution of the engagements guaranteed by the Company's Government, but that the licentious habits of these people were restrained from the apprehension of our power being interposed in conjunction to that of the Gaikwad Government to punish misconduct.

The absence of an agent altogether might relax this useful influence on their actions and at length lead to the total overthrow of those arrangements executed with difficulty by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker at a considerable expense to the British Government, while the knowledge of a European Agent being present will not fail to restrain the piratical habits of the tribes, in that quarter, of the manifestation of whose yet unsubdued lawless propensities some indications have been afforded, and which cannot be expected to be completely reformed, but by a more intimate knowledge of the British character, which does not easily relinquish what it has once undertaken to accomplish.

Anxious therefore that no part of that system, which met with so much approbation, should run the hazard of becoming inefficient, I beg with the utmost respect to solicit that I may direct one of my Assistants to undertake the duties committed to the late Captain Greenwood, as soon as circumstances will admit of it, under a perfect conviction that experience will show that the advantages will amply compensate the limited expense of such an agency.

Bombay resolution.

Expenses

The only but not immaterial objection to the measure proposed by the Resident at Baroda lies in the increase of charge to the Hon'ble Company that is always found to attend these deputations. Before therefore the system, thus proposed, can be agreed to, Captain Carnac must submit a statement of the expenses that will in his view of the

matter attend, to the end that, if sanctioned (which will depend altogether on the moderation of amount), we may be certain beforehand that no further contingencies can occur to swell its amount.

Baroda, 4th August, 1811 (1811, P. D. 377)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour respectfully to report that, pursuant to the authority conveyed in Mr. Secretary Babington's letter of the 14th June last to depute an Assistant from this department into the province of Kathiawar, I have availed myself of the advantages of local experience and long habits of intercourse combined in the person of Captain Ballantine to direct that Gentleman to proceed in the execution of that duty, a measure which, I trust, will meet with the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

I have the honour to enclose a copy of the instructions given to Captain Ballantine; and his present employment in obtaining the decennial arrangements from the tributary Chieftains of the Mahi Kantha mulukgiri has taken place from Bucha, Jamadar, who commands the force in that quarter, having suggested the advisability of profiting by the late disposition of these Chieftains to enter on discussions regarding the regular payment of their dues to the Gaikwad Government.

No. 1 Letter from James R. Carnac to Captain Ballantine.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council having been pleased to authorise the deputation of an Assistant from this department into the province of Kathiawar, it is with much pleasure that I avail myself of the advantages of your local experience and capacity for the discharge of duties of some considerable importance and delicacy. The instructions, bearing date the 10th January, 1809, copy of which is herewith enclosed, communicated for the guidance of my late senior's information as to the leading objects of the Company's Government in Kathiawar, aided by your experience do not require any particular recapitulation.

The engagements of the different bhumias appear to have been discharged with punctuality, and the piratical States with the exception of Meghraj of Positra (whose misconduct will already have been punished), it is hoped, have entirely abandoned their bad habits. It will however be your particular object to superintend with vigilance the conduct of the agents of Sunderji Sivji established at those ports, as they will be made responsible for any delay in affording intelligence of piracies.

By recent accounts from Kathiawar I have been much concerned to learn that the engagements for preserving female infants of the Jhareja and Jettwa Rajputs have not been generally observed. On your arrival in the country it will be very acceptable if you would ascertain the names of the several persons who have disappointed the humane views of the Company's and Gaikwad Governments by thus departing from their engagement.

The conduct of the Jam of Navanagar by expelling from his country the Gaikwad mehta, who had twice been deputed for the purpose of being informed of the numbers of female infants who have been saved to the community, almost justifies a thorough belief that this Chieftain has renewed a practice which calls for exemplary punishment. In the prosecution of this inquiry you should omit no opportunity of expressing abhorrence at the continuance of a custom at variance with every moral principle and subversive of the tenets of the Hindu religion. at the same time you should emphatically express the determination of the Company's Government to put a period to this abominable practice wherever it may exist within the limits of its power or influence.

Another object, to which I have to request your attention with reference to your charge in Kathiawar is the conduct of Dosaji of Malia, whose unsettled habits of life might induce him to resort to improper behaviour; and I recommend you to be very vigilant as to the general conduct of this person as well as the different petty Kathi Chiefs in Kathiawar.

With these general observations I have only to add a few remarks connected with our relation in Cutch. You are perfectly acquainted with the state of these relations both with Mandvi and Fateh Muhammad, and the measures which I am now pursuing to obtain the consolidation of the treaties contracted with those parties. Preparatory to my eventual personal interposition in these negotiations, I have to request that you will take every opportunity of conciliating the regard of Fateh Mahummad and holding out to this person every expectation that his just claims on the Chief of Navanagar will be satisfied. I beg to recommend to your attention our native agent at Bhuj, Rajuba Appa, who will be duly advised of your deputation to Kathiawar.

The measures for obtaining the decennial arrangements from the several Chiefs of the Mahi-Kantha being in a state of advancement, it occurs to me that your proceeding to Kathiawar by the route of the Camp of Bucha, jamadar, might greatly facilitate the completion of these desirable objects; and your time will be usefully employed for a few weeks on this particular duty, which Government have so pointedly urged on the attention of this Residency.

No. 2 Bombay orders.

The Gaikwad Government have appropriated to themselves 60,000 Rupees conformably to the decision of the Hon'ble Board communicated to me by your letter of the 20th of July, 1810. The balance of money realised or Rupees 1,48,000 has been received into this treasury. Measures are in progress to obtain the outstanding debt of Rupees 37,000, a greater proportion of which must be made good by the Mandvi authorities, who became security for Goorg, the Chieftain of Nandia, after he was made prisoner at the assault of the fort of Malia.

Statement of recoverances from the following places in Kathiawar on account of nazaranah settled by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker during the expedition to Kathiawar.

		Amount to be Received	Amount Received	Balance.
Ghondal	...	25,000	25,000	...
Khandadar	...	25,000	25,000	...
Morvi	...	25,000	25,000	...
Jodiya	...	70,000	58,000	12,000
Bhavnagar	...	25,000	25,000	...
Nandia	...	75,000	50,000	25,000
		Rs. 2,45,000	Rs. 2,08,000	Rs. 37,000

Received by the Gaikwad Government conformably to the orders of Government, dated 20th January, 1810 ... Rs. 60,000.

Received by Company ... Rs. 1,48,000.

Section B: BANDITTI

DOCUMENTS

Secret and Political Department Diary 1808, No. 246.

1808

August 15, 1808: Information from the mehta at Dhandhuka to B. Roules at Kaira.

I have to inform you that on Wednesday, 11th August 1808, the village of Mulderia in the Dhandhuka pargana was destroyed by the village of Waldan Reffrio's Kathis. The Kathis were accompanied by about 500 horse and 2,000 footmen. They attacked and plundered the village at about 5 o'clock in the morning; they killed three villagers, two or three others were wounded; they also carried off some inhabitants and took them 3 or 4 kos, when by the intercession of the patels of Patna they were induced to set at liberty these captives and all the livestock for the consideration of 3,000 Rupees. All the valuable property (such as money and ornaments) they carried off. The patels of Patna have agreed to pay the sum of 3,000 Rupees in 20 days. On this security the captives and livestock were set at liberty. After

this event, on Friday the 12th of August, the Dhandhuka villages named Gundhi and Beyla were surrounded by the same Waldan Reffrio's Kathis, when the women went and implored the Kathis not to attack their villages. The Kathis in consequence agreed to receive 309 Rupees. (S. & P. D. No. 246, p. 10834)

August 23, 1808: Alexander Walker to B. Rowles.

Number of Kathis The exaggerated accounts of the force of the Kathis, as written by the adaulat mehta, exceeds any calculation that can be formed of their strength and numbers. The Kathis, who have committed this depredation, are not a numerous, but they are a roving tribe without at present any fixed habitation; and it is in consequence difficult to adopt measures that could counteract their predatory habits. (S. & P. D. No. 246, p. 10837).

August 23, 1808: Alexander Walker to H. W. Diggle, Collector at Kaira.

Number of Kathis The Kathis, who have committed these depredations, being bharwuttias, have no fixed habitation at present, and they are thieves by profession. It is consequently extremely difficult to take any measure against them, that can promise any great success. Their numbers however are by no means formidable; and, if collected, would fall much short of the very exaggerated numbers which Kurna Sanker has assigned them. (S. & P. D. No. 246, p. 10829)

N. B.—According to Kurna Sanker, Acting Desai of Dhandhuka the Kathis were about 1,500. (S. & P. D. No. 246, p. 10831)

August 26, 1808: Alexander Walker to Captain Thomas Corsellis.

Waldan Reffrio The Waldan Reffrio Kathi is a man of notorious bad character. He was formerly in the service of one of the Bhavnagar villages, but which he quitted about 15 years ago. Two years afterwards the Kathis of Paliyad assigned him over the village of Scrwah, about two kos from Paliyad, where he remained with his family for some years, but was expelled therefrom for his depredations, and is now a fugitive without any fixed habitation. (S. & P. D. No. 276, p. 10840)

September 20, 1808: Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Cause of trouble This attack is in prosecution of one of those schemes of revenge for injuries, real or supposed, which the Kathis have received, that must continue to disturb the tranquillity of that part of the country, until the inhabitants have acquired confidence in the justice of the Government, that will supersede the necessity of seeking private redress. (S. & P. D. No. 246, p. 11683)

September 21, 1808: Bombay resolution.

Orders Major Walker is to be informed that it is left to his consideration, whether and how far it might not be useful, in practical corroboration of the arrangements resulting from our late interference in the local interests of Kathiawar, to follow up the proceedings against Waldan Reffrio Kathi to his apprehension or total discomfiture as affording an example that might prove that we were serious in the determination to enforce the reforms and future quiet of that part of

the country, the Governor-in-Council willingly leaving to the Resident to direct the measures to be pursued in this instance, if he shall deem it an advisable one to proceed with, and follow up, a coercive course; which may be the most appropriate, from there seeming to be no objection, in view to justice, to the bringing of Waldan Refrio and his party to condign punishment. (S. & P. D. No. 246, p. 10845)

Baroda, 4th October, 1808, (S. & P. D. 248)

1808

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

I request you would have the goodness to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the marauders, who are at present disturbing the peace of that country, are of the most licentious and dissolute of that extraordinary tribe whose crimes or whose habits prevented the possibility of including them in those general arrangements which were recently effected in Kathiawar. *Steps against Kathis*

I find by information from that country that they have not confined their depredations to those instances in the Company's pargana, which have already been reported to Government, but have extended them into different parts; which evinces the necessity and propriety of immediately proceeding to some measures that may prove to the country at large that crimes are not to be committed with impunity.

All the objects of Vithalrao Diwanji being effected at Porbandar. and the season being opened, that officer is now at liberty to proceed with his troops, as he has already advised me, to restore confidence to that part of the country disturbed by the Kathis; and I have accordingly arranged with this Government the adoption of a course of measures, which, I trust, will prove successful in restoring tranquillity, in punishing the offenders and in preventing any future depredation. For this purpose I have proposed the co-operation of the battalion at Paliyad to carry the intention of Government into effect.

Considerable inconvenience resulting from the want of a native agent in that country on behalf of the Company, I trust the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will sanction my having deputed on this duty Shivram Sadashiv, a Brahman of intelligence and respectability and possessing local acquaintance with the country.

Secret and Political Department Diary, 1808, No. 248.

1808

September 24th, 1808: Alexander Walker to Captain Corsellis.

In compliance with the wishes of the Kathis I have dispatched to them through the medium of Pingelsing, ~~Chief~~ *the usual parwanah* of safe conduct, which they require; and I have desired Pingelsing to repair to Paliyad and invite these people in.

Should they comply with the invitation I shall be extremely obliged to you if you would have the goodness to encourage them by conciliation and assurances to appeal to the Hon'ble Company's local authorities for any redress they may expect under a confidence that their complaints in all just cases will meet with attention and

persuade them to restore the bonds and the property which they have carried off from the Company's village. Any complaints which they may have, it would be expedient to receive in the native writing under their signature.

I do not apprehend that the Kathis will venture to make any incursions into the Hon'ble Company's districts during the period of this correspondence and intercourse, which are generally dictated by a spirit of revenge for some injury.

The causes of complaint and injury in that country are however so general and mutual, from the irregular and uncivilized habits of the people, that your vigilance will always be required to keep a watchful eye on their motions; but it is also to be hoped that without proceeding to any extremity towards them these people may by the gradual progress of civil intercourse and conciliation be weaned in a considerable degree from their present irregular propensities, and taught to appreciate the advantages of tranquillity and security. (S. & P. D. No. 249, p. 12190)

October 10th, 1808: Captain Corsellis to Alexander Walker.

Hopes I have the honour to inform you that Pingelsing arrived here this afternoon, who is sanguine that Waldan and his principal accomplices will attend the summons which will be dispatched to them to-morrow morning.

October 16, 1808: Lieutenant Brookes to Lieut.-Col. Heath.

Attack Waldan attacked me this morning with 500 horse. Killed: 1 horse; wounded: 4 troopers and 4 horses. (S. & P. D. No. 249, p. 12,200)

October 26, 1808: Alexander Walker to Robert Holford.

Doubts Having received intimation from Captain Corsellis at Paliyad under date the 10th instant that he was sanguine that Waldan Reffrio would attend the summons which was then about to be dispatched to him under a parwanah which that Kathi had solicited from me, his encounter with Lt. Brookes within the district of Dhandhuka appears so extraordinary that I shall be greatly obliged if you would have the goodness to transmit any intelligence which you may have received relative to this affair as well as the motions of Waldan Reffrio after leaving the neighbourhood of Chotila. (S. & P. D. No. 249, p. 12204)

N.B.—There follows a long inquiry; and Lt. Brookes, if not officially blamed, was neither praised.

1808 *Secret and Political Department Diary, 1808, No. 251.*

November 1, 1808: Captain Corsellis to Alexander Walker

Attack I have received information to-day that a party of Kathis, consisting of about 70 horsemen, entered the Dholka pargana and took off with them about 300 head of cattle. They went to Wadhwan, and a party from that place forcibly took possession of the booty and drove away the depredators. The Raja has refused to restore the

property to the owners. I have consequently demanded the cattle on the part of the proprietors; which, I trust, will meet with your approbation. (S. & P. D. No. 251, p 13177)

Secret and Political Department Diary, 1808, No. 252.

1808

November 6, 1808: Captain Corsellis to Alexander Walker.

Waldan is now here and lives with Pingelsing in a tent I pitched for him on his first arrival. I have just learnt that Waldan's followers committed the late depredations in the Dholka pargana, though he says [that] it was not done by his orders, and that he was displeased at hearing of the circumstance, and that he has discharged the men who committed the act; which force consisted of 12 Kathis, armed with swords and spears, and 60 sepoys with match-locks, all mounted. The Wadhwan Raja took possession of the booty from this party of Waldan's followers, who have their habitations at that place, and has sent me word, after writing him a peremptory letter, that he will deliver up the property consisting of cattle to the owners, and a note, exacted from the inhabitants of the Dolkha pargana for 2,600 Rupees, is to be sent to me. (S. & P. D. No. 252, p. 13207). *Waldan arrives*

November 10, 1808: Alexander Walker to Robert Holford.

I have the pleasure to forward for your information a letter from Captain Corsellis, intimating the prospect of a speedy adjustment by the submission of Waldan Refrio, who is now residing in Captain Corsellis' camp, and promises to restore his prisoners and plunder, and to reside peaceably in his village under the protection of the Company. (S. & P. D. No. 252, p. 13210). *Peace*

Camp at Balar, 24th December, 1808 (1809, P. D. 150/160 A).

1808

Thomas Corsellis to Alexander Walker.

Waldan and the other Kathi Chiefs have promised to refrain from any further predatory incursions, till the negotiation is brought to a conclusion. I have in return allowed them to cultivate their lands and to attend to their domestic concerns. I made the Diwanji acquainted with this measure, who was satisfied with what I had done. Waldan was absent and rejoined me yesterday. *Friendly relations*

Baroda, 1st January, 1809 (1809 P. D. 150/160A)

1808

Alexander Walker to Thomas Corsellis.

In proceeding to express to you my approbation of the conciliatory measures which you have pursued respecting the Kathis, I am inclined to hope that you have by this time availed yourself of your junction with Vithalrao Diwanji to reconcile their differences. To effect this desirable object it would be worthwhile to continue with him for a few days longer; but, should you conceive that this adjustment may be protracted, I request you would keep in view the propriety of your return to the station of Paliyad at the earliest practicable period of time which the public security would now appear to admit of. *Kathis*

The mode you have adopted in permitting these people to pursue the cultivation of their grounds is likely to ensure their peaceable

demeanour until their differences can be brought to an adjustment; to effect which permanently I have it in contemplation to depute Capt. Greenwood in that country.

1809 *Cantonment Paliyad, 29th January, 1809 (1809, P. D. 162).*

Thomas Corsellis to Alexander Walker.

*Waldan
restless*

I have the honour to inform you that all our endeavours to settle the affairs of the Kathi thieves and to induce them to pursue habits of industry are not likely to take place, which I attribute partly to delay, but principally to the want of faith in the Gaikwad Government.

Waldan Reffrio has intimated to Pingelsing some intentions of returning your parwanah. However I shall use my endeavour to prevail on him to retain it till Captain Greenwood's arrival, that matters may be brought to an amicable conclusion, if possible.

1809 *Camp at Paliyad, 17th March, 1809 (1809, P. D. 162)*

Captain Greenwood to Lt. James R. Carnac.

1. I have the honour to report my arrival at this station on the day before yesterday.

*Waldan's
case*

2. Immediate intimation of my arrival having been transmitted by Pingelsing to Waldan Reffrio Kathi, I have much satisfaction in reporting that he instantly repaired to this station on the faith of his former parwanah, and arrived in the camp yesterday evening.

3. This morning I had a long conversation with this extraordinary character, in which he neither attempted to palliate or deny his depredations; but, if professions can be received as any proof of the intentions of a man of his character, he appears to be extremely desirous of settling himself, at least for the present, in his village, provided through the mediation of the Hon'ble Company he can obtain indemnity for the past and protection for the future.

4. This desire he has evinced by consenting to retain in his possession the parwanah of Lt.-Col. Walker, which Major Corsellis intimated his apprehension that Waldan might return, and by also engaging to refrain from any act of violence and depredation until my visit to the camp of Vithalrao Diwanji may have ascertained the conditions on which he may again be admitted to the protection of Government.

5. It has consequently become my duty to use every endeavour to improve this engagement into a permanent arrangement for his peaceable demeanour. I shall therefore proceed on the day after to-morrow to the Gaikwad camp, which is now in the neighbourhood of Morvi, and endeavour to concert with Vithalrao Diwanji some definite settlement that may secure the public tranquillity on the principles pointed out in the several dispatches of Lt.-Col. Walker to Major Corsellis.

6. The greatest difficulty, which I anticipate in this duty, will be that of inducing the Gaikwad commander to agree to an adjustment with reference rather to the expediency of the measure than to

the demerits of the Kathis, whose actions and atrocities are of that nature that they can expect no other consideration than what may flow from the lenity and compassion of Government. It shall be my endeavour however to make the submission of Waldan and his associates as complete as possible, to justify the extension of any indulgence which policy may render it necessary in the Gaikwad Government to grant.

7. In making this report however it is proper to add that I learnt with some concern that Waldan has now actually upwards of 400 horse and as many foot banditti under his orders, who had again joined him under the idea that, the consideration of his case being protracted, he might again be under the necessity of having recourse to depredation for his subsistence.

8. In a country like this it is only by plunder that they can expect to subsist themselves; and notwithstanding the professions of Waldan, some apprehensions may be entertained that necessity may drive his followers to some predatory act. It is however proper to add that in this country, where there are so many plunderers by profession, it will be necessary to guard against popular rumour, which under present impressions will be anxious to impute every outrage to Waldan and his followers, in which he may have no concern or not the power to control. I shall endeavour however to persuade Waldan to discharge his followers as affording the most convincing proof of his sincerity.

9. Although Waldan Refrio can never be formidable as an enemy, yet with the banditti whom his exploits have attached to him, and who are so rapid in their motions that they easily elude the attack and pursuit of regular troops, he can become a vexatious annoyance to the fertile and valuable districts of Dholka, Dhandhuka and Ranpur.

10. That he has refrained from committing any depredations under the favourable opportunity, which the absence of Major Corsellis and the Gaikwad troops afforded during the recent invasion of Fatch Muhammad, is to be imputed solely to the confidence which that officer inspired him of the justice of the mediation of the Hon'ble Company; and Major Corsellis has borne ample testimony of the useful services of Pingelsing.

11. I beg to enclose for your information a copy of a letter of this date to the address of Major Corsellis, requesting the continuance of his good offices in any affair that may arise during my absence in the Gaikwad camp. I have also desired Pingelsing, who was anxious to return to Bhavnagar, to continue at Paliyad until the affair is concluded. The proceedings in respect to Waldan being intimately connected with the immediate peace of the country, I deemed it proper to give them my earliest attention, and I trust I shall have the satisfaction of communicating a favourable result by a future opportunity.

1809 *Camp at Paliyad, 17th March, 1809 (1809, P. D. 162)*

Captain Greenwood to Major T. Corsellis.

*Assistance
asked*

I have the honour to inform you that in a long conversation, which I this morning held with Waldan Reffrio, this Kathi has consented to continue the peaceable conduct which you have so successfully induced him to adopt for a long time past, and to retain the parwanah of the Hon'ble the Company in his possession until he shall have ascertained by the result of my visit to the Gaikwad camp whether he may be permitted to pursue the cultivation of his grounds under the protection of the Hon'ble Company.

The confidence in the Company's Government, with which you appear to have inspired Waldan in inducing him to repair without hesitation to this camp and to refrain from depredations during the discussions which have ensued upon his case, induce me to place considerable confidence in the assurance I have received from Waldan, on the faith of which it is my intention to prosecute my journey on the day after to-morrow to the camp of Vithalrao Diwanji with a view of endeavouring to bring the whole business to a final determination.

During my absence therefore I shall be particularly obliged if you would have the goodness to continue your kind offices in confirming the peaceable conduct of Waldan, which you have already so successfully exerted, as well as to be so kind as to favour me with the earliest communication of any circumstance which in your apprehension may be of a nature to interrupt the present favourable disposition of the turbulent Kathis, or which generally may affect the public interest in this quarter.

1809 *Bombay, 1st April, 1809, (1809, P. D. 162)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

*Walker's
views*

1. I have the honour to reply to your letter of the 30th ultimo enclosing a dispatch from the Acting Resident at Baroda on the subject of Captain Greenwood's proceedings in respect to Waldan Reffrio.

2. It does not occur to me that this communication requires any other remarks than what will naturally arise from the perusal of these proceedings. The attention and conciliatory conduct of Major Corsellis towards the Kathis, the propriety and prudent judgment of Captain Greenwood, and the motives by which he proposes to influence the Gaikwad commander to accept the reconciliation of these turbulent tribes, appear to me deserving of suitable marks of approbation.

3. The success of Major Corsellis in this instance and the advanced period of the season, together with the disturbed state of affairs in the vicinity of Cutch, may probably suggest to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the advantage of suspending for the present the relief of Major Corsellis' corps.

4. I embrace this opportunity of bearing my testimony in favour of the useful services of Pingelsing and, from his great influence and

acquaintance with the Kathis; of suggesting to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that those services well deserve remuneration.

5. Major Corsellis acknowledges in the warmest terms the services of Pingelsing, and I would respectfully recommend that the bazaar fund at Paliyad should be charged with defraying his expenses. This fund yields from 250 to 300 Rupees a month and would be well laid out in the expense of 5 or 6 active horse attached to Pingel under the direction of the commanding officer of the station.

6. They would prove eminently useful in anticipating the attacks of any Kathis and keeping us apprised of their motions. This agency would maintain a constant and cordial intelligence with these roving tribes and avert their depredations from the Hon'ble Company's districts.

Baroda, 17th April, 1809 (1809, P. D. 162)

1809

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

1. I request you will have the goodness to submit for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, copies of two letters from Captain Greenwood under date the 9th and 11th instant, reporting some serious depredations, which have been committed by the Kathis in the Gaikwad district of Amreli, and the total destruction of the populous kasbah of Kudinar belonging in equal proportions to this Government and the Nawab of Junagarh. *Depredations*

2. In transmitting this intelligence I beg respectfully to solicit the attention of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to the information of the Chieftain of Khandadar having afforded an asylum to the Kathis and participated in their depredations in compensation for his protection.

3. The excesses, which are now reported, being no doubt instigated by the encouragement which is held out to the Kathis from the reception of their ill-gotten gains at Khandadar, it may probably appear to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the first step to check the continuance of these serious depredations of the Kathis will be the signal punishment of the Chieftain of Khandadar and the eventual assumption of his possessions.

4. So long as the Kathis may find an asylum of safety, their natural habits and dispositions will lead them to acquire a subsistence by the modes to which they have so long been attached by religious prejudices.

5. The observations of Captain Greenwood in his letter of the 11th instant would appear to point out one step towards the prevention of the Kathi depredations, but it must be confined to the control which the Gaikwad Government exercises over the conduct of the Chieftains of Kathiawar, and can have no influence on the means of procuring exterior aid from the many soldiers of fortune who emigrate from Sind and other quarters into Gujarat.

6. Probably the punishment of the Chieftain of Khandadar would of itself produce an effect to deter every other Chieftain from conniv-

ing at assistance being afforded by their dependants or subjects to the Kathis or other predatory tribes disturbing the peace of the country.

7. The confined means of the Kathis and their roving lives will scarcely admit of an accumulation of their plunder, and dispossessing them of an asylum to deposit their wealth will be depriving them of a considerable advantage to the continuance of their depredations.

No. 1, Letter from Captain Greenwood to James R. Carnac.

Amreli Little was heard of Walla Matra until his application to you, and I found on my arrival at Paliyad that Major Corsellis was expecting an answer to a letter which he had sent him. This answer arrived after I left the station of Paliyad, and intimated his having come to Khandadar with 200 horse, where he promised to remain. Before however I had any time to concert with Vithalrao Diwanji any measures with a view to an adjustment of this Kathi's affairs, I was concerned to learn that the large and populous village of Babapura in the Gaikwad District of Amreli had been plundered by this freebooter.

No. 2. Letter for Captain Greenwood to James R. Carnac.

Amreli In my letter of the 3rd I had the honour to report the intention of Vithalrao Diwanji to proceed to Khandadar; but this intention has for the present been deferred in consequence of the receipt of intelligence of the Kathis having plundered and destroyed the large and populous kasbah of Kodinar. This place belongs to the Nawab of Junagarh and the Gaikwad in equal proportions and has never before been subject to this calamity. The amount of the loss on this occasion is immense.

This circumstance, evidently pointing out the necessity of some immediate steps being taken with a view to prevent future depredations, has induced Vithalrao Diwanji in concurrence with my opinion to proceed in the first case direct to Amreli.... The approach of the main body of the army under Vithalrao Diwanji will, I trust, force these marauders to disperse and place the country for some time at least in tranquillity. Advantage may be taken of this state of affairs to induce them, if possible, to adopt more settled habits; but from the extraordinary disposition of these tribes and the uncivilised state of the country it is almost impossible to suggest any scheme that would be likely to ensure a cessation of the depredations.

I embrace this opportunity of submitting to your notice the copy and translate of a memorandum of the depredations which have been committed by these freebooters since the departure of Colonel Walker from the country, exhibiting nearly 40 villages, plundered or destroyed, and occasioning a loss to the country of many lakhs of Rupees. These enormities evidently point out the necessity of some arrangement being adopted to restrain and reform this conduct. Such suggestions as may occur on further inquiries shall be duly transmitted for your notice; in the meanwhile it is my duty to submit the above to your deliberation.

Translate of a memorandum received from Vithalrao Diwanji relative to the depredations of the Kathis.

The following Kathis, viz., Curpurra Chubba, Naju Khacher of *Depredations* Bhimura and Waldan Reffrio, having joined together at Bhimura, committed the following depredations.

- (1) The village of Khundla of Chuda was plundered, the loss was very great; they left neither grain, cloth nor cattle in the village.
- (2) Dungarku of Navanagar was destroyed in the same manner, and the loss to the inhabitants is beyond estimate; they left neither cattle nor cloths to the villagers.
- (3) Ontalu of Nagar was destroyed in the same manner, cloths, cattle and grain being wholly carried off.
- (4) Hadala of Morvi, the property of Vithalrao Babaji, was plundered; 550 head of cattle with the cloths, grain and utensils of the inhabitants were carried away. 40,000 Rupees is the estimated amount of the loss.
- (5) Jhaki of Amreli was attacked, hostages were carried off. The amount of fines and other losses amount to 30,000 Rupees.
- (6) Rainela: from this village 320 cattle were carried away; inclusive of calves, cows and buffaloes, about 400.
- (7) Taluka Walla: a village of this district was plundered; its loss in grain, cloths amounted to a large sum, and 3,000 Rupees ransom was exacted from the hostages they carried away.
- (8) Moola taluka: Danavaru village lost its cattle, numbers are unknown.
- (9) Village Ranpur of Dhrangadhra had its cattle, such as bullocks, cows and buffaloes, driven off.
- (10) Village of Paliyad lost its cattle, etc.
- (11) Atkote lost its cattle, and several of its inhabitants who were fined.
- (12) Gollia of Dhrangadhra had its cattle driven away, and two patels killed.
- (13) Abapur of Than was attacked, plundered and burnt, to the great loss of its inhabitants.
- (14) Sarasenu of Than had 200 bullocks and buffaloes, driven off.
- (15) Hadatuli of Sardar was plundered.

The above are independent of the outrages committed in the Company's district of Dhandhuka and Ranpur.

The Khandadar Chief with Waldan Reffrio, Curpurra Chubba and Walla Matra committed the following depredations from Alag or from Khandadar.

- (1) Babapura of Amreli taluka was plundered and burnt and 200,000 bundles of grass; the loss was immense; a patel was killed and eight hostages carried away.
- (2) Patetana taluka the cattle of 10 villages belonging to this taluka have been carried away, the particulars of which have not been received.
- (3) Tembri of Junagarh was plundered to an immense amount.
- (4) Two villages of Jagtupur were plundered, and their cattle driven off.
- (5) The town of Kodinar was completely destroyed. This village for the last 500 years has been free from attack; it belonged, one half to Junagarh, the other to the Gaikwad.

Koman Joguedas Deolapur residing in Alag or in the Bhavnagar taluka committed the following depredations.

- (1) Sangnawu of Gowridhar had its cattle driven away.
- (2) Bamba of Sardar had its cattle driven away.
- (3) Viraval of Rajkot had its cattle driven away, 200 in number.
- (4) Dhata taluka village lost its cattle, particulars have not been received.
- (5) Village of Hatsam of Dhata had its cattle driven away.
- (6) Ghodasar and Dhata lost their cattle.
- (7) Sunnulu lost its cattle.
- (8) Sunnulu of Dhata the same.
- (9) Chappri of Dhata the same.
- (10) Ghandali of Lathi lost its cattle.

Villages of Junaghur taluka suffered as follows:—

- (11) Ajayeh lost its cattle.
- (12) Meswan lost its cattle.
- (13) Malia lost its cattle.
- (14) Derwal had its cattle driven away.

N.B.—The above comprises a list of those depredations which have come to the knowledge of the sarkar. They do not comprise any part of the Company's districts, nor do they contain the whole of the enormities which may be laid to the account of the Kathis on more minute inquiry.

Bombay, 25th April, 1809 (1809, P. D. 328)

1809

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

See Section A: Kathiawar Policy.

Malia

Extract of a letter from the Governor-General to Jonathan Duncan, dated 1st July, 1809.

The arguments, by which Lieutenant Colonel Walker in his letter of the 25th of April has supported the expediency of again employing a force in the western provinces of Gujarat for the suppression of the freebooters of the tribes of Mianas and Kathis, are conclusive. The alternative indeed seems evidently to be the loss of all the advantages acquired by the former expedition into Kathiawar. We are satisfied of the absolute necessity of reducing the forts of Malia and Khandadar. For the attainment of that purpose the supplemental measures, suggested by Lieutenant Colonel Walker with a view to deprive the plunderers of the means of acquiring mercenaries and of disposing of their booty, appear equally indispensable. *Approval*

Camp at Ontallu taluka, 2nd April, 1809 (1809, P. D. 328)

1809

Captain Greenwood to James R. Carnac.

In my letter of the 1st instant I had the honour to report the proposals of the Morvi Raja, for temporary adjustment of the immediate claim of the Gaikwad Government on him, which, although by no means satisfactory to the officer commanding the Gaikwad troops, yet disturbances committed by the Kathis and my representations have induced him to waive for the present any further discussions and to proceed to maintain the peace of the southern part of this province. *Khandadar*

Vithalrao Diwanji accordingly marched this morning, and it is his intention to proceed in the first instance to the small fort of Khandadar. This place is situated about 4 or 5 kos to the westward of Gondal, and belongs to a Jhareja Rajput of the name of Lakhaji, one of the bhayads of the Gondal Chieftain. His settlement was one of those inconsiderable affairs which was transferred by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker to the adjustment of Vithalrao.

Affairs however of more importance had hitherto prevented Vithalrao from effecting any arrangement for Khandadar; and the Chieftain of this place, availing himself of the exemption from the fil-zamini engagement, for which he was indebted to the preceding causes, has taken the opportunity of the long absence of the Gaikwad troops at Porbandar and in repelling Fatch Muhammad's invasion, to invite all the turbulent Kathis to his fort.

It has in consequence been the common resort and refuge of Waldan Reffrio, Curpurra Chubba, Walla Matra and of every Kathi marauder whose name has recently come before you; and it is at this moment the principal repository of the immense plunder reaped by these freebooters during their recent depredations. It is the object of Vithalrao Diwanji to recover as much of this plunder as possible and

1. See accompaniment to Carnac's letter, dated 14th April, 1809.

to compel the predatory Chief of Khandadar to enter regular securities for his future good behaviour.

I conceive however that he will not be able to effect his object without recurrence to hostilities, especially as the Chieftain of Khandadar on a former occasion forced Babaji to open his batteries against this gurhi. Upon the result however of Vithalrao's proceedings against Khandadar depends in a great measure any successful adjustment of the Kathi affairs. These will immediately become in a course of consideration, and I beg to assure you of my endeavours to give such a direction to their progress as may render their result as favourable as possible to the public tranquillity.

In the meanwhile I beg leave to observe, that I conceive that Vithalrao Diwanji will, in the event of being under the necessity of proceeding to hostility against Khandadar, probably require the assistance of the guns and of part of the troops at Paliyad. On this subject I request to be favoured with instructions, and you will probably judge necessary to submit this question to the decision of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

1809 *Camp at Dolia, 4th April, 1809 (1809, P. D. 328)*

Captain Greenwood to James R. Carnac.

Kodinar

In my letter of the 3rd I had the honour to report the intention of Vithalrao Diwanji to proceed to Khandadar; but this intention has for the present been deferred in consequence of the receipt of intelligence of the Kathis having plundered and destroyed the large and populous kasbah of Kodinar. This place belongs to the Nawab of Junagadh and the Gaikwad in equal proportions, and has never before been subject to this calamity; the amount of the loss on this occasion is immense.

1809 *Baroda, 14th April, 1809 (1809, P. D. 162)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

*Morvi
Affairs*

1. I have the honour to submit the enclosed copies of dispatches under date the 1st and 2nd instant from Captain Greenwood, reporting his proceedings in execution of the instructions of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker under date the 10th January last, with reference to the outstanding dues from the Chieftain of Morvi and the movement of the army of Vithalrao Diwanji after the temporary adjustment of these immediate claims.

2. The several points, adverted to in the report of the 1st instant, will no doubt be honoured with the attention of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council; but I consider it of importance respectfully to solicit their consideration to the cogent reasons assigned by Captain Greenwood on the expediency of checking the disorders which are daily perpetrated in every part of the country by the Malia Chieftain in defiance of his engagements concluded through the mediation of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker.

3. The repeated excesses, which are enumerated in the enclosures No. 1 to Captain Greenwood's dispatch of the 1st instant now enclosed,

and the oppressive tax which the Malia Chieftain exacts from the villages of Morvi, as elucidated in the enclosure No. 2, [No. 3], can probably be restrained by no measures but the exemplary punishment of this nest of robbers, who have always disregarded their engagements, when the power to enforce performance has been removed from an immediate influence on their conduct.

4. It may be proper also to recall to the notice of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the revenue of the small district of Tankara is mortgaged, as collateral security for the arrears of the tribute of preceding years from Morvi to the Gaikwad Government, a security which affords a distant and precarious hope of payment.

5. In elucidation of the circumstances connected with the original arrangement for Tankara I beg to refer to the report of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker on the district of Muchhu Kantha.

6. With reference to Captain Greenwood's letter of the 2nd instant, now enclosed, reporting the movement of the camp of Vithalrao Diwanji on its route to the neighbourhood of the small fort of Khandadar, situated about 5 kos to the westward of Gondal, and in the possession of Lakhaji one of the bhayads of the Gondal Chieftain, I request you will have the goodness to favour me with the instructions of Government on the measure of assisting the Gaikwad commander with a proportion of the battalion at Paliyad in the event of its being found necessary to prosecute hostilities against Khandadar.

7. It appears from several sources of information that the proceeds of the depredations of the Kathis since the termination of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's circuit in Kathiawar are now lodged with Lakhaji, who participates largely in these ill-gotten gains, and Khandadar is a welcome resort to all the marauders who have recently disturbed the tranquillity of the country.

8. From the opposition of this Chieftain to the army of Babaji in 1862 (1805/6) it is not probable that Vithalrao Diwanji will be able to make any decisive impression, which eventual contingency I beg leave respectfully to offer to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, in the event of the measure of reducing the fort of Khandadar or compelling its Chieftain to restore the plunder of the Kathis appearing of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the Hon'ble Company's Government, in view to the extinction of every means by which the numerous marauders of Kathiawar may be encouraged to disturb the public peace of the country.

No. 1. Captain Greenwood dispatch of the 1st of April, addressed to James R. Carnac, from Camp near Khanpur.

1. I have had the honour to report my arrival in the camp of Morvi Vithalrao Diwanji, I proceed now to explain the causes that contributed *Affairs* to delay that event.

2. In consequence of a letter which the Morvi Raja received from you, desiring him to await my arrival in this country for an adjustment to his affairs, I found a letter from that Chieftain awaiting

my arrival at Paliyad, complaining of the long encampment of the Gaikwad troops in the country and of the depredations of the people of Malia. In reply to this letter I exhorted the Raja to a due performance of his own engagement in paying the money so long due to the Gaikwad Government. I justified the encampment of the troops in the Morvi taluka both on this account, as well as in consequence of the invasion of Fateh Muhammad, but assured him of every possible attention being shown to his request on my arrival in the camp of the Gaikwad.

3. Upon encamping at Vankaner I received a visit from Mehramanji, the younger brother of the Thakur of Morvi, accompanied by Bhanji Mehta, one of his karbaris. The object of this visit was to invite me to take Morvi in my way to the Gaikwad camp, and holding out hopes that this would be productive of a final adjustment of the concerns of Morvi.

4. It may be proper in this place briefly to advert to the adjustment effected with the Chieftain of this place under the mediation of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker in his report on the district of Muchhu Kantha.

5. The arrears of revenue of the Morvi Raja at the period of that settlement amounted to. ...	... 3,22,000
Of this sum had been paid	... 1,46,000
	<hr/> Rs. 1,76,000

The district of Tankara had been mortgaged as collateral security to the amount of ...	Rs. 1,25,000
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Leaving a residue still unpaid	Rs. 51,000
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6. The period for the payment of this sum had long since elapsed, and Sunderji's remonstrances with the Raja had been unavailing; and I was greatly concerned to find that the Raja also sought to evade the discharge of the current year's revenue of 50,000 Rupees.

7. Under this state of circumstances I for obvious reasons refused to proceed to Morvi, unless I received assurances of the just demands of the Gaikwad Government being previously settled.

8. Anxious however, if possible, to render this intercourse conducive to the performance of that part of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's instructions of the 10th January last, which relates to the recovery of the balances due from Morvi, I desired Sunderji Sivji to meet me in my next ground of encampment. He came accordingly attended by Devoji, the second brother of the Morvi Raja.

9. The conversation, which ensued with Devoji, it is unnecessary to detail. It is sufficient to notice that Devoji pleaded the utter inability of the Raja to perform his engagements from the causes already adverted to. The arguments stated in reply were not altogether without their effect; and as Devoji held out some hope that they would

be attended to by the Raja, I acceded to the request, which he earnestly made me, of making but a short stage the next day to afford a further opportunity for communication.

10. Devoji met me according to appointment; some of the other karbaris of the Raja accompanied him. The subjects of the preceding day were discussed; and after protracting to as late an hour as possible any decisive answer, Devoji at length undertook the responsibility of engaging his elder brother to make good the claims of the Gaikwad Government in the manner noticed in the sequel, provided I would afford the Raja an opportunity of personally stating his case.

11. Having taken measures in the meanwhile to ascertain the sentiments of Vithalrao Diwanji, I was happy to find that he was prepared to accede to any arrangement which would satisfy the demands of the shroffs on him, and leave his troops at liberty to prosecute the arrangements for the Kathis. The proposal of Devoji, the brother of the Raja, seemed to promise this as far as was practicable. I accordingly acceded to the request of proceeding to Morvi, provided I received sufficient assurances of the Raja's intention to abide by the proposals made by his brother, Devoji.

12. Sunderji having met me with these assurances, I prosecuted my march to Morvi, and I now proceed to state for your information the actual state of the concerns of Morvi.

13. For the discharge of the sum of 51,000 Rupees still due to the Gaikwad Government, the Raja has consented to assign over to Sunderji Sivji certain villages in mortgage, in consideration, of which Sunderji engages to pay 17,000 Rupees in the month of Vaisakh or May; 17,000 more in Srawan or August; and the balance with interest in Phalgun or March, 1810.

14. The current year's revenue is to be paid: 25,000 Rupees in ready money, and the mother of Raja Jehagi [*Jiyogi*] and his brother Devoji become securities for the payment of the remainder at such a period as I may arbitrate, after having consulted the convenience of those shroffs whose interests are concerned.

15. The liquidation of the demand for 1,25,000 Rupees, collaterally secured on Tankaria, is a subject of some difficulty. The produce of this small taluka will yield from 30 to 35,000 Rupees; its expenses, sibandi, etc. amounted to about one-half of this sum; and the remainder will be but barely sufficient to discharge the accumulating annual interest.

16. In submitting the whole of this for your information I deem it proper to notice for the eventual and timely consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that it is to be apprehended that the Morvi Raja will in the ensuing year entirely withhold his revenues, unless some arrangement is made respecting Malia; and the Gaikwad Government must be prepared to submit to a considerable defalcation in the receipts from this country, or they must be enforced by arms.

17. In conversing with Vithalrao Diwanji on the subject, he very seriously lamented the conduct of Malia; the accompanying memorandum contains an account of these depredations which have been committed under the immediate notice of the Gaikwad army without any attempt to increase the list by further inquiries.

18. It will also be observed that this memorandum is exclusive of the dnily injuries committed on the Morvi taluka by these marauders, and of the pal or cess levied on the surrounding districts of Morvi, Navanagar, Jodiya, Vankaner and other districts of Jhalawar.

19. Of the depredations committed on the Morvi taluka, the accompanying is a memorandum furnished to me by Bhanji Mehta, one of the managers of the Morvi Raja, now attending in this camp; and the whole forms a series of evidence showing in the most plain and forcible point of view how detrimental the existence of this band of robbers is to the peace and tranquillity of the country.

20. These sentiments I venture with much diffidence and respect to submit through you to the eventual consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. They have naturally arisen out of the subject on which I have these two or three days past been employed; and although I had felt it my duty to submit them to your notice, yet I also beg to assure you of the continued exertion of my attention and endeavours to preserve and maintain the usual course of the present arrangement.

No. 2. Translate of a memorandum of the depredations of the people of Malia, received from Vithalrao Diwanji and signed S. A. Greenwood.

N. B. Seventeen different cases are mentioned; cattle, horses, baggage, carts, grain and money were carried off. In one case the damage amounted to a lakh of koris.

No. 3. Translate of a memorandum of the pal or cess levied by the people of Malia in the Morvi taluka, furnished by Bhanji Mehta.

Twenty-seven villages paid Koris 21,560.

1809 *Camp near Paliyad, 6th June, 1809 (1809, P. D. 334)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

At Paliyad On the 26th ultimo, I had the honour to report the military arrangements in progress to carry into execution the instructions of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council relative to the impending service. In continuation I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that, having left the details at Baroda to be brought on under the conduct of Major Mahony, I proceeded to Paliyad and arrived here on the morning of the 3rd instant.

From the very unprecedented circumstance of the rain having fallen this year so early as the 25th May, and the rivers being much swelled by the freshets from Malwa, I anticipated considerable

difficulty to Major Mahony in crossing the Mahi; but I am happy to report that by a dispatch from that officer, dated the evening of the 3rd instant, the passage of the ordnance stores was effected on that day, and he would follow on the morning of the 4th with the line.

I trust that Major Mahony will be able to prosecute his march without further difficulty or delay; and being anxious to avail myself as far as possible of the present favourable state of the weather, I have directed a division of the European Regiment and a detail of artillery to precede Major Mahony, and join me in advance, and it is then my intention to proceed to the execution of the instructions of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council as far as respects Khandadar without waiting for the remainder of the detachment.

Camp at Khandadar, 17th June, 1809 (1809, P. D. 335).

1809

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

In my letter of the 6th instant I had the honour to apprise you *Khandadar* for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of my *taken* intention to proceed to the execution of that part of their instructions which relates to Khandadar, without awaiting the arrival of Major Mahony. In prosecution of this intention I marched from Paliyad on the 10th instant, and on the morning of the 15th instant I encamped at Ramode, a village within 3 miles of Khandadar.

Having on the 12th received a letter from Khandadar (of which I have the honour to enclose a copy and translate) and other indications of submission induced me to encamp at Ramode. In the course of the day the Chieftain Lakhaji communicated his wish for a panch to proceed to camp, and that a party might be sent to take possession of his fort. A company was accordingly detached for this purpose, but the Sindhi sibandi evaded the surrender of the fort, a line of conduct dictated probably by the desire of stipulating something favourable in their behalf. The party accordingly returned to camp, and in consequence I took up a position in the morning before the fort.

By twelve o'clock a battery of 2 eighteen-pounders, two twelves, and two sixes under the direction of Captain Pierce was ready to open; but the garrison, which consisted of about 300 Sindhis from Cutch, fortunately obeyed the summons to surrender, and by preventing an unnecessary effusion of blood produced a result which, I trust, will prove equally satisfactory to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. The fort was accordingly taken possession of by a company of sepoy; and Lakhaji, the Chieftain of Khandadar, is now in my camp.

In concluding this letter I have much satisfaction in adding that Major Mahony arrived at Paliyad on the 12th, having with much zeal and exertion crossed the tract called Rann with the whole of the artillery and stores, without meeting any obstacle from the weather. It is my intention to march in prosecution of the further objects of Government to-morrow, and the day after I hope to be joined by Major Mahony.

No. 1 Translate of a letter from the Kathis and Lakhaji to Alexander Walker, dated 1st June.

Letter of submission

From Khandadar, his obedient servant Jahroja Lakhaji, the rebels Walla Matra Veraman, Walla Oghier, Matra Gamni, *alias* the criminals Waldan Dandal, Curpurra Chubba, and all the thieves together send their respects. By God's anger here everything is very bad, because the Colonel's displeasure is on us; then why should we consult our evil destiny? But this is good that our annihilation will be inflicted by you, and thereby we shall reach paradise.

The Gaikwad's displeasure being on us, its consequence is this, that the anger of our superiors will one day or another terminate in our destruction. We hope however that this may be inflicted by the Colonel. This is our sincere hope.

When you returned from Europe to punish us, it afforded us much pleasure; but, if you first inquire into justice, and then punish us, it will be a favour. But the sovereign has no superior, and he will act as he pleases. Whatever a Raja says is justice; but a die cast is chance. The hope of our breast is this: if indulged with an opportunity of personally being interrogated, we shall have no fears. Thus it is written in our destiny. Should any one hear our complaints in any way, and you taking us into favour, and pardon our crime, and permit us to throw ourselves at your feet, we entertain no other hopes. If after this you destroy us, it is paradise; but pardon us, we will at no time deviate from your orders, nor will we ever again return to our thievish habits; we will swear in your presence and refer you to Pingelsing for details.

No. 2. Bombay comment.

Pleased The Governor-in-Council has great satisfaction at the Colonel's successful operations against Khandadar, the reduction of which is the more acceptable as it has been effected without the effusion of blood.

1809 Camp at Malia, 10th July, 1809 (1809, P. D. 337)

Alexander Walker to Major-General Jones.

Malia captured

I have the honour to inform you that in prosecution of the instructions of Government I arrived in the morning of the 7th instant at Malia, and occupied a position before the south face of the fort, favourable for the further operations of the detachment. Having reconnoitred and fixed on a situation for the batteries, they were commenced within 400 yards of the fort; and before the morning, four batteries consisting of three eighteen-pounders, 2 howitzers, four six-pounders and two twelve, and one nine-pounder from the Gaikwad camp were prepared without suspicion or discovery and were ready to open.

The fort having been previously summoned without effect, and the garrison having obstinately resisted every attempt to obtain peaceable possession of the place, the guns opened their fire at daylight under the directions of Captain Pierce, who was ably seconded by

Lieutenants Hardy, Russel and Moore, by whose professional skill a practicable breach was reported ready by 3 o'clock.

The copy of the orders, which I have the honour to enclose, will inform you of the disposition which was made for the assault. The detail for this duty was placed under the conduct of Major Mahony and moved off a little before 4 o'clock. The forlorn hope was headed by Captain Mackenzie, who was the first man that ascended the breach and passed into the town. He was gallantly supported by Lieutenant Newman of his Majesty's 2nd battalion of the 56th Regiment and by the remainder of the party, which placed us in possession of the greater part of the town in less than three quarters of an hour. The resistance in the first instance was small; but, as the detachment advanced, it became more determined, and the Darbar, which was surrounded with a strong wall and secured by a gate, afforded a secure retreat inaccessible to an assault, in which a considerable body of the enemy took refuge.

To the determined resistance, which was made from this defence, is to be ascribed the principal proportion of the casualties we have sustained. An eighteen-pounder and some sixes were opened upon it, but the evening was too far advanced to admit of the complete effect of this operation. The storming party accordingly kept possession of the works and of the town; but in the morning the enemy were found to have evacuated the place in the night by a sally port, with the exception of a few who stayed to keep up an occasional firing. At an early hour in the morning the fort of Malia was accordingly completely occupied by the detachment, and it only remains to submit for your notice and approbation my sentiments on the gallant behaviour and strenuous exertion of every individual of the detachment.

I have the honour to enclose for your information a copy of the orders which I issued on the occasion, in which I have endeavoured to express my approbation of the gallantry and persevering zeal of the troops. It is however impossible to do justice to their merits. The most determined resistance seemed but to add new energy to their exertion. Captain Mackenzie, who so handsomely offered his service to lead the storm, and Captain Wilkinson died merely from the violence of their exertion without a wound. Major Mahony, whose merits and services are too well known to require assistance from any eulogium from me, and those officers whom I have individually noticed, are entitled to those expressions of approbation and applause that are due to every valuable quality as officers, and I trust that their merits and the behaviour of the whole detachment will be honoured with your notice and that of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

I have the honour to enclose a return of the killed and wounded, which occurred solely in the assault. It is with regret that I state so many casualties in officers and men. They have fallen however on an occasion, which will cause the character of a British soldier to be respected throughout this country, and in the extirpation of a desperate set of banditti, which their gallantry could alone have effected.

The fortifications of Malia are much stronger than I had reason to believe, of which the resistance they opposed to the effect of a powerful artillery is a sufficient evidence. The foot of the wall had been secured with a dulkote or a strong work thrown up of thorns and earth. This embankment had been commenced subsequent to the fall of Khandadar, and the rapidity, extent, and strength of its execution abundantly prove the determination of defending the place to extremity.

About three hundred of the enemy fell in the assault. Among them were some relations of Dosaji, the Chieftain of Malia. Several of the principal Mianas of inferior note were taken prisoners. Many more have been wounded and escaped with the fugitives. This accident was owing to the impossibility of effectually surrounding the fort with my detachment, and the consequent necessity of entrusting this duty to the Gaikwad horse and a party of the Morvi Raja's people. Some attempts were made in the night to pass our posts without success, in which many of the enemy fell.

Casualties:—

Killed : 22. Wounded : 60. Total : 82.

1809 *Baroda, 11th July, 1809 (1809, P. D. 337)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Baroda troops Conceiving it may be agreeable to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to be apprised of the effective strength of the Gaikwad force, which will join the detachment under the personal command of Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, I have the honour to enclose a return furnished me by Babaji, by which the Hon'ble Board will perceive a total of 1,450 cavalry and 1,300 infantry, and that of the former description of troops 700 have been provided from Baroda, in lieu of 500, as mentioned in my letter of the 9th instant.

Return of Gaikwad troops to join Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes detachment

Horse: 1,450. Foot: 1,300.

1809 *Camp at Malia, 31st August, 1809 (1809, P. D. 341)*

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

Disposing of Malia I formerly slightly surmised that it would be probably necessary to preserve the fortifications of Malia as a check on the people of Vagad; and that the mode, which then appeared best calculated for its disposal, was to place it in possession of one of the Chieftains who should be responsible for and able to secure the peace of the country. This plan however appeared on more mature consideration liable to many objections. The territories of these Chieftains, whose power is liable to impose a restraint on the freebooters of Vagad, lie at a distance too remote to render it effectual; and the Morvi Raja was also too weak to maintain it. It was also easy to see that its possession by him would be perpetuating the quarrel between his and the other branch of the family, aggravated by the circumstance of dispossession

of one of those rights on which the feelings of the Rajputs of this country are peculiarly tenacious. These considerations induced me to adopt a medium course and one which appeared likely to secure the peace of the country, united with as much satisfaction to the respective parties as the case was capable of producing.

The accompanying papers, which I have the honour to submit to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, contain the engagements which have accordingly been obtained from the Chieftains of Chitrol, Nandia and Malia: the former two, on the security of Fateh Muhammad and Hansraj respectively; the latter, on that of Hansraj, united with the security of a bhunia of the country. In these engagements the principle of excluding the interference of the Chieftains on the opposite side of the Rann is adhered to as much as possible. In the engagements the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will observe that the lands of Malia are restored to Dosaji and to such of the Mianas as may be disposed to adopt a settled course of life. By the restoration of their lands they will have a regular source of livelihood, while the destruction of the fortifications will deprive them of that asylum and refuge which has hitherto secured them from punishment, and tempted irregularity by the certainty of impunity.

Camp at Malia, 5th September, 1809 (1809, P D. 341)

1809

Alexander Walker to Major-General Jones.

I have the honour to inform you that in the prosecution of the objects committed to my charge, it having been deemed advisable to destroy the works and fortifications of Malia, the execution of this duty was entrusted to the superintendence of Captain Bellasis. *Fort destroyed*

It being found practicable to destroy the principal portion of the towers and curtain by manual labour, the public followers of the detachment, (aided) by all the villagers of the surrounding country, were accordingly employed; and after several days' successive labour the works, with the exception of one tower of solid masonry, have been levelled to their foundations. It was found necessary to destroy this work by a mine, which was yesterday finished and sprung with complete effect, leaving a mere heap of rubbish.

I feel much indebted for the zeal and attention with which Captain Bellasis superintended the execution of this troublesome duty as well as for the skill and science exhibited in the construction of the mine.

Baroda, 25th August, 1810 (1810, P. D. 361)

1810

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

With reference to the concluding paragraph of your letter now acknowledged I beg respectfully to remark that the services of Pingel's *Pingel's service* have been eminently useful in checking the predatory habits of the Kathis and impressing them with a persuasion of meeting with redress and justice from the Gaikwad and British Governments by adhering to a regular course of conduct. These advantages, which are promotive of the public peace, will still be

continued by the agency of Pingelsing, although it is hoped that a more intimate knowledge, which experience will afford to the Kathis, of the character of the superior Government may render the heavy expense attendant on maintaining Pingelsing unnecessary for any protracted period of time.

For the present and until the affairs to the westward become decided, it may be proper to continue an agent with the Kathis, when the other channels of communication are so far removed.

No. 1. Pingel's account, dated 7th August, 1810.

Account I arrived, Sir, at Paliyad by the orders of the Sarkar; and afterwards Colonel Walker arrived there, when I asked him about my pay. He in consequence gave me 1,000 Rupees at Anduvi. When the detachment arrived at Positra, I had received Rs. 2,640, at the rate of 220 Rs. per month for 12 months up to the end of October, 1809, and I was to continue to receive 220 Rupees per month. Since the money I received at Positra, I have not been paid any more. This is the state of my account.

Bombay orders, 10th September.

Sharing expenses Considering that the charge incurred by the employment of Pingelsing in maintaining a peaceable intercourse with the Kathis is more for the benefits of the Gaikwad State than for the lesser interests in that quarter of the Hon'ble Company, it seems but equitable that the Gaikwad Government should contribute in at least an equal proportion to the charges of his support and establishment as well for the past as the future. Captain Carnac is accordingly to discuss this point on the first convenient opportunity with Babaji, the minister, and endeavour to obtain his assent to the equal defrayment of the establishment between the Company's and the Gaikwad sarkars; and in that case the Acting Resident will recover the Gaikwad's share of the arrears as well as of the future disbursements.

1810 *Baroda, 8th October, 1810 (1810, P. D. 364)*

J. R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Pingel's salary. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Secretary Osborne's letter, instructing me to discuss with the minister Babaji on the first convenient opportunity the subject of the Gaikwad Government contributing in an equal proportion to the charges incident to the support and establishment of Pingelsing in Kathiawar. Previous to my agitating this point, it may not be improper respectfully to notice for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the character of Pingelsing is particularly obnoxious to the members of this Government; and that, however, useful his services with the Kathis may appear to ourselves, the Administration will not, I conceive, be disposed to view them on the same favourable footing.

The first introduction of Pingelsing to this Residency proceeded from his being the agent of the Wadhwan Thakur, charged with instructions from his Principal to acquire the mediation of the Company's Government in terminating the pending hostility with Babaji. This mission was not calculated to obtain the goodwill of that minister

being the first attempt nearly of any Chieftain of Kathiawar referring his public acts to any superior authority to that at Baroda; and exclusive of this circumstance, the conduct of Pingelsing, who at one time was in open hostility with the Gaikwad Government and also an active adherent of Mallharrao, has by no means proved acceptable to the Administration at large.

Under these circumstances it is submitted how far delicacy to the feelings of this Government will make it advisable to suggest that Pingelsing should receive a compensation from a Government, which does consider him with some reason a person of disaffected principles. His employment with the Kathis becomes of use from his connection with these persons, the respect which these barbarous tribes uniformly entertain for the caste of Charan and in fact from Pingelsing having associated himself with the Kathis for many years; which constitutes him from his experience and habits an able agent to settle their unremitting personal altercations and to afford due intimation of any circumstances in which they may have been aggrieved.

The Administration will no doubt acknowledge the liberal views of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council by the employment of an agent for the purpose of checking the licentious habits of the Kathis, but they would not readily be disposed to allow that Pingelsing is a desirable person for this particular duty, nor would the Gaikwad commander willingly admit his incapacity to restrain the Kathis from disorders within his limits by his own means and authority.

It may however appear an object of some consequence not to withdraw hastily the service of Pingelsing at Paliyad, or to expose the Company's districts to the depredations of the Kathis, under which considerations the salary to Pingelsing for a short time longer may be considered to be usefully expended for the public service.

Paliyad, 11th December, 1810 (P. D. 366)

1810

Major Gifford to Captain James R. Carnac.

I have deemed it proper to report you the appearance of disaffection in this quarter.

The Kathis, notwithstanding the bold face they put on, are alarmed at the consequences that may follow, and have two or three times intimated that they would be happy if I would interfere. Yesterday the request was made in more specific terms, and Waldan declared they are ready to desist from all hostile movements, if I would hear their complaints and attempt to get them redress. The cause of their having recourse to arms they state to be as follows. At the conclusion of Colonel Walker's last campaign the Kathi Chiefs, who had been in arms, were pardoned; and to prevent such of them as had no revenue or possessions of their own from being driven by distress to their former habits of plundering, a provision was to be made for them from different villages; amongst others Chubba Curpurra was to have the collection arising from the villages of Godha and Umurda as settled by panchayat. The above villages are in possession of Rajabhoy Permali Rajput, who refuses to give them up; and in *Kathi claims*

consequence Chubba Curpurra and his friends have collected followers with the intention of supporting themselves by plunder.

You are aware that I am not authorised to give any decision in the above case, but I shall endeavour to prevent the Kathis from proceeding to further aggressions in order that you may have time to give directions on the subject. As the Diwanji is now at Baroda, you can obtain every necessary information from him and ascertain what promises were made to the Kathis. The statement made to me may be false.

Baroda reply.

No just claims The Diwanji, the Gaikwad officer in Kathiawar, says Waldan Refrrio has no ancient claims or rights of any description. Chubba Curpurra's disputes concerning the two villages were determined by Colonel Walker to be settled by arbitration; but the whole was at last left unsettled, as Chubba Curpurra did not choose to attend. In this case this man should be required to attend to this mode of adjustment, in which he will of course receive such redress as he has a right to expect.

1810 *Baroda, 27th December, 1810 (1810, P. D. 368)*

James R. Carnac to Major Boye, commanding the 2nd battalion of the 4th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the route to Paliyad.

Dealing with Kathis It will be very desirable to avail ourselves of every opportunity to cultivate the confidence of the Kathi Chiefs residing in the neighbourhood of Paliyad, in order that we may on all occasions obtain information of their avowed grievances before they proceed to their own personal means of acquiring reparation. By a conciliatory conduct I have no doubt that these men will refrain from the commission of any outrage. But it is highly desirable they do not precipitately abandon their homes and families, an event usually followed by a course of depredation in the country.

To furnish you with every intelligence, a native in the service of this Presidency, named Pingelsing is stationed at Paliyad, subject to your orders; and I shall on all occasions be happy to receive from you any intimation regarding the Kathis, which may enable me seasonably to apply remedies against commotion or to obtain for these men those rights to which they may appear in justice entitled.

1810 *Bombay, 28th December, 1810 (1810, P. D. 366)*

At a Consultation.

Dealing with Kathis In these cases, it is desirable that the commanding officer at Paliyad should be joined on the part of the Company with the Diwanji, holding the command in Kathiawar on the part of the Gaikwad, in endeavouring to accommodate these differences whenever they are likely to break out. This is an object which the Acting Resident will accordingly keep in view in the present as well as future instances, as far as its attainment may be found compatible with the goodwill of the native Administration at Baroda; for the Kathis will feel greater

confidence, when the investigation is thus combined; and we shall have the fuller cause to rely also on the reports that may from time to time reach us from the nature of the claims preferred.

Meanwhile nothing but a view to the safety of the cantonments at Paliyad or of the British possessions in any other port of Cambay is to impede the progress of the general relief, which is to proceed (unless under these exceptions) with every practicable dispatch. Neither is it to be expected that our troops are to interfere for the suppression of every petty disturbance which may be raised in Kathiawar. The force under the Diwanji must be deemed sufficient for such purposes (excepting in very extraordinary occasions) according to all the information from Colonel Walker in view to such contingencies; and it must be the duty of the Resident for the time being to excite the native Government to a due and salutary exertion of its own means and resources for the suppression of such occasional commotions.

Paliyad, 21st January, 1811, (1811, P. D. 369)

1811

William Boye to James R. Carnac.

I conceive it a duty incumbent on me officially to report to you the appearance of disaffection Naju Khacher, Patel of Paliyad, and his adherents, who yesterday waited on me and said that Waldan Reffrio had taken possession of seven of his villages; and if they were not restored to him, he and his friends were determined to fight for them. I replied that I had dispatched an express to Pingelsing at Bhavnagar, designing him immediately to return to Paliyad, who, I expected, in a day or two would arrive here, when I doubted not all matters would be amicably adjusted. Naju Khacher said he would wait five days more; when, if it was not finally settled, he was determined then to fight. He further told me he had collected 100 horse and 400 matchlock men. Besides the above force, his friends with other cavalry would join him from the adjacent villages; that the men; whom he had recently collected, cost three thousand Rupees per mensem; in consequence of which he could delay not longer than five days attacking Waldan, provided his villages were not restored to him. *Kathi trouble*

Baroda, 26th January, 1811 (1811, P. D. No. 369)

1810

F. D. Ballantine to Major William Boye, commanding the Station at Paliyad.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Gaikwad Administration have directed Vithalrao Diwanji, the officer commanding the mulukgiri troops, to give his immediate attention to the present demeanour of the Kathis, in view to adopt such measures as may be necessary to prevent the occurrence of any disorder or disturbance of the public peace and, if practicable or convenient with his present occupations, to bring as far as may be proper the claims of the parties to a fair hearing and issue. *Allaying unrest*

Section C: PIRATES

DOCUMENTS

1809 *Bombay Castle*, 22nd February, 1809 (1809 P. D. 161)

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

Positra It is very agreeable to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, to learn that Fatch Muhammad is disposed to withdraw his people from the thana at Positra, which should be carried into execution as soon as the local Chieftain shall have conformed to the agreements, entered into by those of Beyt and Dwarka on his behalf, for his admitting the residence of a permanent native agency on the part of this Government to watch over and prevent the equipment thence of piratical cruisers in like manner as has taken place at the two other stations in question.

1809 *Bombay*, 24th March, 1809 (1809, P. D. 161)

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

Positra Another object essentially necessary to be regulated with Fatch Muhammad relates to the harbour afforded by his people, who are in possession of Positra, to the few piracies which still continue to be committed on our country trade by the freebooters who enjoy his protection either at that place or in some of the inlets into the Cutch country, practices on his part which he must in like manner be required definitely to renounce, as well as to surrender the fort of Positra, which the present year's experience has proved him to make so bad a use of, and which, after he has evacuated or been dislodged from, may be committed to the charge of the Gaikwad Government, to which its occupaney more naturally belongs than as a dependency of Cutch, from which it is divided by the whole extent of that Gulph; besides that, if we tolerate Positra in the avowed commission of piracy, the Governor-in-Council cannot expect that the vicinal stations of Dwarka and Beyt will continue to refrain from it, and thus, by overlooking an act in itself altogether unjustifiable (for pirates are by the law of nations appropriately denominated the common enemies of mankind), we risk most materially all the advantages derivable from the engagements entered into two years ago by the hitherto piratical States of Beyt and Dwarka aforesaid, who have even submitted to allow of our agents remaining in their ports to inspect and control their future maritime proceedings, advantages that should certainly not be sacrificed from any apprehension of the consequences of coercing and, if found requisite, of expelling from their single remaining haunt throughout all the peninsula of Gujarat those freebooters of Positra, and putting that place into safe hands, which must more than any other expedient contribute to the final extinction of piracy in all that part of the country; since with that single exception there remains not at this day any post from the Gulph of Cutch downwards whence pirates are known to set out, with however this qualification that we have been of late years obliged to maintain a small maritime force off the coast of Malwan and Rairi, to keep the pirates there from committing depredations in the trade between Malabar and Kanara and the northern ports.

To carry the several measures into effect, with the least risk of bloodshed, or at most of protracted hostility, the Governor-in-Council is sensible that he cannot do better than avail himself of so experienced and able an agency as that of Col. Walker, who, having returned to this Presidency at the requisition of the Supreme Government, for the purpose chiefly of carrying into effect, in his resumed capacity of Resident at Baroda, the views of the Government General regarding the country of Cutch, that officer has been desired to combine with those principal objects of his intended return into Gujarat the several subordinate ones thus adverted to.

Camp at Positra, 3rd October, 1809 (1809, P. D, 343)

1809

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

I have now to report the arrival of the detachment at Positra on the 2nd instant. *Positra occupied*

The younger brother of Knmar Meghraj, the Chieftain of Positra, appeared in camp on the 28th ultimo and expressed in general terms the wish of his brother to visit me in person and to surrender the fort, provided he received a parwanah for his personal safety. With a view to confirming this line of conduct I afforded such assurances of general protection and of safety to private property as appeared necessary; and the messenger being accordingly furnished with a parwanah, he proceeded to Positra under a promise of returning with his brother Meghraj. I am happy to state that this Chieftain arrived in camp on the same day.

It may be proper to remark that in the course of the march from Malia, I have received intelligence of the evacuation of Positra by Fateh Mahammad's thana, and subsequent accounts confirmed their arrival in Cutch. On the 1st instant, the detachment crossed the Rann, which separates the districts of Okhamandal and Halar, and encamped at a village within 10 miles of Positra.

In consequence of information received by Meghraj that the inhabitants of the town were considerably alarmed by the approach of the troops and appeared to entertain an intention of deserting their habitations, he requested a small detachment might be sent in advance to quiet their apprehensions and to afford protection to their persons and property. I considered it proper to comply with this application, and accordingly a small party of sepoys and a few troopers were immediately sent forward with orders to pacify the fears of the ryots and at the same time to place guards on the principal defences of the place.

On my arrival at Positra with the detachment on the morning of the 2nd, I found the party in possession of the works, and the inhabitants of the town quietly residing in their dwellings. The tower intended to protect the bandar, situated about 2 miles eastward of the fort, had not yet been occupied, but in the course of the same day this also took place and completed the surrender of Positra.

The defences of the fort are trifling. There are 8 guns mounted on the works, none of which is of a greater calibre than a six-pounder, and they appear to be the only articles of a military kind of any consideration in the place. In the bandar were found 8 vessels of different descriptions, none of them in a state to put to sea. But whether they belong to merchants or are the property of the pirates, I have not yet been able accurately to ascertain.

Previous to the surrender of Positra, Meghraj was fully apprised that the inquiry for the discovery of pirated goods would be rigidly prosecuted. Some articles, that were in charge of Fateh Muhammad's people, and delivered over when they left the place to Meghraj, have been ascertained and restored, but of no great value. I have directed a strict investigation in order to procure restitution of as much property as may be forthcoming and to trace as far as may be practicable the disposal of the rest. The success of this inquiry I shall have the honour to report at a future opportunity and shall cause every exertion to be made for the satisfaction of such individuals as have suffered by the pirates of Positra.

1809 *Baroda, 5th December, 1809 (1809, S. & P. D. 347)*

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan

Gaikwad troops praised But a further duty, no less satisfactory, remains for me to perform in pointing out to your notice, the claims which the detachment of Gaikwad troops serving in Kathiawar possess to the attention of the Company's Government.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is already acquainted that this detachment of the Gaikwad troops composes an obedient and well organised body of horse and foot, who are at all times in the field and ready to co-operate in the general defence of the Peninsula. This body having co-operated with the detachment under my command for two campaigns, I am enabled to speak distinctly to the merits and services, the general efficiency, and the cordiality and zeal with which they have done duty in conjunction with the British troops.

In this respect, when the expedition to Cutch was in contemplation, no less than 1,200 of the best Maratha horsemen, besides the infantry, were ready to embark and cross the gulf either from Positra or Khambalia. This offer places in a new and valuable point of view the utility and benefits which the Company's interests have derived from their connections and measures in Gujarat in having such a well disposed body of men in a respectable state of efficiency, ready to co-operate with the British troops whether in the defence of Gujarat or in the promotion of the more general objects of our Government.

In noticing this circumstance I cannot refrain from paying a just tribute of respect to the character of Vithalrao Diwanji, the commander of this army. The experience I have had of Vithalrao Diwanji's character and disposition and the cordial assistance I have experienced from him during a variety of intricate arrangements, induced me strongly to point him out to the notice of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-

Council as a person to whose talents and abilities they may eventually look forward to support the views and objects of the Company's Government in Gujarat, and whose attachment I strongly but respectfully suggest the policy and advantage of securing.

The services he has already rendered entitle him to distinct regard; and should the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council be induced to view them in the same light, I trust that the liberal policy of the Hon'ble Company's Government will not permit them to pass over without some substantial marks of their approbation.

Baroda, 7th June, 1811 (1811, P. D 375)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I am concerned to announce [*that*] the enclosed copies and translation of letters from Meghraj and the several securities for his good behaviour, though obviously couched in terms of moderation and obedience, can be pronounced to betray no disposition whatsoever to forgo his evil proceedings. Impressed with this conviction, I lost no time in making the authorised requisition of Lieutenant-Colonel East to advance against Positra, and I have the honour respectfully to submit to the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the accompanying copy of a letter with enclosures which I addressed that officer. *Against Positra*

Reflecting on the importance of pursuing prompt and decisive measures against Meghraj, as well for the sake of example to the surrounding country, as that the service might be completed with less difficulty, while the works in a state of forwardness were yet incomplete, I anticipated the concurrence of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to my having concerted with Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes that four companies of the battalion stationed at Paliyad should be ordered to be in readiness, in case Lieutenant-Colonel East might consider an augmentation to this force necessary to execute the object in contemplation. Subsequent to the completion of these arrangements, I received a private communication from Lieutenant-Colonel East, stating that from the information received he conceived a reinforcement of 500 sepoy and a small detail of artillery at Paliyad essential on the impending service confided to his management. The near approach of the rains and the advisability so obvious of prosecuting our views with every alacrity, and desirous that no delay should arise on my part, I flattered myself that the Hon'ble Board would still further approve of giving the additional assistance adverted to. Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes was therefore pleased at my requisition to authorise the immediate advance of the detachment from Paliyad to join Lieutenant-Colonel East at whatever point he should direct.

I should have had the honour to report these proceedings at an earlier period, but indisposition, which still confines me to my bed, will, I trust, be considered a satisfactory apology for the delay.

No. 1. Kumar Meghraj's assurance, dated 3rd May.

Friendship The sarkar's letter by the harkara having arrived, the subject of it is known. It is written that we had agreed about the fort and are now building it, and that we ought to act in conformance to the wishes of the sarkar. Any persons that may have been speaking to you about me, it is not proper that you should attend to them, as I will not deviate from my engagement with the sarkar, I will in no way act so as to deserve the sarkar's reproach, I am the servant of the sarkar Company Bahadur and will perform their service; in which, know in your mind, there can be no difference.

No. 2. Letter from Adhikari Sadaram, dated 3rd May.

Friendship The sarkar's letter by the harkara has arrived, and the contents are known too. You write respecting the fort of Positra; but I am on terms of friendship with the sarkar and cannot act adverse to their wishes. It was not proper of the sarkar to hear the representations that any person may have been making relative to me. There can be no deviation in what I engaged with the sarkar; on this rest satisfied.

No. 3. Letter from Sagaramji to James R. Carnac, dated 8th May.

Positra fort I am fil-zamini for Positra, this is certain. But Kumar Meghraj and Bawa Sadaram do not obey me. They by their own power have retained men and a sibandi, and are reconstructing the fort. As I have no power over them, it seems requisite that the sarkar should aid me. Who knows by whose or what instruction they are rebuilding the fort? This inquiry is for you, Sir, to make.

No. 4. Letter from Maneck Mulu to Captain James Carnac.

Positra fort I have received your letter by the harkara and placed it on my head. You write that as fil-zamini I ought to countermand the reconstruction of the fort of Positra. The karbari of Beyt and Adhikari, Sadaram, having quarrelled with the Chief went to Positra and has entertained 1,000 sibandi soldiers at his own expense, and Kumar Meghraj is attending to the work of the fort. I have two or three times sent persons there, but they will not obey me. I am the servant of the Company sarkar; and as these persons would not attend to me, I wrote to Sunderji Sivji the whole account, who likewise sent persons to Positra, but whom they also refused to obey, but now the sarkar remains. No doubt if the Positra man acts contrary to the orders of the sarkar, he will receive his reward.

No. 5. Letter from James R. Carnac to Lieutenant-Colonel East, dated 23rd May.

Against Positra Positive indication having been betrayed by Meghraj, the late Chieftain of Positra, of disregarding the engagements contracted with the Company's Government, and the information which I have received of the undoubted intention of this person to construct a fort for purposes subversive of order, induces me to lose no time in communicating that I am empowered by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to request you to detach such a detail, as you may think

necessary from the troops under your command to demolish the works now building and to proceed to measures of coercion, provided Meghraj does not immediately abandon his evil designs, and consent to retire to his former [Residence] at Bcyt.

At the same time I have to acquaint you that a body of five hundred Gaikwad horse from the force in Kathiawar are directed to join you and act under your instructions on the impending service, a co-operation which, I hope, will prove acceptable to you, more especially as this description of troops will be useful in carrying into execution an object to which I shall advert in the sequel of this address.

It would be very acceptable to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, if the evacuation of Positra is effected by conciliatory means, and from your well known judgment great hopes may reasonably be entertained that these humane views will be obtained through that desirable medium.

But I beg to notice that, in case of any hesitation, evasion or delay on behalf of Meghraj or his manager Adhikari Sadaram, it is equally expedient that prompt and decisive measures be taken to punish him and there to exhibit an example of the fixed resolution of the Company's Government to signalise acts of disorder by the infliction of the severest penalty.

Admitting that the obstinacy of Meghraj and his associates leaving us no choice but the latter course, I convey the wishes of the Hon'ble Board that the persons of the principals and other evil-doers be apprehended and sent down in safe custody to the Presidency. Considering that the detachment under your personal command would be actively employed if recourse should be had to coercion, it has occurred to me that the services of the Gaikwad horse before mentioned might greatly contribute in seizing Meghraj, if he should succeed in escaping from Positra while our operations against that place are in progress.

In conclusion it is my duty to observe that, considering the advanced state of the season and the rapid progress which is said to be making in the completion of the works of the fort of Positra, it would be very agreeable to Government if our operations were concluded before the fall of the rains or at the earliest practicable period.

Baroda, 11th Junc, 1811 (1811, P. D. 375)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I had the honour to address you under date the 7th instant making *Positra* known for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the arrangements which had taken place to reduce the Chieftain of Positra to obedience. Since that communication I have received a private letter from Lieutenant-Colonel East, pointing out the advisability, for reasons which he assigns, of postponing the proposed operations against Positra till the conclusion of the rains. I beg to enclose a copy of the Colonel's letter.

No. 1. Letter from Colonel East to James R. Carnac, dated Porbandar, 30th May.

Positra fort

Sunderji's people have this day returned from Positra. They report that Meghraj has a force from eleven to twelve hundred men of different descriptions, and that the fort of Positra is completely rebuilt, with the exception of only one face of it being chunammed; two or three small guns are mounted, and some others lying within the fort. They also state there are about eight piratical boats near the place, and further add that for the last three days Meghraj had discontinued going on with those little necessary repairs requisite finally to complete the works of Positra.

From Sunderji's conversation regarding Positra I find he is of opinion we should defer any operations against it till the month of September; and in consequence of the number of obstacles he points out we should have to encounter when at Positra in the monsoon (such as a general want of all kind of forage and provisions), I am induced to coincide in his opinion.

Bombay, 18th June, 1811 (1811, P. D. 375)

Minutes.

Approval

The Governor-in-Council approves of the several measures which the Resident has adopted as above reported, and suggests to his (Captain Carnac's) consideration the expediency of establishing a permanent British military post at Positra or in the most contiguous healthy situation in its vicinity, with a view to keep in awe and prove a more effectual check over piratical propensities at Beyt, Amran, Dwarka and other contiguous stations in that remote part of the peninsula, as well as for operating in salutary check by its appearance on the eventual ambitious projects of Fateh Muhammad in Cutch.

In this occurrence we leave it to Captain Carnac to direct the completion of the gurhi at Positra, after the present pirate possessors shall have been expelled from it, so as to make it garrisoned by 3 or 4 companies Native Infantry or to fix on some vicinal fort for the same purpose.

1811 Baroda, 12th July, 1811 (1811, P. D. 377)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Positra captured

I have the satisfaction to communicate to you for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the enclosed copy of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel East, announcing our possession of Positra without having had recourse to coercive proceedings.

The observation of the officer on the good effects produced by the imposing appearance of the force employed on this service, seems not only confirmed by the prompt relinquishment of the fort of Positra, but that the resolution we had shown to punish Meghraj, if he exhibited a disposition to resistance after due remonstrance, has induced him to better behaviour than he manifested in his reply to my letters warning him of the consequence of departing from his engagements.

Considerable therefore as the force has been for the attainment of our objects, the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may fairly deduce the consoling reflection that the employment of this respectable force has in every probability prevented the effusion of bloodshed, as the ignorance and mistaken notion of honour so universal among the Rajput Chiefs might have tempted Meghraj to contend with a smaller body of troops in the hopes of eventual compromise, while the presence of more efficient means must have convinced him of the fallacy of such a proceeding.

The commands of the Hon'ble Board, communicated in your dispatch under the 1st June, cannot have reached Lieut.-Colonel East at the period he entered Positra; and should that officer have entirely demolished the works, it may probably be considered desirable to postpone the establishment of a military post in that quarter until the conclusion of the rains, when it will certainly be effected under more advantageous circumstances than at present.

The deprivation Meghraj has sustained of the fort of Positra is no adequate punishment, and his offering a nazranah is clear proof that he thinks so, I would therefore submit that we receive a pecuniary payment, which might be usefully employed in constructing the fort proposed in that neighbourhood.

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel East to James R. Carnac, dated Positra, 28th June.

I have the honour to intimate to you my arrival here yesterday *Positra* with the detachment under my command, which includes the detach- *captured* ment of the 2nd battalion of the 4th Regiment Native Infantry under Major Boye, who joined me the morning of the 25th at Mudki, also the body of the Gaikwad horse which joined me on the 17th instant.

Under date the 14th instant I communicated to you my having commenced my march on that day from Porbandar, and I now beg leave to enclose you copy of a letter addressed by me at same time to Meghraj, the late Chieftain of Positra, and which I judged it expedient should accompany your letter, forwarded to him, on my detachments breaking ground from Porbandar in compliance with your wishes formerly conveyed to me.

I derive much satisfaction in being enabled to state to you that on the 23rd instant my detachment having halted at Mudki, intimation was brought to me by Sunderji, Diwan of Porbandar, (whose attendance with the detachment I found necessary to require on this occasion) that a communication had been received from Meghraj, purporting that himself and his friend Sadaram had arrived in the neighbourhood of my camp, and that they were desirous of being permitted to pay me a visit in order to hold a conference with me. I signified to them the very peculiar gratification it would afford me to receive them, and they accordingly both waited upon me that evening.

On the following morning I held an interview with Meghraj and Sadaram, who acknowledged having received your letter as also one from myself above alluded to, and that they had accordingly

waited upon me in consequence. They expressed concern that they should have incurred the displeasure of the Company's Government with whom they were desirous of maintaining the relations of friendly intercourse and good understanding, and of enjoying the benefit of their protection. I observed that the general tenor of their conduct and certain recent acts of theirs, represented by you on the part of Government, but ill accorded with these their present professions; that every endeavour had been used by moderate and conciliatory means to induce them to compliance with the wishes of Government. Those however had not been listened to, but evaded and contended with persevering obstinacy, and had now rendered necessary the resorting to coercive measures against themselves.

I urged to them the flagrantcy of their misconduct as set forth in your official communication to me; that by the reconstructing the fort of Positra they had violated and forfeited engagements expressly pledged to the Company's Government that such measures should not be resorted to by them. Under these circumstances, to their own infatuated and imprudent conduct must be attributed whatever injury or inconvenience may be the result of their having to adopt the only conditions which it is now the intention of Government to hold out to them; that my instructions were to require from them the surrender of the fort of Positra, the walls and works of which would be destroyed and raised to the ground; and that Meghraj and Sadaram were to retire from thence to their former residence at Beyt.

After some hesitation a reluctant acquiescence was signified by those Chiefs, and that they accordingly submitted themselves, would receive and abide by the instructions of Government as I had tendered the same to them. Nothing was urged by them in intention or with a view to justify the impropriety and folly of their conduct, but they remarked that it was their misfortune they had been impelled to act so.

I find the state of forwardness, to which the renewing and rebuilding the fortification of Positra has been carried, is such as to confirm the report which was made to me; and its towers and walls so far completed as to have rendered it perfectly tenable and capable of maintaining its defence; and there is not a doubt to be entertained but, by the arrival of this force here at so very fortunate and seasonable a crisis, the determined intention of Meghraj to have made powerful resistance has been most happily anticipated and rendered abortive.

In carrying into execution my instructions not a moment has been lost, and I have this morning commenced to demolish the fort of Positra, and I trust in the expiration of a few days to be enable to intimate to you the final completion of this work and of the detachment being on its return from hence. The circumstance of extremely favourable weather, which the detachment has experienced, has been very fortunate and tended much to ameliorate its progress as well as to alleviate the difficulty and exertion which has been necessary in the movement with so heavy guns with the want of regular trained cattle and other equipment for this purpose.

No. 2. Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel East to James R. Carnac, dated 3rd July.

I have to acquaint you that, the works and walls of Positra having been completely demolished and raised to the ground in conformity to your first instructions, I do not judge it expedient or advisable to maintain it as a post in its present situation, and have to regret my not having received this information at an earlier date. The detachment will proceed on its return from hence tomorrow morning.

Bombay, 24th July, 1811 (1811, P. D. 377)

1811

Minutes.

The Board have to regret that its instructions of the 19th of June had not reached Lieutenant-Colonel East when he proceeded to demolish the newly raised works at Positra.

Since it must be presumed that Captain Carnac will have earnestly imparted to Colonel East that part of the directions to the Resident which required that Meghraj and Sadaram should be made prisoners and sent in safe custody to the Presidency, the Governor-in-Council cannot approve of their having been admitted to retire again to Beyt, but requires the fullest explanation through the Resident of this apparent and material oversight, refraining of course from imputing any positive blame to Colonel East till it can be ascertained whether that officer was made acquainted with the order thus signified.

Baroda, 2nd August, 1811 (P. D. 377).

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 24th ultimo, having reference to certain arrangements subsequent to the reduction of Positra.

In reply to that part of your address which conveys the disappointment of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council at Meghraj and Sadaram being at large, as contrary to the instructions communicated in your letter of the 27th April last, I have respectfully to observe that the interpretation of these orders, to my mind, was that, in the event of the above persons making a resistance, it was determined to apprehend them as a signal punishment for their misconduct.

It was under this impression that my instructions on the part of Government to Lieutenant-Colonel East were framed; and the erroneous opinion, which I appear to have formed of the wishes of Government, has only been made obvious by your dispatch now acknowledged, as the measures, which I had taken with Lieutenant-Colonel East, particularly reported in my dispatch of the 7th of June, were honoured by the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council by your communication dated the 16th of the same month.

In lamenting therefore the misconstruction I had placed on the commands of Government in this respect, I have at the same time to regret that the erroneous impression, which pervaded my instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel East, forwarded to Government as above noticed,

had not at that period been corrected; since sufficient time would have followed to have carried the original wishes of the Hon'ble the Board into complete execution.

As the matter now stands, I am apprehensive, in consequence of Lieutenant East's having permitted Meghraj and Sadaram to accompany his detachment on its return to Porbandar with a view of facilitating some conclusive arrangements with these persons, that it will be impossible in consistence with good faith to take them into custody.

I have now the honour to advert to that part of your letter which conveys to me the regret of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the orders to retain possession of Positra as a post, had not reached Lieutenant-Colonel East to the destruction of the works.

I beg to assure the Hon'ble the Board that no time was lost on my part to give effect to this projected plan, as it will be perceived by the accompanying letter which I addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel East under date the 20th June (founded on private advices from the Hon'ble the Governor that Positra was to be maintained) that I had taken an opportunity, eight days previous to the transmission of your official dispatches dated the 18th and 19th of June, of calling upon Lieutenant-Colonel East to establish himself in Positra in the preservation it was then supposed to remain.

The information, contained in Colonel East's letter of the 28th June, of having commenced to destroy the works of Positra is already before the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council; and it will be observed by the accompanying copy of another letter of the 3rd of July that he did not judge it expedient, or advisable to maintain it as a post in its present situation, that is to say after the works had been destroyed.

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel East to James R. Carnac, dated 17th July.

*Positra
destroyed*

Previous to offering you my sentiments with regard to the eligibility of Positra as a military post, it is necessary that I should refer you to what is communicated in my letters under date the 28th ultimo and the 3rd instant, which were dispatched to you from Positra; and by which you will observe that your instructions, conveyed to me on the part of Government (for preserving the fortifications of that place undemolished, and that it should for the present be occupied as a military post) did not reach me until the complete destruction of the works had actually taken place; and conceiving from the manner in which your letter was expressed that the import and meaning of those instructions was that Positra was only to be maintained and occupied as a post in the event of its works remaining undemolished, this not being the case, I accordingly in my letter of the 3rd gave you to understand that I did not deem it advisable to leave any detail of troops there under existing circumstances; and that, as my original instructions had been carried into effect, I should forthwith return with the detachment and accelerate as much as possible the arrival of the corps at their respective stations.

It is represented to me and seems confirmed by every observation I have been able to make that the district of Okhamandal does not afford a situation by any means well adopted to form a station or to be occupied as a military post by any considerable body of troops. In view to the objects, which Government have in contemplation to be realised and effected by this measure, the principal reasons and objections appear to arise from an interior deficiency in the country itself and its hardly affording the common resources for subsisting and other means barely necessary for the comfortable accommodation of troops, and the difficulty and inconvenience thence arising from having to depend on other and distant parts of the country for their supply. So extreme is the scarcity of forage at a certain period of the dry season that I am given to understand cattle cannot but with the utmost difficulty be subsisted. Water is almost universally of a bad and brackish nature, which, together with the prejudicial effects naturally to be apprehended in a country so much abounding with jungles, leaves the strong reason to conclude it would be found unhealthy to the troops.

Section D: KATHIAWAR CHIEFTAINS

DOCUMENTS

(I) GRASSIA OF GOHILVAR

Baroda, 20th April, 1808 (1808, S, & P. 240)

1808

Grassia's offer

N.B. One of the Grassias of Gohilvar; in the bhayad of the *Offer* Raja of Bhavnagar offered to cede to the Company a moiety in each village belonging to him and in the port of Kumlaze (Kamlej). The offer was rejected.

[See Secret and Political Department Diary, 1808, No. 240, p. 8938.]

(II) RAJA OF MORVI

Camp near Khampur, 1st April, 1809 (1809, P. D. 328)

1809

Captain Greenwood to James R. Carnac.

For the discharge of the sum of 50,000 Rupees still due to the *Morvi* Gaikwad Government, the Raja has consented to assign over to *settlement* Sunderji Sivji certain villages in mortgage, in consideration of which Sunderji engages to pay 17,000 Rupees in the month of Vaisakh or May; 17,000 more in Srawan or August; and the balance with interest in Phalgun or March, 1810.

The current year's revenue is to be paid: 25,000 Rupees in ready money; and the mother of the Raja Jiyoji and his brother Devoji become securities for the payment of the remainder at such a period

the Kaira Gentleman "on the subject, that the wife and property of my karbari may be delivered up.

Bombay, 9th November, 1813 (1813, P. D. 402)

1813

Minutes on the rights of the Limbdi Thakur.

Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that a claim to the sovereignty of Barvala having been asserted by the British Government, although the fee of the property is acknowledged to belong to the Thakur of Limbdi, it is conceived that the Thakur can have no rights to exercise any judicial authority in the place, and must therefore have recourse to the court of adalat of Kaira for redress, if he has occasion to complain of misconduct on the part of his servants. Such servants being British subjects are consequently entitled to the protection of our law. *Bombay decision*

In the present instance it appears that the British Government has an undoubted right to call on the Thakur of Limbdi to deliver up the person of Gayla as well as to refuse to permit the removal of his family or his property from Barvala.

Shah Gayla being however a servant of the Thakur, he is no doubt at liberty to remove him from the management of his concerns and to place any other person he may think fit in that situation; and if any mismanagement on the part of Shah Gayla should be established, and debts appear to be due by him to his Master, the courts of law are open to the Thakur for their recovery.

(IV) JUNAGARH SUCCESSION

Baroda, 9th March, 1811 (1811, P. D. 371)

1811

F. D. Ballantine to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, the death of Hamid Khan Bahadur, Nawab of Junagarh, on the 26th February, 1811. The tidings of His Highness's demise have been received at Baroda with great concern, and the Administration have paid a suitable tribute to the undeviating attachment of His Highness's family to the interests of this Government in the peninsula. The intelligence of this melancholy event has been announced at Baroda by letters from Vithalrao, the officer commanding in Kathiawar, who has also expressed some apprehension of a partial disturbance from the manifold interests, (as is always the case on such occasions) of a numerous sibandi who, on the plea of arrears, are ever ready to espouse any cause. *Junagarh succession*

His Highness has left two sons: one legitimate, named Salabat Khan, and about 7 years and, it is said, is now with his mother Kamalbakht, the daughter of the Nawab of Semiradanpur, at Junagarh; the other illegitimate, aged about 15 or 16 years, by name Bahadur Khan, and has for some years past lived, I am informed, at Prabhas Patan.

I request you will further do me the favour to respectfully inform the Hon'ble Board that this Government are decidedly disposed to

countenance the legitimate branch of His Highness's family in the attainment of the considered just right, and that Vithalrao has received instructions to pay due attention to the preservation of the public interests in that quarter as well as to give a discreet aid, in view to promote the due succession of the right heir apparent to the masnad of the Government of Junagarh, measures which, I respectfully trust, will meet the further concurrence of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

1811 *Baroda, 2nd May, 1811 (1811, P. D., No. 3)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

*Bahadur
Khan in
power*

I request you will communicate for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the accompanying copy and translate of a letter from the officer commanding the Gaikwad forces in Kathiawar. By these advices it appears that the illegitimate son of Bahadur Khan, the late Nawab of Junagarh, has possessed himself of the government of that city and its dependencies, and placed the mother and child, who in hereditary succession is entitled to the sovereignty of the Junagarh State, into confinement. To obtain the recognition of his authority by the Gaikwad Government he has deputed an agent to Vithoba Diwanji to offer a nazranah, which the Administration have not yet consented to receive, or in any manner to acknowledge the pretensions of the illegitimate son in opposition to the rights of the child born in lawful wedlock.

In consequence however of the power of the former being established at Junagarh, the Gaikwad Government are apprehensive that by espousing the cause of the one, whose inheritance has been set aside, they may be plunged into hostilities that might lead to the incurrence of a heavy expense without the certainty of reimbursement.

For the present therefore the Administration propose to delay any measures which justice to their tributary would warrant. The present encumbrances of this Government require it to attend to the suggestions of prudence; and rather than take the hazard of an expensive equipment, it seems more politic to await the gradual operation of events and, if indications in favour of the deposed party are disclosed, to throw the influence of Government into the scale.

The sentiments of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council on this difficult question would no doubt be received with pleasure by the Administration and confirm them in the line of conduct deemed most advisable to be pursued.

Letter from Vithalrao Diwanji to James R. Carnac.

*Junagarh
succession*

I have to inform you, that a written paper has been taken from the Bibi of Junagarh, acknowledging her son [*Salubut*] to be illegitimate. The same person [*Bahadur Khan*] has got charge of all the dependencies of Junagarh. He fears the sarkar and has in consequence entertained a new sibandi of 10,000 or 15,000 men. The old sibandi, which the Nawab had discharged, he has also engaged. He has come here to arrange this business, and says he wishes the sarkar's sanction to pay a nazranah and receive the turban. It is said

he has sent to the city (Ahmadabad) to have a new seal made. On this subject I have written to desire that the seal be not made unless with the sarkar's permission. They have consequently taken the seal in the sarkar's name and enjoined the manufactors not to make up one. He wants a parwanagi for the seal, and the sarkar to afford him countenance for the future, as the last 4 years have elapsed agreeable to their engagement. Thus this business has proceeded; to which I can give no assent or dissent until the sarkar's and your wishes are communicated to me. I am anxiously expecting your order, whether I am to give the sanction of Government to this man's protection or to another. I have addressed the Shastri and Bhau Saheb several times on this subject, from whom you will have heard the whole. It now becomes very necessary that I should receive instructions.

Bombay orders, dated 13th May.

Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that the medium proposed in the preceding letter to be followed by the Gaikwad Administration is probably under all circumstances the best. Care should however be taken not to afford any countenance on its part to the usurpation, and every advisable means pursued to reinstitute the rightful heir at a proper period, provided always it be well ascertained that the boy now in confinement be really legitimate, and not the contrary, as his mother appears to have nevertheless acknowledged by the writing probably taken from her by force. *Approval*

Baroda, 6th August, 1811 (1811, P. D. 377)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Among the objects, which, I respectfully presume, will require my attention in Kathiawar, is the present condition of the Government of Junagarh. *Baroda ready to interfere*

I had the honour to report in my letter of the 2nd May the usurpation of that State by an illegitimate son of the late Nawab, contrary to the right of the lawful successor, and the line of conduct this Government were then disposed to follow, which received the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council by your letter dated the 13th of May last.

Since that period transactions have come to light, which prompt the Administration to take a more lively interest in the affairs of Junagarh than prudence at the first view has temporarily suggested; for it now appears that the deposed son has a powerful party in his favour, ready to support his superior right and pretensions, if countenanced by the paramount authority of the country.

By preserving a passive line of conduct in the present state of Junagarh the Gaikwad Government may be instrumental to confirm anarchy and confusion in that part of the country, it will relax in its duty to its tributaries and be exposed to the danger of losing its rights by the external commotions which threaten the Junagarh Government. At the same time this Government may be taxed with the imputation of giving a tacit sanction to usurpation and acting at variances with

those principles which have so powerfully stimulated our support to themselves. Under these circumstances it is the desire of the Administration to take that interference in the affairs of Junagarh, which may tend to restore it to its legitimate authority; persuaded that the success of this measure will prove as susceptible of credit to the British Government as it must be advantageous to the character and interest of the Gaikwad State.

1811 *Bombay, 27th August, 1811 (1811, P. D. 377)*

Board's resolutions.

Approval In reference to Junagarh, this Government are well pleased to learn from Captain Carnac's present letter of a powerful party having arisen in favour of the deposed son; and concluding no doubts can now exist of his being the legitimate heir of the deceased Nawab, feel decidedly disposed to concur in that line of policy, which seems to have suggested itself to the Gaikwad Government. The Governor-in-Council is also of opinion that any delay in the settlement of the affairs of Junagarh might tend to consolidate the power of the authority which has usurped the government, increase the deficit and expense of its ultimate expulsion, and confirm (as observed by the Resident) in this portion of the tributary dominions a spirit of anarchy and confusion altogether inconsistent with the views and interests of the coalesced Governments; whilst tacitly to witness the usurpation and to observe a passive line of conduct on the occasion would betray a degree of imbecility in the Baroda State, discreditable and prejudicial to its character and incompatible with the maintenance of a just control over the refractory habits of the other tributaries of the Gaikwad, who would view, in the toleration of this usurpation, a stimulus to their own insubordination and, above all, an inefficiency in its connection with the British Government, which it is most essential to guard against by the early adoption of such measures as may appear best calculated for that purpose.

1812 *Porbandar, 23rd April, 1812 (1812 P. D. 385)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Contest for succession In execution of that part of my instructions relating to Junagarh, I have now the honour to report my proceedings with that Government for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Soon after the termination of my negotiations with the Chieftain of Navanagar the Gaikwad authorities in this country received a communication from Junagarh, indicative of the desire of the person, styled the Nawab, to be vested with the sanction and authority of His Highness Fatesing Gaikwad in the name and behalf of the Raja Anandrao for the assumption of that title; for which investiture he was ready to subscribe to the customary conditions of an honorary present.

This action enabled me to interpose with a view of carrying the spirit of my instructions into effect; and after some further communications between Vithoba Diwanji and the persons in authority at Junagarh, I consented to meet the yakils of that State at Amreli, a

dependency of the Gaikwad Government, and in the neighbourhood of the object of my proposed negotiations.

Preparatory to the orders of Government for the disposal of the detachment on the conclusion of all our views at Navanagar, I had concerted with Lieutenant-Colonel Smith that he should take up a position which might enable him to be within two or three marches of Porbandar and at the same time have the effect of supporting my proceedings with Junagarh. The vicinity of Jetpur being selected for the detachment, I left it encamped at that place to meet the vakils at Amreli.

The first interview with these persons discovered that the condition of the Junagarh Government, since the demise of the Nawab Hamid Khan, was much disordered, and that its chief power and control had devolved on some jamadars, who had found it their interest to unite their influence and to maintain a mutual good understanding.

The object, which necessarily required my principal attention, consisted in the right of the person raised to the masnad in prejudice to the superior title of a youth, said to have been born of a lawful wife of the late Nawab, who was placed under personal restraint with her son, immediately after the decease of her husband.

My researches on this essential point were as much in favour of the person on the masnad as in exposition of any rights of the youth in question. The former is undoubtedly of spurious origin, and it remains to be decided whether the son of the lawful wife is really the offspring of his avowed father.

The young man, named Bahadur Khan, has been of a slave girl, who co-habited with the late Nawab for a considerable number of years. On his birth, the usual festivities took place; an assignment for his maintenance, it appears, was also granted, as he was sent with his mother, when past infancy, with a proper establishment to Viruwal Patan, a dependency of the Junagarh Government.

The son by the lawful wife, named Kamalbakhht, (who is nearly related to that branch of the Babi family now in possession of Radhanpur) was also acknowledged by the Nawab with every distinction becoming the birth of legitimate heir to the masnad. The event was announced with all the public demonstrations customary on such an auspicious occasion, and the Nawab continued for some months to consider his infant with affectionate regard, when an unconquerable aversion ensued, founded, it is said, on the discovery of the child not being the offspring of Kamalbakhht herself.

This opinion is circulated with confidence and freedom, and Mir. Kehman-ud-din, to whose character the official records bear such repeated and honourable testimony, expressed his belief under the circumstances of the case that the title of Bahadur Khan on investigation would perhaps be found as valid as the pretensions of his opponent, and that he has the advantage at present of possession

with the suffrages of the most powerful servants of the late Nawab also in his favour.

The Begum Kamalbakht is represented as a woman of lofty spirit, haughty demeanour, with a cultivated mind. During the lifetime of her lord, this lady was the scourge of his favourites and some times the dictator of his will.

The mother of Bahadur Khan, considering the defects of her extraction, is on the other hand of a conciliatory disposition; and these qualities have tended very considerably to the prosperity of her son, who has yet only attained his 18th year, but possesses generally a fair character. The reputed son of the Begum has not yet arrived to years to form any decided judgment of the propensities of his disposition.

This succinct account of the relative claims of these two persons to the sovereignty of Junagarh will, I trust, so far satisfy the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that our own interposition in an active point of view would not positively be productive of the substitution of the lawful heir in the Government.

The pretensions of Bahadur Khan are doubtless nugatory from the blemish of his origin; but those of the Begum's son, there is reason to believe, may not bear the test of inquiry. Consequently it would be necessary to look elsewhere for a person lineally descended from the late Hamid Khan's family, which would require extensive investigation and a great consumption of time. Although the claims of the two sons of Hamid Khan may in justice be superseded, there are people in Junagarh, who would stand forward to espouse the cause of either in opposition to the introduction of an other branch of the family. In some, the principle would arise from affection to their late master; while in others, this feeling may perhaps be ascribed more to those general effects that never fail to attend a disputed Government than to any sentiment of faith or attachment.

With these reflections I was at the same time conscious of possessing an authority to resort to coercion for the establishment of any party in Junagarh, and the advance of the detachment from Jetpur to Ganode on the Bhaddur River on the 30th of March substantially proceeded from the state of affairs at the Gaikwad capital by the conspiracy of Kanhoji Gaikwad.

The position of Ganode was equally eligible with Jetpur for moving upon Porbandar, being situated within little distances of that port. It was much more favourable for assuming a position in the centre of the Peninsula to cover Navanagar, with which I had reason to believe at that time Kanhoji was extensively connected.

Marching from Ganode, in lieu of Jetpur, to Vankaner or its vicinity (which Lieutenant-Colonel Smith decided on in the event of Kanhoji making his escape and retiring to this quarter, and Jam Jesaji attempting to give him succour) could be effected with much more facility with heavy ordnance in consequence of the bad state of the

roads from the latter place. Besides it was my view to avoid, in the proposed arrangement, our traversing any part of the Jam's possession, as it might have excited his apprehensions and occasioned at all events the retention of his new levies, or might perhaps have induced him immediately to augment them; both of which circumstances were not desirable under the state of affairs in Gujarat. As connected with the arrangements I had solicited that a party of Dragoons might be sent from Kaira to Baroda, and the Gaikwad Government had ordered the Mahi Khanta mulukgiri force to move down in that direction and eventually to act on the eastern borders of the province under the probability of Kanhoji taking his flight in that direction.

The advance period of the season and the prevalence of heavy winds on this coast pointed out the necessity of delaying no longer the return of the European details to the Presidency after the discomfiture of the dangerous intrigues at Baroda by the apprehension of the principal. The state of the Company's district also required that the proportion of the force, ordered to Kaira, should proceed to their destination with every expedition; and Lieutenant-Colonel Smith carried this measure into effect at my suggestion, previous to the seizure of Kanhoji Gaikwad, as it was calculated for the advantage of the public service under any issue of the affairs at Baroda.

It was not however to be denied that the presence of the detachment for some time longer might have been beneficial in promoting a modification in the government of Junagarh; but it was neither consistent from the information in my possession, nor defensible in the spirit of my instructions to employ the troops in any active service affecting the interests of that State.

In the opening of this address I had the honour to observe that the chief sardars at Junagarh were acting independently. The actions of these persons are not only uncontrolled merely in the appropriation of the revenue of the respective charges, but their subordination suits their own interest and inclination. To have entered even on the reform of the monstrous defalcations and abuses with the detachment, lately in the field, might have led to operations of hostility, which time, I have the reason to hope, will entirely obviate.

The discordant state of Junagarh and its limited resources under the embezzlements, it was evident, must soon produce an application to the Gaikwad Government to interpose its weight and influence for its amelioration. Among other causes it will also be instigated to this application from the circumstance of the mulukgiri tribute of Junagarh from the mahals in this country being only realisable through the medium of the Gaikwad.

The Gaikwad force in Kathiawar, I should conceive, is fully adequate to extend efficacious assistance when solicited, and to restore order in all the branches of administration. It is already well known that the better disposed are anxious for the introduction of a different system, which, combined with the influence of Vithoba Diwanji in Junagarh, may be effected without serious difficulty.

This circumstance and the consideration that the pursuit of different measures might have involved us in a dispute, equally unnecessary from existing causes as they would have been found inconvenient to the public service, added to the important object of embarking the European troops before the season had advanced too far to render the passage from Porbandar dangerous or impracticable, has influenced me in forbearing from our active interposition at Junagarh; and I trust that the Hon'ble Board will perceive in this communication sufficient grounds for the propriety of this proceeding.

I have at the same time the pleasure to state that overtures have already been made from Junagarh through Rhagunathji Diwan to arrange its affairs, and that Gaikwad Government will shortly enter on this task. It is in contemplation, after the execution of the requisite arrangement, to enter on some compromise of the possession of the port of Kodinar, which now belongs in equal proportions to Junagarh and the Gaikwad Government, and also the tribute which the former levies on the Gaikwad fort of Amreli and its dependencies.

The constant disputes prevailing at Kodinar between the authorities of the respective Governments, which ultimately tend to general disadvantage and to the suppression of all mercantile pursuits or industry among its inhabitants, render it an object to consolidate the possession. The last mentioned claim was renounced by the late Nawab, but the deed to that effect from negligence was not executed. The claim itself is of recent existence and has not been demanded for some years.

In the event of any arrangement taking place with Junagarh in favour of Bahadur Khan, founded on the proposals received through Raghunathji Diwan, it is intended that it shall embrace a proper provision for the Begum Kamalbakhht and her son, similar to that enjoyed during the life time of the late Nawab. This lady is at present under restraint, and her [future], with due regard to her future comfort consistent with her birth and rank, is worthy of the attention of the Gaikwad Government.

Bombay Minutes, dated 1st June.

Bombay disapproval In the letter from the Assistant-in-charge of the Residency of Baroda, dated the 9th of March, 1811, announcing the death of Hamid Khan, the Nawab of Junagarh, the Governor-in-Council remarks that not the most distant doubt was expressed of the legitimacy of Salabat Khan; but, on the contrary, the Baroda Government was represented as manifesting a decided disposition to countenance his just rights and to promote the due succession of the heir apparent of the masnad of the Government of Junagarh.

The letter from the Resident at Baroda, dated the 2nd of May following, communicated the usurpation of Government by Bahadur Khan, the illegitimate son of the late Nawab, with intimation that the Baroda Administration, whilst it refrained from recognising the usurpation or from acknowledging in any manner the pretensions of the illegitimate son in opposition to the rights of the child born in

lawful wedlock, was not yet prepared to espouse the cause of the latter; under an apprehension of the hostilities, in which the Government might be involved in any attempt to depose Bahadur Khan.

Upon this occasion Captain Carnac was instructed by the late Governor to be careful not to afford any countenance to the usurpation; and was authorised to pursue every advisable means to reinstate the rightful heir at a proper period, provided always it be well ascertained that the child, then in confinement, was really legitimate, and not the contrary, as his mother appeared nevertheless to have acknowledged by a writing, probably taken from her (it was remarked) by force.

The next dispatch from the Resident, dated the 6th of August, represented the Administration at Baroda as taking a more lively interest in the affairs of Junagarh; that the deposed son had a powerful party in his favour, ready to support his superior right and pretensions, if countenanced by the paramount authority of the country. Captain Carnac commented on the danger and impolicy of observing a passive line of conduct on this occasion, and the native Government was stated to be fearful of the imputation of giving a tacit sanction to usurpation, and desirous of taking that interference in the affairs of Junagarh which might tend to restore it to its legitimate authority; persuaded that the success of the measure would prove as susceptible of credit to the British Government as it must be advantageous to the character and interests of the Gaikwad State.

The sentiments of the Governor-in-Council were entirely in unison with these impressions in favour of the deposed. In and under a conclusion that no doubt existed in respect to his legitimacy, the Government decidedly concurred in the line of policy which had thus suggested itself to the Gaikwad Government, with a pointed expression of our opinion that any delay in the settlement of the affairs of Junagarh might tend to consolidate the usurpation of Bahadur Khan, increase the difficulties and expense of his ultimate expulsion, and confirm a spirit of anarchy and confusion altogether inconsistent with the views and interests of the coalesced Governments, accompanied by other communications of those sentiments of the Government on the occasion, which were sufficient in the opinion of the Governor-in-Council to have satisfied Captain Carnac that he was at full liberty to employ the force at his command for the accomplishment of the objects if indispensable.

After having thus afforded so decided an opinion in favour of the deposed son, it was with concern that the Governor-in-Council now observes the native Administration, not only inclined to admit doubts of the legitimacy of Salabat Khan, but disposed also to favour the views or in other words, to avoid encountering the difficulties likely to follow the expulsion of Bahadur Khan, of whose illegitimacy there is not a question, from usurpation of the government. It is to be greatly regretted that the line of policy to be pursued in the settlement of the Junagarh affairs and, in particular, that the question affecting the

legitimacy or otherwise of Salabat Khan, the rightful heir to the succession, had not been agitated and determined prior to our interposition having been required. Under these circumstances, and as it would be discreditable to our reputation to regulate our conduct and our measures by so wavering a course of policy, and as it is so contrary to those principles of respect for legitimate authority, which characterise the British Government, to support the pretensions of Bahadur Khan at a time when the rights of the son of the lawful wife remain yet to be decided, it is deemed expedient to instruct the Resident at Baroda to seize an early opportunity of communicating to the Gaikwad authorities our sentiments upon this occasion, under an explicit declaration that the British Government disavows all connection with any measures that may in the remotest degree be construed as supporting the usurpation of Bahadur Khan in the government of Junagarh, or any other person, to the prejudice of the rightful heir, whoever it may be.

The Governor-in Council cannot but regret the insufficiency and the delays that have marked our interposition in the settlement of the Junagarh succession; and in particular that, after having made a movement for that purpose towards that Principality, the Resident should have acquiesced in propositions which leave the government and the country in its present state of anarchy and confusion; or that he should have entertained any doubts of his possessing an authority to resort to coercive measures for the establishment of the legal party in Junagarh; for, even if the tenor of the instructions of the 27th of August were not positively indicative of the wishes of the Government in that respect, it might have been yet inferred that the nature of our interposition for settling the succession obviously warranted the employment of the force collected, as it had been for the express purpose of effecting the adjustment of affairs in Kathiawar, if the right of the heir apparent could not be maintained and secured without an appeal to arms; and in any event Captain Carnac ought to have submitted those doubts at an earlier period to Government.

1813 *Porbandar, 7th February, 1813 (1813, P. D. 400)*

James McMurdo to Captain James R. Carnac.

Junagarh succession When you did me the honour to place me in charge of the Hon'ble Company's interests in Kathiawar in the month of June last, you delivered general instructions for the regulation of my conduct towards the petty State of Junagarh; and on the occasion of my being removed from the duty I shall take the liberty to report for your information the success which has attended the measure recommended by you.

The primary object, which called for my attention, was to institute an inquiry in to the right of succession to the masnad, disputed by Bahadur Khan, the illegitimate son of the late Nawab Hamid Khan, and Salabat Khan, his reputed son by a lawful wife, and to ascertain the grounds upon which they respectively founded their claims, so that no doubt should remain upon a subject of such importance.

It would be superfluous to point out to your notice the obstacles which naturally presented themselves to a satisfactory research into a dispute of this nature; and it evidently required much caution to avoid being deceived by the arguments advanced by both parties and to discover the truth in the series of contradictions, which occurred in the course of the investigation.

The title of this youth Salabat, you are already informed, was considered by the respectable people of the country, even during the lifetime of Hamid Khan, as an intrigue of the zanana; and the circumstances, attending his adoption by the Begum Kamalbakht, you are also aware, are at present universally acknowledged and spoken of without reserve.

To elucidate the deception of his birth it may be necessary however to state that the Begum at the earliest stage of her supposed pregnancy retired from Junagarh to Kisod, where she remained quite privately until the time for her delivery had arrived. Of three pregnant women, whom she had kept with her, one only was delivered of a son, which was adopted by the Begum, and the glad tidings of his birth promulgated throughout the country.

The parents of this child are affirmed to be oil manufacturers; and although it might be difficult to acquire positive proof of a transaction of so private a nature, or to induce those concerned to acknowledge the fraud, still I beg leave to add that the truth of the important parts of this statement has been corroborated by every disinterested person with whom I have made it my duty to converse on the subject.

I have the honour at the same time to transmit copy and translation of the deed, executed by the Begum Kamalbakht acknowledging the illegitimacy of Salabat Khan; but, as this paper has been reported to have been taken from her by force, I shall take the liberty to submit what has come to my knowledge on the subject, in order that no false impression may invalidate in your mind the authenticity of a document of the utmost consequence to the discovery of the truth.

A few hours before the demise of the late Nawab, he recommended to Omar Mukhasam (an Arab jamadar who had repeatedly saved his life) and Mirza Azam Beg, a chela of his own family, to support the just title of Bahadur Khan, and desired them to look upon him as the son of his lawful wife, and to instruct him to respect Kamalbakht as a parent. Shortly after the death of Hamid Khan, this youth was removed from Patan (in which he had hitherto resided with his mother) and placed under the protection of Kamal Bibi, to whose wishes he was taught implicit obedience.

The friends of Bahadur Khan were indeed thus led to conciliate the Begum from a knowledge of the design with which she had adopted Salabat Khan. Their endeavours to blind that lady to their views by marked courtsey and respect, completely succeeded, and in full confidence of the devotion of Bahadur Khan and his party to her will, at a time when she was not only free from personal restraint,

but in full possession of power, Kamalbakht voluntarily executed the deed in question; and at the request of Bahadur Khan's friends rendered it more authentic by the seals of the Pir Zadas of Junad, who, I beg to remark, had stood aloof from the late quarrels that have prevailed in the family.

The only arguments, which were adduced in favour of Salabat Khan, were the ceremonies attending his birth, and the assertions of the Bibi's mchta that he was the son of Hamid Khan by Kamalbakht; but the latter were unsubstantiated by any testimony and not supported by a single person of the late Nawab's Government.

A disputed title to a government is generally considered as holding forth strong encouragement for individuals to advance their personal interests by supporting with their influence the claims of one or other competitor. But in the case of Junagarh, we observe a struggle between more than two distinct parties for the administration of affairs subsisting for many months, without one attempt having been made by either to espouse the pretensions of Salabat Khan, which, had they possessed the smallest grounds of justice, would scarcely, it may be presumed under such circumstances, have been so totally neglected.

The result of this part of the inquiry has been the rejection of the title of Salabat Khan to the masnad of Junagarh; and I trust that, upon a due consideration of what has been advanced together with the circumstance of the late Nawab having persisted in disavowing the child even on his deathbed, it will appear conclusive to your mind and to that of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that to have acted otherwise upon the evidence above recorded would have been to have acknowledged a right, the legitimacy of which rests upon the *ipse dixit* of interested persons and not even corroborated by presumptive testimony.

The title of Salabat Khan having thus been set aside, the next object of attention that presented itself was to discover upon what grounds his rival [Bahadur Khan] founded his pretensions to this government and to ascertain whether or not the desire of countenancing none but legitimate authority would render it necessary to search for a lineal descendant of Hamid Khan in another branch of this family.

The authority of Junagarh met our inquiries on this subject by producing an attested copy of the late Nawab's will, dictated on his death-bed, wherein he nominates Bahadur Khan his heir. I am aware that this document is already in your possession; but, as it is a principal link in the chain of evidence submitted in this report, I take the liberty to enclose translation of a copy attested by the seal of the jamadar, Omar Mukhasam.

By the tenets of the Muhammadan law a child born of a woman of ever so mean or disreputable a family is considered hual or legitimate, provided the ceremony of nikah has been previously performed by the parties; and in this view of the case Bahadur Khan is perfectly

qualified to inherit the honours of his family, as it is a fact, which has never been doubted, that the late Nawab and the mother of Bahadur Khan had that ceremony administered by the present Cazi of Junagarh.

In addition of these powerful vouchers, the justice of the pretensions of Bahadur Khan was argued by these advocates on the grounds of precedent and established usage; and they adduced in evidence the cases of Hamid Khan, and his father Mohabat Khan, who were both the offspring of a similar connection to that in which Bahadur Khan was born, and who, in default of progeny in the established and more legitimate form of wedlock, succeeded respectively to the masnad with general approbation, and whose claims were never challenged by any branch of the Babi family.

The truth of this assertion is substantiated by the testimony of every man of information in the country and does not admit of a doubt; but, as it may be satisfactory to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that no evidence on a subject of such interest should pass unrecorded, I beg leave to forward the deposition of Rangildas Tricomdas, whose family has resided in Junagarh for many years, and who himself for a short period administered to the affairs of Government during the life time of Hamid Khan.

The evidence, adduced on this head, appeared to the Diwanji and myself to establish beyond a doubt the validity of the pretensions of Bahadur Khan, and under that impression he has been acknowledged as heir to the masnad of Junagarh; and in concluding the details of this investigation I have only respectfully to express a hope that the principle, upon which the foregoing decisions have been formed may be considered such as to induce my superiors to extend their confirmation to the propriety and justice of the measures.

I shall now proceed to detail for your information the circumstances attending the settlement of the differences that exist between the authorities of Junagarh and the Gaikwad Government. But in order that the motives for the acquiescence of the former to demands, which they rejected nine months since, may be more clearly understood, I shall state as concisely as possible the situation of affairs in that capital; from which it will be seen that their non-compliance with the wishes of Government did not proceed from any established principle of opposition to legal authority, but had its origin in the selfish conduct of certain individuals, who, in order to support their private views, sacrificed the good of the State by thwarting each other in every attempt made at an accommodation.

*Baroda
Junagarh
dissensions*

Previous to your final departure from Kathiawar, proposals for an adjustment had been made to Vithalrao Diwanji through Raghunathji Mehta of Kutiana, who, although his family still possesses the title of Diwan of Junagarh, was excluded from all share in the administration some years before the late Nawab's death. These overtures, however, it was soon perceived, could not be matured in consequence of a violent opposition to the introduction of the authority of Raghunathji's family into the Government.

The leaders of the adverse party, where Omar Mukhasam, the principal Arab jamadar, and Mirza Azam Beg a chela and confidential servant of the late Nawab. The objection which these persons had to the Kutiananagar being placed in the management of affairs arose from the pride and ambition, which have long characterised that family, and from a conviction that their establishment in power would be the signal for the dismissal of all the ancient servants of Government, followed by the appropriation of the honours and emoluments of the State of their own aggrandisement; a line of conduct which had been pursued by their father, and to which he in the end fell a victim.

In consequence of these dissensions among the self-constituted ministers of the Government the authority of Bahadur, which they had unanimously agreed to acknowledge, was entirely superseded and a dharna placed upon the gates of the palace by the sibandi, ostensibly for arrears of pay to the amount of 5 lakhs of Koris, and a lakh of Rupees due to the shroffs of the Gaikwad army for which Omar Mukhasam is bhandari.

Raghunathji and his brother Ranchhodji Mehta had no influence in Junagarh save what was produced by their name and family and a few of the inferior sibandi jamadars, whilst their opponents not only possessed the principal gates of the town, but could at pleasure command the person of Bahadur Khan. Thus powerful, however, they nevertheless declared their determination to form no Government without the sanction of the supreme authority in the country, and openly (and with apparent justice) accused Ranchhodji and his brother of having prevented the proposals, casually made to you at Lalwad, from being matured, for the purpose of furthering their own ambitious views, which would have been frustrated by an arrangement at that time.

The two parties, equally alarmed at the controlling influence which Vithalrao Diwanji had by means of the division of interest succeeded in establishing in the place, kept up a secret communication with that officer and myself, whilst Bahadur Khan and his mother, evidently undecided to whose management they should entrust themselves, intrigued by turns with each. The principal resources of Junagarh having been withheld by the Gaikwad Government, it soon became apparent that the period was fast approaching which would terminate these disputes, and that by a passive line of conduct on our part affairs would of their own accord mature and enable us effectually and without trouble to secure the interests and support the authority of the Gaikwad Government.

Accordingly early in October Ranchhodji Mehta communicated through an agent that he had been authorised by Bahadur Khan to conclude an arrangement in the terms demanded by the Gaikwad Government, and these proposals were immediately followed by others of a similar nature by the jamadar Omar and his party, with the intimation that Ranchhodji had procured the seal of Government privately from the mother of Bahadur, and that his own person had been publicly authenticated in Darbar under the guarantee of the

Pir Zadas, who, from the prospect of a happy settlement of all disputes, was induced to attend for the first time since the death of Hamid Khan.

Independently of other circumstances, a knowledge that Bahadur Khan had become jealous of the authority which his mother was disposed to assume, gave a colour of truth to the assertion of Omar Mukhasam regarding the illicit means which Ranchhodji had practised in this transaction and combined with the tenor of a communication made by that Metha that the sanction of Government would be required to his appropriation of certain lands and forts for his own benefit and security, decided the Diwanji and myself upon countenancing, though not exclusively, the advances of the sibandi.

It may be proper in this place to remark that the Kutiana Mehtas have shown themselves in several instances to be decidedly inimical to the Gaikwad authorities in this country, and under such circumstances it might not be considered expedient to have placed them in sole possession of the resources of a State such as Junagarh.

Omar Mukhasam arrived in this place early in November with Kisondas and Pitambar, two karbaris of this Government, and after a few interviews acceded without hesitation to the accompanying kalambandi presented by the Diwanji; but in consequence of further intrigues by the Kutiana Mehtas in Junagarh, which have with difficulty been thwarted, the customary deeds on the different articles were not executed until my departure from Kathiawar.

Few remarks appear to me necessary to be made on the articles of agreement. They stipulated, as suggested in your official letter to Government under date the 23rd April last, for the cession of the share of Kodinar and the *jamabandi* upon the Gaikwad mahal of Amreli and its dependencies, which latter had been renounced by the late Nawab. They also embrace an arrangement for the free pilgrimage to Somnath Patan, which had hitherto been denied. It has long been an object of lively interest with the Gaikwad Government and anxiously desired by Hindus of all classes to relieve this sacred and famous place of pilgrimage from the insults of the Muhammadans, who not only sedulously obstructed their worships, but entered the accessess of their temples without the smallest respect to their prejudices or customs.

The provision made for Kamalbakh Bibi may probably be considered as amply sufficient for the purpose of supporting the respectability of her rank; it includes the pargana of Kisod with every other perquisite which she possessed during the lifetime of her husband; for which, as you will observe, Omar Mukhasam is *bhandari*. The *nazranah* or customary present on the accession of a new person to authority is much smaller, in consideration of the small cession and of the low state of the finances of Junagarh, than otherwise would have been admitted, and it ought not, I respectfully conceive, be looked upon as a precedent for the future.

No. 1 Letter from Kamabakht to Bahadur Khan.

Sec. Political Department Diary, No. 400, 1813 p. 2910.

No. 2 The Testament of the Late Hamid Khan.

Sec. Political Department Diary, No. 400, 1813, p. 2912.

No. 3 Deposition of Rangildas Tricomdas.

Sec. Political Department Diary, No. 400, 1813, p. 2915.

No. 4 Agreement proposed by Vithalrao Diwanji on the part of the Gaikwad Government, and accepted by Omar Mukhasam, wakil of Junagarh.

Treaty The fort of Parbhas Patan is a place of Hindu worship. It is therefore agreed that in future no insult shall be offered. The taxes levied on pilgrims shall be annulled, and for the purpose of ensuring respect to the holy place and for the satisfaction of the Hindus a Government Mehta shall dwell in Patan. The expense attending this Mehta and his establishment shall be paid as far as 2,000 Koris annually by bills on Dhoraji. The sepoy of Omar Mukhasam, jamadar, shall remain with the Mehta in Patan.

The pargana of Kodinar, being exposed to the double Government of the Gaikwad and Junagarh, labours under great difficulties, which have put a stop to commerce and ruined the port. To obviate these evils, let your half of the pargana of Kodinar with its established and acknowledged limits be resigned to the sarkar. Should any disputes arise from ancient claims, and supported by deeds executed so far back as in the time of the emperors, the sarkar will not admit of their validity.

The ganim vera of this pargana, amounting to 8,000 Rupees annually, in Ahmadabad hundis shall be credited to the Junagarh Government in the deed of the Manutidar Bhat.

The fort and pargana of Amreli and the pargana of Dhumnagar and Syanagar formerly paid to you jamabandi, raiyati bung and gore vera, these you freely and of your own accord resign forever to the sarkar; let a deed to this effect be drawn up.

Bills on Ahmadabad must be granted for 25,001 Rupees as the customary nazranah to the sarkar.

The decennial arrangements concluded in 1864 (1807) with their guarantees are to be considered valid; but the manutidars and securities must receive fresh assurances from the sarkar.

Bibi Kamalbakht, the wife of highest rank of the late Nawab Hamid Khan, shall be placed in secure possession of all the villages, lands and places bestowed on her by the said Nawab; proper respect and attention shall be paid to this lady. A deed to this effect under guarantee of Omar Mukhasam must be given.

For the settlement of the above articles Jamadar Omar Bin Muhammad Mukhasam is responsible to the sarkar.

N. B. In addition to the above, there are several minor articles, which, as they have reference only to their interior management of the districts, have not been included.

Baroda, 20th August, 1813 (1813, P. D. 400)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

The evidence adduced in the report of that Gentleman, [Lieutenant *Successions*
McMurdo] will, I trust, appear conclusive as to the illegitimacy of *settled*
Salabat Khan. In order however further to substantiate the information collected by Lieutenant McMurdo on the subject of Salabat Khan's birth, I take the liberty to hand up a copy of the deposition of Muhammad Uta, whose family is connected with those of the most respectable people in Junagarh, and who, from having been employed for some years past in the Hon'ble Company's service in Surat and Broach, may be supposed to be free from interested or party spirit. I cannot refrain from soliciting the particular attention of the Hon'ble Board to one passage in this document, as it tends very considerably to the support of the decision in question. On the supposed attempt of Bahadur Khan upon the life of his father, the young man was kept at a distance, and never afterwards entered the presence of the Nawab, whereas Salabat Khan, on his return with his mother from Radhanpur, continued in the family of His Highness until his demise. It is quite natural to suppose that such an opportunity of gaining an ascendancy over Hamid Khan's mind for the advantage of Salabat would not be neglected by a lady of the aspiring disposition of Kamalbakht. But it is remarkable that during the whole of this time the Nawab was never heard to speak of this boy otherwise than as an adopted child by his wife, and continued to regard Bahadur as his successor, though he had incurred his displeasure.

Under the clear view of the spurious origin of Salabat Khan, afforded in these enclosures, I had no hesitation in recommending the renunciation of the claims, which, under the erroneous information communicated by the Gaikwad Government, I had at first been inclined to consider in a favourable light; and the result of the entire investigation has, I trust, proved the expediency of the passive line of conduct which was adopted on the occasion. The investigation of the title of the Bahadur Khan to the masnad of Junagarh in failure of offspring by the Bibi Kamalbakht did not involve the same delicate considerations as the rejection of Salabat. This right of succession, if tried by the principles of precedent or by those of the Muhammadan Law, was equally valid, as it will be seen by a perusal of the enclosures to this report that both Hamid Khan and his father Mahobat Khan under the exactly similar circumstances succeeded to the masnad; and that the principle has been recognised as an established usage in the family, in default of legitimate issue. Exclusive of these arguments however in favour of Bahadur Khan, the last will of the Nawab executed on his deathbed, an attested copy and translation of which forms one of the accompaniments to this dispatch, is a document which must of itself set at rest all doubts of the validity of his pretensions, under the circumstances of default of issue by the Bibi.

It is scarcely necessary for me to offer any remark upon the mode in which the investigation has been conducted and on the subsequent arrangements concluded with the Nawab. They embrace the whole of

the original objects of the Gaikwad Government and appear equally susceptible of credit to the latter as of benefit to the Junagarh State.

*Distress in
Junagarh*

I cannot refrain however from offering a few observations on the distressed state in which that petty Government is involved and to submit how far it might not be expedient to authorise the Gaikwad sarsubah in Kathiawar to afford his influence and eventually the assistance of the Gaikwad troops at his disposal for the full re-establishment of order. The divisions, which formerly existed between the sibandi and the Government, are still in force; and it is evident that, until a party of the former are reduced and in a great measure disbanded, the authority of the Nawab cannot be complete, and that until the revenues of the mahals and town, now managed by the Sindhis, shall be made fully available to the State, its already pecuniary embarrassments must increase. Most of those mahals and the forts are in possession of the Sindhi sibandi, who have always been inimical to the interests of the Arab troops; the former have been encouraged by the Mehta family of Kutiana, and the latter are under the influence of Omar Mukhasam, an Arab jamadar, whose conduct and proceedings have met the approbation of the Gaikwad sarsubah.

Amarji, the father of the present Raghunath and Ranchhodji, Melhas who possess the Kutiana, held for many years the office of Diwan of Junagarh, but having usurped the authority during the early part of the late Nawab's reign, he was assassinated by his orders, and the family expelled from the capital. Some years after this transaction the accounts of the late Diwan were arranged, and an adjustment made on the reappointment of the family, by which the sons of Amarji were put in possession of the town and mahals of Kutiana until such time as their demands upon the Junagarh Government should be discharged.

The Right Hon'ble, the Governor-in-Council will observe the complaints, which are set forth against the Kutiana family in Lieutenant McMurdo's report. These are perfectly consistent with their general conduct, which in repeated instances has evinced a disposition of insubordination and insolence to the Gaikwad Government. Their treacherous view, on the occasion of the attack of the fortress of Kandorna by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker in 1807, was subsequently discovered by the seizure of their papers; and the principal part, which Raghunathji, the elder brother, acted in the late misbehaviour of Jam Jasaji, and the undoubted share he had in persuading him to conspire with Kanhoji Gaikwad, has since been satisfactorily acknowledged by the different vakils of that Chieftain.

Baroda plan

The disposition of this family has been so clearly manifested, that the Gaikwad Administration are desirous of possessing the advice of the British Government as to the propriety or otherwise of causing Kutiana with the other mahals to be restored to the Nawab's management under such a compensation to the parties for past services or other claims as may appear just. Such arrangement was contemplated by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, and the subject of their claims is adverted to in the 131st paragraph of that officer's letter dated 12th

January, 1808. Independently of these considerations it is the wish of the Nawab to resume his possessions of Kutiana under the aid and superintendence of the Gaikwad Government, a measure which has become not less necessary for the welfare of the State than the general interests of the Gaikwad in Kathiawar.

Bombay resolution.

It does not appear necessary that anything further should be said to Captain Carnac in consequence of the observation he has made on the dispatch of this Government, imputing delays in the adjustment of the affairs of the petty State of Junagarh. It is however right that he should be now apprised that the manner in which they have thus far been brought to a conclusion is perfectly satisfactory, and that his proceedings as well as those of Lieutenant McMurdo are approved. *Approval*

The grounds, on which the decision of the right of succession in favour of Bahadur Khan have been formed, leave no doubt on the mind of this Government of the propriety of continuing that Chieftain in the exercise of his authority in preference to Salabat Khan, whose illegitimacy appears to have been so far established as any case of that description could well be ascertained; and we entirely concur in opinion with Captain Carnac that it will be essential, not only to the interests of the State itself, but also to the interests of our ally the Gaikwad, that means should be taken for restoring the tranquillity of Junagarh and depriving the Sindhis of the power they appear to possess in the management of the revenues of the mahals and towns, and of placing their control in the hands of such persons as are most likely, not only to render them more productive to the State, but as little burthensome to the inhabitants of that Principality as possible; a principle which has not been acted upon by those to whom the management has hitherto been entrusted.

With respect to the control exercised by Raghunath and Ranchhodji in Kutiana, the Governor-in-Council has no hesitation in offering an opinion that the sooner the claims of these persons can be ascertained and liquidated, the better; and from the impression he has taken, he is not aware of any material difficulties that could be felt in adjusting them.

In entering upon the investigation of such claims, the Governor-in-Council is disposed to recommend that, whatever the conduct of the parties may heretofore have been, a liberal mode of adjustment should be adopted with the parties as the most likely means of preventing a protracted discussion, a circumstance that would be productive of great inconvenience and loss to the Nawab; and since it has become necessary for the Gaikwad authorities to interfere at all, such interference ought not to stop short until the affairs of that petty State should be brought into a state of order and regularity, and the Prince of the country be placed in the full and free exercise of his authority over every part of his dominions, which cannot well be accomplished while the Sindhi sibandhi exists in its present powerful state, and while Raghunath and Ranchhodji be allowed to exercise the present authority and control in Kutiana.

The Resident to be desired to offer these opinions to the Gaikwad authorities; and viewing, as they can hardly fail to do, the points adverted to in the light in which they at present appear to this Government, to recommend it to them in conjunction with the Nawab Bahadur Khan to consider of the measures most advisable to be adopted for bringing all the objects, which now present themselves as deserving their interposition, to a speedy termination by pacific means, if possible; but, failing in their endeavour to effect their adjustment through the medium of negotiation, there appears, to be no other course left to be pursued than by coercion.

Previously however to carrying the measure agreed upon into execution, it will be desirable that he should state the opinions, entertained on the whole of the subject, and the arrangements that may be decided upon in consequence.

N.B.—A detailed account of the succession trouble in Junagarh is given in the Political Department Diary, 1813, No. 400, pp. 2897–2923.

1814 *Camp Amreli, 13th March, 1814, (1814, P. D. 410)*

F. D. Ballantine to J. R. Carnac.

State of affairs I have the honour to report to you on the progress of the arrangements hitherto made in the affairs of the Junagarh State.

It may in the first place be proper to notice to you that the accomplishment of the wishes of the allied Governments has been materially protracted from the severe and universal indisposition that has everywhere prevailed in that province, and by which his Highness the Nawab has been and is still subjected to, so much so as to incapacitate him personally to all business or indeed communications with the officers of Government.

The attention however of the Gaikwad sarsubah has nevertheless been directed to the objects directed to be carried into execution at any favourable interval, and during a late circuit into the province of Sorath some material points have been carried through the subordinate agents of the Nawab in camp.

The contumacious conduct and violent extortions of the Sindhis have rendered it an indispensable duty in all parties, as well as in the wisdom and estimation of Government, to dispossess them of the forts, and lands they hold in payment of their dues from that Government; and I am happy to report that this has been accomplished in the instances of the forts of Bucor and Mewar, held by the jamadars Umardura Sindhi, and Muhammad Umar Arab, without coercion, by an equitable compromise through the medium of the officers of Government.

At this time also discussions are on foot with the Sindhis for the surrender of the forts of Una and Delwara. The claims of these mercenaries on the State were considered excessive; but still in behalf of which they had been offered an equitable adjustment; yet,

as His Highness's Government were equally tenacious to demand a faithful account of all moneys unduly possessed of, the adjustment was still at issue. Although there was no apprehension but that these forts would be peaceably delivered over.

With reference to the sentiments of Government on the case of the Kutiana Mehtas, I am happy to report the Government of Junagarh are alike disposed to enter on an adjustment of the Mehtas' claims through the medium of the Gaikwad officers.

The Nawab had expressed himself willing to meet any claims. Raghunathji should make an oath that the matter should be submitted to arbitration; in the estimation however of the Gaikwad sarsubah and persons best acquainted with the peculiar nature of the pretension of the Mehtas, they were to them very doubtful, and that it would be a better policy in that family to give up all such claims on the probability that, under the favourable consideration of all parties, such a line of conduct would best appeal to the zeal and attachment of their father Amarji to the Junagarh State, independent of the respectability of their family, and thereby probably obtain through the favour of the Nawab a compensation in land or villages for the evacuation of the small fort of Kutiana.

With these objects in view letters have been written by the Diwanji and myself to invite Raghunathji's attendance, the result of which as well as other points at issue I shall have the honour to occasionally report for your information and that of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

V. PORBANDAR DISSENSIONS

Porbandar, 4th July, 1809 (1809, P. D. 339)

1809

Haloji of Porbandar to Jonathan Duncan.

Since that period [*the capture of Kandorna*] I have become the *Haloji's* Company's slave by purchase, but from the same date, in consequence *request* of domestic quarrels among my brothers, my sons, my old adherents and officers who have all united and separated themselves from me, I have suffered so much pain from them that I am completely unable to describe what I have undergone, whilst the Kolis have also availed themselves of the occasion to commit depredations in the country. I have therefore to request that it may be recommended to Colonel Walker, who is in this quarter in command of the Hon'ble Company's troops, to adopt the necessary precautionary measures in the premises to maintain the public security and to punish those who have behaved ill towards me without any provocation on my part.

Should my enemies, who are collected together at this place, forward any calumnious representation to you, Hon'ble Sir, against me, I trust you will not attend to it, but it is unnecessary for me to enlarge on this subject, to one in your exalted situation a hint to the wise is sufficient. Since the day you took the fort of Kandorna and delivered it up to me, I have lived upon the means of subsistence you

thus provided me with. For the rest my character and reputation are in your hands.

1809 *Camp at Malia, 5th September, 1809 (1809, P. D. 341)*

Proposed engagement from Rana Sartanji and Kumar Haloji of Porbandar to the Hon'ble Company.

Porbandar cession Rana Sartanji and Kumar Haloji agree to cede to the Hon'ble Company one half of the Port of Porbandar with a full participation in all its rights. In consideration of the above cession the Hon'ble Company engage to take upon themselves the satisfaction of a part of the claims of the Gaikwad Government on Porbandar, equal to the amount of Rupees 50,000. For the amount so advanced Rana Sartanji and Kumar Haloji engage and do hereby transfer to the Hon'ble Company or mortgage.....until the said sum of Rupees 50,000 with its interest at 9 per cent. per annum be fully repaid.

The above arrangement places the State of Porbandar under the bhandari and protection of the Hon'ble Company, who will assist and protect the rights and interests of Rana Sartanji and Kumar Haloji in all just cases, and for this purpose they will station a Captain and 100 men in Porbandar. The demands of the Rana of Porbandar on the kamdars and others and the demands of other places on Porbandar will be decided by the Hon'ble Company in conformity to justice. The Rana Sartanji and Kumar Haloji engage to abide by the Company's arbitration.

The above engagement is permanent between the Rana Sartanji, Kumar Haloji, and Kumar Prithiraj, and their heirs and dependants forever, on one part, and the Government of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Bombay.

Estimate of Civil expenses at Porbandar.

Rupees 30,630 per annum.

1809 *Calcutta, 6th November, 1809 (1809, P. D. 346)*

N. B. Edmonstone to Francis Warden.

Approval I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General to signify to you for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council His Lordship's entire approbation of the terms of the engagement concluded by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker with Sartanji, the Chief of Porbandar, and sanctioned by the authority of the Government of Bombay. His Lordship concludes that the consent of the Government of the Gaikwad to the transfer of 50,000 Rupees, due by the Chief of Porbandar to that Government, to the credit of the account between the Company and Raja Anandrao has either been ascertained or is undoubted.

1810 *Camp at Porbandar, 4th December, 1809, (1810, P. D. 351)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

2. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is already aware that, *Porbandar affairs* shortly after the British detachment had quitted Kathiawar, the attention of the Gaikwad commander was suddenly summoned to Porbandar

to repress the disorders which had arisen in this small Principality, arising from family dissensions and the existence of separate interests in this small State.

3. On the arrival of Vithalrao Diwanji, he found Haloji in a state of restraint, the opposing factions having proceeded to every extremity against him and having even erected batteries against his dwelling. It deserves remark that they attempted to avail themselves of the authority of the Rana to levy war against his son, an artifice which he had the propriety and firmness to avoid.

4. It is unnecessary, Hon'ble Sir, to enter into a detail of the operations and discussions which occupied Vithalrao Diwanji for several months during his stay at Porbandar. It will be sufficient to observe that he terminated the whole affair by restoring Haloji to his liberty and his authority.

5. Adabhai, Haloji's brother, was in this arrangement left at liberty to reside on his gras possession; but he chose to accept in preference of a provision from the Jam of Navanagar and is now residing at Bhanwar.

6. Prithiraj, the son of Haloji, a youth of inexperience and bad judgment, refusing to reside under his father's protection, had the fort of Kursura [Khirasra] assigned him for a residence; since which he has also obtained the fort of Chhaya situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Porbandar.

7. On the 22nd ultimo the detachment with the Gaikwad troops arrived at Rungpur, within 8 miles of Porbandar; and measures were immediately adopted to carry into execution the views of Government.

9. A detachment of 100 men marched into the town on the 24th ultimo, at the invitation of Haloji and to the general satisfaction of the inhabitants. The report of Lieutenant Elwood, who commanded this party, I have the honour to forward.

22. Until the final instructions of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council are received respecting the future management of the Company's concerns at Porbandar, I have appointed Lieutenant Maxfield of the Marine to the management of the Hon'ble Company's interests at that port, under the temporary instructions of which I have the honour to enclose a copy.

23. Damasa Wallabhdas, the agent who has been employed during the negotiation with Haloji, I have stationed with Lieutenant Maxfield as the native agent and chauthiah, respectfully suggesting the confirmation of this office to Damasa as a reward for the satisfactory manner in which he has conducted himself.

24. In respect to Lieutenant Maxfield, I was induced to avail myself of his assistance from his local knowledge of Porbandar. The ready and satisfactory manner in which he has yielded his assistance, it is my duty to report for the notice of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council; and I can venture with confidence to affirm that the future

management of the Company's interests at Porbandar cannot be entrusted to better superintendence than to the knowledge and professional capacity of this officer.

26. As in this early stage of our connexion with the Ranas of Porbandar the future estimation of the British character will depend on the conduct of those with whom they may have intercourse, and which from the obvious nature of the case must be frequent, I would respectfully suggest these points should not be endangered by the indiscriminate turn of a roster, but that Lieutenant Elwood, who is every way qualified, should be confirmed in the command of the same on the same footing in respect to pay and allowances as the officer commanding His Highness the Gaikwad guards at Baroda.

No. 1 Report of Lieutenant Charles W. Elwood, dated Porbandar, 24th November, 1809.

*Entering
Porbandar*

I have the honour to inform you that I have been successful in accomplishing your instructions and wishes in every point.

After a short halt on the road I arrived within a quarter of a mile of this place at about half an hour after the day had broke. I immediately sent to Mr. Maxfield and was sorry to learn that he could neither meet me, nor render the assistance he so much wished to afford in consequence of a sudden attack of illness which came on yesterday evening. I therefore lost no time in sending for Damasa, who came immediately and gave me such an account as induced me to march towards the eastern gate. I took care to have Damasa on one side of me and the Arab jamadar on the other. On approaching the gate I observed that the upper part was lined by Arabs sitting quietly on the works; and on my nearer approach they all, to a man rose and paid me the compliment of the salaam, which they repeated to the Arab jamadar and to Damasa.

By the advice of the Arab jamadar I did not (on entering the fort) take possession of the gate through which I passed, as it was then under the charge of Arabs, whom I did not wish to remove, as such an act might not have been well received; and the objection of leaving a British guard in partnership (as it were) with them induced me to forego any small advantage there might be in the possession of the gate. I therefore marched directly for that part of the fort which you pointed out to me as being the best for a defensive position, as appeared by the plan in your possession; and on examining it, I thought to the best of my judgment that it was desirable to make it my post for the present. For, although I am obliged to encamp the detachment on the outside of it, it possesses the advantage of a strong gateway, to which I can at all times retire, and which I possessed myself of without removing any guard from the charge of it, which I considered a material point as preventing any cause for jealousy.

My present situation is therefore a good one, although I may hereafter be able to remove it for a better, whenever I may have more opportunity of seeing the fort and accordingly as much as possible

with the wishes of the Raja. I have taken all the precautions you so strongly recommended; and you may depend, Sir, on my utmost exertion to maintain and support the good understanding, which has so happily commenced between the British detachment and the inhabitants and garrison of this fort.

I have found the Arab jamadar of great assistance; and if his services could be spared in camp, I am of opinion that they would be well directed in this quarter. I suppose the distance from camp to this place is between nine and ten miles.

I have not yet had the honour of seeing the Raja. It was my intention after dispatching this letter to you to wait on Rana Haloji. I sent him a message to that effect; but he has returned an answer that it is his intention of waiting on me, which I will not refuse, as it will prevent the necessity of my leaving the detachment for an instant.

No. 2. Alexander Walker's instructions to Lieutenant Maxfield, dated 2nd December, 1809.

You are aware that the Chieftain of Porbandar has ceded to the Hon'ble Company one half of the produce of the port and has placed himself under the protection of the British Government. I am happy therefore to avail myself of your local knowledge of this place in placing (until the pleasure of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is received) the superintendence of the Hon'ble Company's interests in Porbandar under your management. *Instructions*

2. In the capacity of superintendent you will be pleased to proceed to collect the Hon'ble Company's share of the produce of the port; in the progress of which you will have opportunities of collecting a variety of information, that may be usefully digested into a report, of the means of increasing the capacities and improving the value of this mart. In respect to accounts and disposal of the collections, further instructions will hereafter be transmitted from the Presidency.

3. To assist you in this duty I have appointed Damasa Wallabhdas, a respectable native, to the situation of chauthiah or native agent. Damasa has assisted very considerably in the negotiations, which have terminated in this arrangement, and is also well acquainted with the affairs of Porbandar. You are also authorised to engage the temporary establishments detailed in the enclosure, subject to the future decision of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

4. In conducting the duties placed under your management it may be necessary to point out to you the propriety of observing every attention and respect to the persons and family of the Rana Sartanji and the Kumar Haloji and render yourself as acceptable as possible to these personages.

5. In the capacity of superintendent of the Company's interests in the port of Porbandar and from the confused state of the affairs of this little State, the Kumar may, from the unbounded confidence he possesses in the Company's protection, apply to you for advice on

many occasions. Although the political relations of Porbandar are subordinate to the Resident at Baroda from the intimate connexion which exists between the State of Porbandar and the Gaikwad Government, yet it will be an acceptable service to afford the Kumar your advice, the tenor of which your own judgment will guide you to afford in a manner consistent with the honour of the Company's Government and the interest of the Chieftain of Porbandar.

6. Lieutenant Elwood is the officer who is left in command of the detachment stationed at Porbandar; and I trust I need not recommend to you to preserve and cultivate with this officer that cordiality so necessary to success.

No. 3. Alexander Walker's instructions to Lieutenant Elwood, dated 2nd December.

Instructions

1. In selecting you for the command of the detachment intended to remain at Porbandar I have been guided by the favourable opinion which I entertain of your judgment and discretion, the exercise of which qualities will be particularly necessary in your present situation.

2. As you are the first British officer who has been stationed in a city, the Raja of which has so recently thrown himself under the protection of the British Government, his future opinion of the propriety of this step, as well as that of the inhabitants, will depend much on the conduct of the detachment.

3. You will probably have understood that Rana Sartanji is an old man, weighed down by infirmities of mind and body; and the management of his affairs has devolved on Haloji. To both these persons your own judgment will lead you to show every attention and respect.

4. At all times therefore you will be pleased to maintain with the family of this Chieftain a cordial and respectful intercourse, to afford every protection to the interests of the reigning family, and to extend to Kumar Haloji every aid and assistance in the defence of his person and family, the support of his authority, and the protection of his rights on all occasions.

5. As you are at a distance from any British port, it will be necessary to keep your detachment in a collected state and preserve that discipline which, without occasioning any suspicion in the town, may enable you to guard against surprise; for which purpose measures have been taken to place your detachments in a favourable situation for defence. Should any emergency arise (which however I do not conceive likely), you will lose no time in apprising the commanding officer at Paliyad of the necessity of reinforcement, reporting the same for the information of the Resident at Baroda, to whom the political relations of Porbandar are subordinate.

6. Lieutenant Maxfield of the Hon'ble Company's Marine is appointed, until the pleasure of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is known, to the superintendence of the Hon'ble Company's interests in

the part of Porbandar. With this officer, I trust, you will continue to cultivate that cordiality so essentially necessary to the good conduct of their respective duties.

7. The above points immediately occur to me as those to which your attention is required. Others may occur not provided for in these instructions, but they afford general rules for your guidance, and I am confident every reliance may be placed on your judgment and discretion.

Company's cruiser Zephyr, 7th December, 1809 (1810, P.D. 351) 1809
Alexander Walker to Bombay.

3. Having marched with European details and cavalry to this place [Porbandar], the remainder of my time was employed in placing ^{Measures taken} affairs under the best possible arrangement that circumstances and my short stay would permit, and affording to Haloji and his Administration every encouragement and support to persevere in a system of economy and management that may tend to his credit and advantage.

4. As a fortunate occurrence in promoting this object, I was happy at the offer which Sunderji Sivji made to become the manager or Haloji's affairs, assisted with the advice and credit of Nanji Virji.

5. Under the management of these shrewd and intelligent persons I have every reason to hope that the affairs of Porbandar will progressively equal the flourishing condition they formerly enjoyed; and their undertaking this duty under the bhandari of the Company shows the confidence placed in our protection, and that the affairs of Porbandar are not so bad as they appeared to be.

8. I deemed it proper on this occasion to pay a visit to the Rana Sartanji and his son Kumar Haloji. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may have heard many reports of the circumstances of the Rana's family; but they will be pleased to learn that the old Rana, who is weighed down by age and infirmities, is living in the same house with his son, and is attended with every mark of affection and comfort by his family.

9. The original engagement, which I have now the honour to forward, was upon this occasion formally authenticated by the signature of Kumar Haloji, but delivered into my hands by the Rana Sartanji, and its counterpart exchanged in Darbar.

10. In respect to Prithiraj, the son of Haloji, this young man having declined to reside under the guardianship and protection of his father in Porbandar, he had consented to enjoy his separate jewa with the fort of Keysurra [Khirasra] as his residence, and to evacuate the fort of Chhaya. The little dependence to be placed on this young man's judgments, and the implicit confidence he placed on unworthy and low advisers, in preference to the natural affection of his relations, causes me not to place much reliance on these promises.

11. Should he refuse however to accede to these equitable proposals, it has been deemed inconsistent with the security of the

peace of the country that he should continue to occupy the fort of Chhaya, situated so immediately in the vicinity of Porbandar; and I accordingly arranged with Vithal Rao Diwanji for replacing this fort in the possession of Haloji, which I have every reason to be confident will be performed with facility.

12. To superintend this arrangement and some other little matters, I left Vithoba Pilaji with the Diwanji for a few days, a measure which, I trust, will receive the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Articles of engagement from Rana Sartanji and Kumar Haloji of Porbandar to the Hon'ble Company.

The articles are the same as those mentioned on 5th September, 1809. The treaty was signed on 5th December, 1809.

1809 *Porbandar, 11th December, 1809. (1810, P.D. 351)*

Charles W. Elwood to Alexander Walker.

*Conciliatory
policy*

On the 9th instant I had an interview with the Kumar, who was sitting in Darbar, surrounded by a number of Banias and principal inhabitants of the place. My business was to apply for an empty house (formerly the property of the late Kamdar Parmanand) for the accommodation of the detachment and myself. The Kumar with great civility instantly complied with my request; but some of the Banias present, (who thought the situation of the house too near their own) made some objection, which the Kumar communicated to me. I thought this was a good opportunity of expressing publicly the principles which would at all times actuate me towards the inhabitants of Porbandar, I therefore explained to the Kumar that I was placed here by the British Government for his and his subjects' protection, that I was well aware the happiness of a Prince arose from that of his subjects, and that neither I or any of my detachment would ever do anything which might in the smallest degree be disagreeable to any of the inhabitants, and that, such being the principles on which I acted, I should not say another word on the subject of the house in question. It was with the greatest pleasure I observed the general satisfaction which this communication gave to the whole of the Darbar, which appeared, not only from their countenance, but likewise from their acknowledgement of the joy I had afforded them by the assurance which I had made.

Being convinced that nothing more forcibly impresses itself on the mind of a native than that which is communicated through the means of an allegory, I compared the nature of the connection between the Kumar, his subjects and the British detachment to the construction of the gold chain, which decorated the neck of Ramsing (second son of the Kumar Haloji) which was being kept together by the formation of several links; so was our mutual happiness and interest alike connected with, and preserved by, the connection of the several links. This discourse being addressed to the Kumar, he was pleased to reply acknowledging its justness and expressing his wish that the links should never be separated.

This letter will be delivered to you by Vithoba Pilaji, who has rendered me the assistance which might be expected from one so entirely devoted to the Company's interest. I beg leave to refer you to Vithoba Pilaji for every information respecting what has occurred since your departure.

The former house of Adabhai, which has (unsolicited) been offered to me by the Kumar for the accommodation of the detachment, it is my intention to accept, as it embraces many advantages in a military point of view, and is well suited to meet your wishes.

Since writing the above there has been some objection made by a Gosain to the detachment going into Adabhai's house, although it is the wish of the Kumar to appropriate it for the use of the detachment. Vithoba must leave me without getting this point settled. However I shall prefer remaining in my tents rather than to take possession of an insecure house or one that would not meet your wishes.

Baroda, 25th December, 1809, (1810, P. D. 351)

1809

Alexander Walker to Bombay.

Since my letter of the 7th instant Vithoba Pilaji has arrived from *End of* Porbandar, and I have now the honour to report that, under the *dissensions* influence of Vithalrao Diwanji, Prithiraj has consented to give up the fort of Chhaya. This adjustment terminates the disputes in the Rana's family at Porbandar and, I trust, will remove every obstacle to the future prosperity of this commercial mart.

Bombay, 7th January, 1810, (1810, P. D. 352)

1810

Alexander Walker to the Board.

11. As I conceive the affairs of Porbandar are too inconsiderable *Policy* to acquire, and it would probably not be to the interest of the Company to impose any internal control, it will be sufficient to observe that there is a considerable actual surplus for the discharge of debts; and every hope may be entertained that under the present active management this surplus will be increased.

12. I would therefore respectfully beg leave to suggest that the Hon'ble Company should not be too solicitous to interfere in or to control the internal details of Porbandar.

13. Sunderji Sivji and Nanji Virji will for their own sakes be sufficiently disposed to develop and improve the resources of the place to their utmost practicable extent.

14. Every information that the Hon'ble Company's Government can require, will be gradually disclosed in due course. Were we too solicitous to obtain what we have little interest in acquiring, it would only tend by affording hopes of assistance and support to relax or lessen the exertion of those who are more interested.

15. The preceding remark has been produced by the apparent necessity of more clearly explaining the nature of our connexion with Porbandar, as it might otherwise be supposed that the blandari, which has been extended to the debts of Nanji Virji, involved the Company

in the responsibility of their discharge. All the obligation however, which it imposes on the Company, is to see that the resources, assigned for the discharge of debt, are not misappropriated, or in other terms to see that the due performance of the condition of the bonds is observed.

20. Adverting to the treaty formed with the Rana of Porbandar a further remark also occurs with reference to the 9th para of the letters from the Supreme Government of the 4th July, requiring a clause leaving it optional for the Hon'ble Company to withdraw from Porbandar hereafter, without however admitting the Rana to the same reciprocity.

21. It probably would have been impracticable to have obtained a stipulation of this description, so decidedly adverse to the interests of the Rana and those views for which he was desirous of placing himself under our protection.

22. Were it possible to have effected this arrangement, it would probably have been impolitic. The only chance of Porbandar becoming an advantageous acquisition for the Company arises from the confidence and security which mercantile people experience under the continuance of the Company's influence. To have destroyed this confidence by disclosing that the Company might relinquish their control would have been to have destroyed the foundation on which the prosperity of the port rested. The advantages, whether commercial or political, that the Company are to derive from their establishment at Porbandar, must depend on the opinion entertained by the neighbouring States of its being permanent and unchangeable. Indications of a contrary description, which the above clause would have produced, would most probably have been fatal to its improvement or prosperity.

23. It may also in addition be observed that the clause was unnecessary. The engagement with Porbandar may be considered as a branch of the subsidiary treaty with the Gaikwad State, by which we are already bound to defend these tributary States; scarcely any new obligation therefore is imposed on the Company.

24. Should however at any future period the Hon'ble Company be inclined to withdraw from the connexion, I conceive it may be effected, and the Gaikwad Government would be happy to assume the situation which the Hon'ble Company may relinquish.

Remark in the Diary.

Approval The Board see no reason to withhold their general approbation and sanction of Col. Walker's arrangements at Porbandar; which are accordingly to be conveyed to that officer in the following letter from the Secretary.

1810 Bombay, 18th January, 1810 (1810, P. D. 351)

G. C. Osborne, Secretary to Governor, to Alexander Walker.

Carnac in charge The treaty you have signed on behalf of the Hon'ble Company with the ruler of Porbandar is sanctioned by Government.

A copy of your dispatches..... will be transmitted for the information and guidance of the Acting Resident at Baroda, to whose general superintendence the Hon'ble Company's interest in Porbandar are confided.

Baroda, 20th June, 1810 (1810, P. D. 365)

1810

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

In obedience to the directions of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council I have now the honour to submit copy of a report from my Assistant in Kathiawar, affording a full exposition of the affairs at Porbandar, accompanied by statements of the revenue and encumbrances of that little State. By this dispatch the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will perceive that the arrangements, which were reported to have taken place for the return of Prithiraj, the son of Kumar Haloji, in Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's letter of the 25th December last, had been rendered abortive by the intrigues or influence of Kachari Khawas. Prithiraj has again retired to the fort of Chhaya, where he maintains a sibandi that will eventually prove an additional burthen to the debts of Porbandar. The observations of Captain Greenwood on the advantage of reconciling the disputes in the family of Kumar Haloji will probably make it appear to the Hon'ble Board that no delay should take place in accomplishing that object in order to provide for the peace of the possessions of the Rana of Porbandar and relieve his government from the accumulation of encumbrances.

It may reasonably be expected that on the removal of the cause on which Haloji founds his motives for maintaining an exorbitant expense on account of sibandi, the active management of Sunderji Sivji and Nanji Virjee will produce a surplus revenue from the Porbandar State, applicable to the discharge of its debts.

No. 1. Captain Greenwood's report on Porbandar, dated 6th June, 1810

3. In my intercourse with Haloji I have found that the principal source of his uneasiness arises from the anxiety experienced during the recent family dissensions, the encumbered condition of his finances and the desolate state of his district.

4. It would probably be neither interesting nor useful to enter into a detail of these family disputes on the present occasion. It will be sufficient to take up the narrative from the arrangement made by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker with Prithiraj, who in consequence agreed to evacuate Chhaya, and reside under the bhandari of Sunderji Sivji at Porbandar, in pursuance of which engagement he took up his residence in the city.

5. In the family of the Ranas of Porbandar there is a numerous class of dependants under the denomination of Gula or Khawas, originally slaves, whose descendants continue to perform the menial offices of the family.

6. It appears that the ascendancy of two artful domestics of this description, respectively attached to Haloji and Prithiraj, have been a principal cause of the recent disturbances; and all the acts of

Prithiraj must be imputed to the influence, if not to the immediate acts, of his adviser, Kachari Khawas.

7. After Prithiraj had resided for some days in Porbandar, he again left the city (where he had been treated with every attention by Sunderji), and retired to Chhaya, in which fortress he has since been residing.

8. This step may probably with great reason be imputed to the influence of Kachari, whose participation in the recent disputes, to the prejudice of Kumar Haloji, might occasion alarm for his own safety.

9. The idea of satisfying the fears of this man and making him a useful agent to keep Prithiraj in quiet and tranquillity in Porbandar readily occurred. To this plan however I found there were many obstacles arising from the aversion and fears of Haloji. As Prithiraj is the next in succession to Haloji to the gadi of the Rana, Haloji may have some grounds for apprehensions from the practices and intrigues of an unprincipled domestic. The apprehensions, entertained by Haloji of this person's intrigues, have been the cause, as he assigns, of his continuing to maintain a sibandi to the annual amount of Koris 2,40,000, but which he expresses his willingness to reduce so soon as an arrangement for the return of Prithiraj to Porbandar may be effected.

10. This arrangement is probably of some importance. Kumar Prithiraj is the presumptive successor to the gadi of Porbandar, in which little State the Company's Government have now acquired a considerable interest; and it may not be to their credit, and may also be productive of troublesome consequences hereafter, if Prithiraj is permitted to travel about the country, an exile from his home and family, subject to the influence of Kachari Khawas.

11. The party of Prithiraj is also in possession of two forts of Chhaya and Khirasra; and the apprehensions, which he or his adviser Kachari pretends to entertain, induces him to keep up in these forts a sibandi to the extent of about 150 men, at an expense of Koris 30,000 annually. Before these sibandis will evacuate the forts, or consent to be discharged, they will require their arrears to be paid off; and independently of the defalcation of the revenues of Khirasra and Chhaya, the expenses of the sibandi may be estimated as a charge in the revenues of Porbandar.

12. The possession of these two forts also by an authority, supported by the name of Prithiraj, separate and independent of that at Porbandar, must be a constant source of trouble and apprehension, and prejudicial to the tranquillity of the surrounding country. None of the ryots can cultivate, nor can the merchants pursue their occupation with confidence, while they are apprehensive of a renewal of a state of disorder which has already produced so many calamities and exactions.

13. This want of confidence is also probably something increased from the rumours, which have occasionally spread, of the threats of Kachari Khawas, and from its being known that he has endeavoured to tamper with the old Rana Sartanji with a view to induce him to leave Porbandar and place himself under his protection.

14. It is therefore of some consequence that an arrangement to reconcile Prithiraj with his father and family should be immediately adopted. It may also be advantageous if Kachari Khawas can be brought with him to Porbandar, where his actions will be more under immediate notice, and himself subject to control and punishment, should he attempt to disturb the public peace.

15. I hope therefore to persuade Halloji to adopt an arrangement so obviously to his interest and advantage, and I trust also that Kachari Khawas will see the propriety of submitting to an equitable arrangement, by which he will obtain security without the prospect of benefit from any other line of conduct. I have already received overtures from Kachari and also from the foster-mother of Prithiraj, who is residing with him at Chhaya, the latter of whom informs me that she and her son are kept in a state of restraint by Kachari Khawas and deprived of the liberty of action or communication.

16. The debts of Porbandar are the next subject of consideration, for a statement of which I beg leave to refer to the accompanying enclosure.

17. The total amount of these debts, for which bonds and deeds have been granted, amount to the sum of Koris 15,64,526. A considerable portion of this debt is not liable to interest, until the instalments become due, and remains unpaid; but a large part, amounting to Koris 1,55,000, for which mortgages are actually in the hands of the incumbents, is liable to an enormous rate of interest, equalling nearly 25 per cent. per annum.

18. From a consideration of the debts of Porbandar a transition to its resources was a natural circumstance; and I have been furnished with a statement, extracted from the daftar, of the actual receipts and expenditure of Porbandar for the last 4 years, which I have the honour to enclose.

19. This affords, it must be confessed, but a very unfavourable view of the state of Kumar Halloji's affairs. The revenues of the year 1865 (1808/9) amount only to Koris 5,40,784; and those of the current year, I am given to understand, will be much less, owing to the continuance of former causes as well as to the general failure of the cotton crop and a blight having seized the wheat.

20. Family dissensions and bad management produced increased expenses, to meet which recourse was had to arbitrary exactions; and when it is considered that they amount to upwards of one half of the ordinary revenue, it is not surprising if they have produced a deserted port and a desolated district,

21. Many of the merchants of Porbandar, as was stated on a former occasion, had in consequence of these disturbances been obliged to retire to Mangrol and Verawal. Many villages have become waste, and some of the principal do not now yield 1 per cent. of their produce. A melancholy and striking instance of this was observed in the road by which I travelled to Porbandar. From Kutiana to Porbandar is 27 miles, and the country generally fertile. Kandorna and Ranavan were the only two inhabited villages past in the road. They formerly employed 600 ploughs, but at present there are not more than 80 in use.

22. The immediate interest of the Hon'ble Company being considerably concerned in the future prosperity of the port of Porbandar, and as the connection which the Rana's family has formed with the Company's Government will probably authorise the expectation entertained and expressed by Haloji that he may by our influence and advice be relieved from his difficulties, induces me to make a few additional observations.

23. Although the debts of Porbandar in comparison with its income are large, yet as there can be little doubt but that under prudent management Porbandar may be made to equal the revenue received during the management of Primji Thakur, and a very considerable surplus may be secured for the payment of debt.

24. An account of the income for the year 1852 during Primji's management I have the honour to enclose.

No. 2. Statement of receipts and expenditure of Porbandar for the year 1852 under the management of Primji Thakur.

<i>Account</i>	Receipts	..	..	..	..	Rs. 7,51,418
	Expenditure	..	..	..	..	Rs. 7,51,418

No. 3. Remedies suggested.

Remedies The only efficacious remedy now available seems to be to invest the British agency with a modified and limited control in its [*Porbandar*] internal affairs. The adoption of this measure has been too long protracted, and its necessity is now but too apparent. Captain Greenwood's attention should be directed to the following points:

(1) To cause Prithiraj and Kachari Khawas to return to Porbandar.

(2) If this essential point is gained, it will be easy to relieve the financial difficulties by reducing the sibandi from 5 lakhs of Koris (the average charge of the late years) to 1 lakh and 20,000 Koris, being the amount fixed by Col. Walker in his proposed expenditure for Porbandar.

(3) It is more than probable that before the sibandi can be reduced, it will become necessary to discharge their arrears. This circumstance, however embarrassing, must not be allowed to suspend the reduction, because these arrears must be paid some time or other;

and it will be easier to pay them now than hereafter, when an accumulation of embarrassment would render the measure still more difficult of adoption.

(4) Sunderji Shivji and Nanji Virji should be exhorted to a more vigilant discharge of the duties of their trust as managers of Porbandar.

5. Their attention should be directed to the immediate discharge of that portion of the public debt (Koris 1,55,000), which bears the exorbitant interest of 25 per cent.

6. The local Administration of Porbandar should be prevented (by solemnly pledging itself to that effect) from levying any more arbitrary exactions from the cultivators of the land and merchants of the port. These illegal exactions, for the four years 1862 to 1865, both inclusive, amount to Koris 8,75,801; the average of which is above two lakhs of Koris per annum. A perseverance in these wretched expedients (if allowed) will reduce the district to a still more desolate and distressed state than that described in the 19 to 21 paragraph of Captain Greenwood's report.

There is another evil not adverted to by Captain Greenwood, but which is well known to prevail and urgently requires corrections. It is notorious that Sunderji Sivji and Nanji Virji evade the payment of the regular duties on their trade at Porbandar under pretence of drawbacks allowed to them, in consequence of their having the management of the district and port. The natural consequence of such a monstrous privilege will be this: In a very short time the whole trade of Porbandar will be carried on in the name of these managers, and duties will be paid to them (for permission to trade under their name) instead of to the sarkar, to the manifest prejudice, not only of Porbandar, but of the Hon'ble Company, who have now an assignment of one half of the produce of the Port.

Baroda, 20th December, 1810 (1811 P. D. 368)

1810

James R. Carnac to Frances Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch *Ballantine* announcing the appointment of Lieutenant Thomas Ballantine of the marine to the superintendence of the Hon'ble Company's concerns at that port.

Mr. Ballantine having arrived at the Residency, I have provided him with a transcript of all the correspondence affecting our interests at Porbandar, since the period of first agitating the question of our connection with Holaji, in addition to which information I have only found it requisite to offer a few observation to that officer, as detailed in the accompaniment.

Letter from James R. Carnac to Thomas Ballantine, dated 19th December.

4. By conciliatory means and friendly representation to the son of *Instructions* Haloji named Prithiraj, at present at variance with his father and in

possession of the fort belonging to the State of Porbandar, it is hoped this misguided man will be induced to abandon his present proceedings and reside peaceably with a suitable stipend in the bosom of his family.

5. A perseverance in rejecting these considerate offers, you should not fail to inform Prithiraj, will be followed by a different line of conduct towards him; and when it is evident after a reasonable lapse of time that a reconciliation is impracticable through the medium of negotiation, the instructions communicated in the report from Government are to be carried into effect.

It may be necessary to observe that no permanent alleviation of the expenses of Porbandar will probably be accomplished until Prithiraj consents to disband the sibandi at present in his employ, and to refrain from further attempts at intrigue or commotion, which will make it expedient that as little delay as practicable should be admitted in coming to some arrangement with this person.

1811 *Bombay*, 29th January, 1811 (1811, P. D. 369)

*J. R. Carnac to Francis Warden.*¹

*Summary
of events*

1. The affairs of Porbandar having now arrived at that crisis which demands the active interposition of the Company's Government, I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that Kumar Haloji, sensible of the dangerous consequences of delaying to apply remedies for the restoration of harmony, and [of] the general reputation of the concerns of his government, has deputed Sunderji Sivji to the Presidency for the purpose of submitting his representation.

2. This person arrived here on the 5th instant, and as connected with the object of his mission I beg in the first place to state for the information of Government the measures which have been taken under my instructions with a view of accomplishing the desirable end of reconciling Prithiraj, the son of Haloji, to the situation which a good understanding with his father would permanently secure.

3. Since I have been authorised by Government to engage in ameliorating the condition and resources of Haloji's government and to effect a reform by which its encumbrances would be placed in a train of progressive liquidation, it was conclusive to my mind that, where an ungovernable son, influenced by the pernicious counsel of two interested servants, and having possession of forts affording a safe asylum to his person against the just animosity of his father, no confidence could ever be engendered of our sincerity and desire for reform, while we patiently contemplated the contemptuous and disorderly conduct of Prithiraj and the profusion of favours which he bestowed on his mercenary dependants, that must ultimately fall to the burthens of Haloji.

1. Having received instructions to report on the state of affairs in Porbandar, James R. Carnac sent in the following account, which is the summary of a voluminous correspondence recorded in the Diaries.

4. It became very desirable that Haloji should not proceed to extremities against his son, or that the first act of the Company's Government should prove the punishment of a person, whom in the natural course of things might succeed to the government of Porbandar; and under these conditions Captain Elwood was requested to devise terms of accommodations for Prithiraj, consistent with delicacy and prosperity, and providing for his future comfort and security.

5. I beg to submit a copy of the terms offered to Prithiraj and twice refused in a peremptory and decided manner, which left no hope to Captain Elwood that anything short of force would induce Prithiraj to relinquish the fort of Chhaya or to abate his arrogance and presumption.

6. It was next desirable to ascertain what might be the specific views of Prithiraj, in order that any moderate accession to his wishes should not prove an impediment to an adjustment. He was accordingly called at the request of Haloji to state his own terms in writing, and the extravagant propositions noted in the accompanying paper were received from this misguided young man to the great mortification and disappointment of his father.

On the appointment however of Lieutenant Thomas D. Ballantine, I particularly enjoined that officer to make another trial with Prithiraj, the result of which will be found stated on the accompanying report.

Haloji, at last impressed with a conviction that his son was adverse to any accommodation which can remove him from the society of his civil advisers, or to resign those places of defence of which he has possessed himself in rebellion to his own Government, has directed Sunderji respectfully to represent to the Company's Government the urgent necessity of adopting some immediate measures by the appearance of a force to bring his son to a sense of his proper duty.

9. Haloji justly remarks that the alienation of his son from the bosom of his family has produced an impression in the minds of the inhabitants and merchants that no security against violence can be expected, while Prithiraj has the means of creating a disturbance or the chance of effecting a revolution.

10. The prosperity of the Company's interests, as well as that of the Porbandar Government are deeply interested in removing these impressions. And Sunderji has declared that the first step necessary in our proposed reform in the Porbandar Government must be the expulsion of the servants (Kachari Khawas and Meg) from the person of Prithiraj and the restoration of the forts of Chhaya and Khirasra to the authority of Haloji.

11. It is obvious, from what has already transpired, that coercive measures may be now necessary to obtain these desirable points; and it is with reluctance, but urged from an imperious necessity for the welfare of the Porbandar State, that I beg leave to support the application of Haloji for a detachment of troops to proceed to Por-

bandar for the purpose above-mentioned, should it appear, after this unequivocal manifestation of our intentions to restore order in the Porbandar government, that a renewal of offers of reconciliations to Prithiraj is rejected.

12. It is worthwhile from motives of humanity and in the spirit of moderation, which characterises the Company's Government, that some further endeavours should be made to rescue Prithiraj from the disgrace and danger to which his conduct exposes him, before we enter on active operations against Chhaya; but I conceive that, without the means at hand of compelling him to submission, no negotiation will prove successful.

From the intestine commotions it has not been possible to reduce the expenses of Haloji's administration, or to carry into execution any of those salutary measures ordered by the Hon'ble Board; a delay therefore in suppressing the disorders, created by the disobedience of a son, will be followed by the unavoidable accumulation of evils, which we must either undertake to remedy by exertions under increased difficulties, or find ourselves obliged to abandon a connection that under wholesome regulation can be susceptible of so much solid advantage.

Accompaniments.

No. 1. Articles of reconciliation offered by Haloji to his son Prithiraj (1811, P. D. No. 369, p. 427)

No. 2. Articles of reconciliation offered by Prithiraj to his father Haloji (1811, P. D. No. 369, p. 428)

No. 3. Report from Thomas Ballantine. (1811, P. D. No. 369, p. 428)

No. 4. Captain Elwood's description of the fort Chhaya. (1811, P. D. No. 369, p. 443).

No. 5. Bombay orders, dated 1st February, 1811.

Orders It appearing advisable that a force, equal to the reduction of the two forts of Chhaya and Khirasra, should be immediately detached by water conveyance to Porbandar, ordered, with the view of enabling General McPherson to judge of the description and amount of force he may deem for this purpose requisite, that the commanding officer of the force be furnished with a copy of the preceding dispatch and instructed to enter on the preparation of what he may judge necessary without loss of time, reporting also his opinion on the subject to Government.

1811 Bombay, 16th March, 1811 (1811 P. D. 371)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

News I have the honour to report that the accounts, received from Porbandar under date the 12th instant, mention Prithiraj to have retired to the fort of Khirasra, having left the ordinary garrison for the protection of Chhaya.

Porbandar, 10th April, 1811 (1811 P. D. 373)

1811

Lieutenant-Colonel East to Prithiraj.

I have the honour to announce my arrival here, being invested with the full powers, under the authority of the British Government and of the Hon'ble Governor-in-Council of Bombay, for the interposition of their influence and amicable mediation in the adjustment, and accommodation of that misunderstanding which for a long period has unhappily subsisted between your father, Kumar Haloji Raja of Porbandar, and yourself, to the interruption of the harmony and concord of your own family and the peace and security of his possessions and authority. *Terms offered*

Your father, the Raja, enjoys the protection and is engaged in friendly and amicable alliance with the British Government, and he has under these circumstances on the present occasion solicited and requested their aid and interference in the settlement of those disputes. You cannot therefore be under any apprehension but that the motives by which their decision shall be actuated betwixt you will be purely just and equitable, as the interest of the parties is concerned and consistent with the dignity and authority of your father the Raja and yourself.

The British Government require of you in the first instance the voluntary and free surrender of the forts of Chhaya and Khirasra to the Raja, your father, as the only condition and basis upon which under their guarantee and influence a perfect and sincere reconciliation can be effected.

In return for this concession on your part the British Government offer and pledge themselves to afford protection to you and your adherents, pending the discussion and final settlement of the particular terms and conditions of agreement; and that, by their influence, the benefit and advantages resulting to you and them shall be rendered in every way suitable to your several rights and pretensions.

It would be gratifying to me to be favoured with a personal interview with you by one o'clock this day (as no further delay will be admitted of, nor can you expect any further communication from me) in order that I might have it in my power more particularly to make you acquainted with the instructions of Government at the full length. Should it therefore be agreeable to you to meet my wishes in this respect, I shall at that time be ready to receive you, accompanied with such of your friends and attendants as you may deem necessary to be present on that occasion, conveying to you and them my sacred assurances of protection in your persons and full permission to return to Chhaya or Khirasra according as your inclination afterwards may induce you.

It will be more or less advantageous to you as you facilitate or protect the object of the British Government in putting your father in possession of the forts of Chhaya and Khirasra.

1811 *Baroda, 22nd April, 1811 (1811 P. D. 373)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Chhaya taken I have the honour to forward copy of a report received this morning from the Superintendent of the Port of Porbandar announcing the reduction of the fort of Chhaya by the detachment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel East.

The accompaniments to Mr. Ballantine's letter will, I trust, satisfactorily show that no endeavour was wanting to prevail on Prithiraj, the son of Haloji, to restore the forts of Chhaya and Khirasra to the authority of his father, but that his criminal conduct had even arrived at that height, as to refuse to enter on any negotiation for an amicable settlement of the subsisting dispute, though at liberty eventually to return to Chhaya. Under such circumstances the steps, which have been pursued to reduce this deluded young man to obedience, will probably appear to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to have been adopted with deliberation and only when every prospect had vanished of gaining possession Chhaya by amicable means.

The reiterated exertions on our part during the last 18 months to bring Prithiraj to a proper sense of his duty and interest were rendered abortive by the advice of Kachari and Meg Khawas; and to the evil influence of these persons may reasonably be ascribed the desperate line of conduct which Prithiraj observed in his communications with Lieutenant-Colonel East and Mr. Ballantine, previous to the execution of the extreme measure of reducing him by force. While we have to lament on such an occasion the loss of many lives, it is so far satisfactory to find that the principal instigators of the actions of Prithiraj have fallen a sacrifice to their own wicked counsels. The ruin, which has overtaken them, will, it is hoped, make a salutary impression on Prithiraj, and that his conduct hereafter may restore to him the confidence and affection of his father.

To reduction of Chhaya and evacuation of Khirasra having now removed the commotions in Haloji's Government, which proved an insuperable impediment to the prosecution of the arrangements for the liquidation of its numerous encumbrances, Sunderji has been directed to take the earliest opportunity of enjoining Haloji of the expectation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that no delay in effecting these arrangements will be admitted, and that the active interest, taken by the British Government in the prosperity of Haloji's affairs was not limited to the restoration of his legitimate authority by rescuing the possessions usurped by his son, but that this necessary measure for the due efficiency of his government would immediately lead to the employment of the advantages and resources resulting from it in placing his government in a way of progressive improvement.

These sentiments have also been expressed by me to Haloji on the occasion of my congratulatory address on the success against Chhaya. The apathy, which has been manifested by that Chief, whether proceeding from the distracted state of his government by the defection of

his son, or from being insensible of the consequence of a radical and speedy reform, requires him to be roused to energy.

In reference to the 6th paragraph of Mr. Ballantine's letter now transmitted, I request the instructions of the Hon'ble Board for the disposal of Prithiraj. Considering that he has now no evil advisers to misguide him, and that he has received a severe lesson for his disobedience, probably his continuance at Porbandar, under the charge of his father or subject to our superintendence, might not be susceptible of any material objections. If well disposed, it will afford him an opportunity of regaining the goodwill of his father, which it may be our object, from motives of humanity as well as policy, to promote. At the same time restrictions should for the present be imposed on his liberty, though it may be the desire of Government that he should not be treated with unbecoming vigour.

I submit these observations from the probability that Haloji will not be disposed to show any consideration towards his son, until the effects of long subsisting animosity have subsided and given way to the natural feelings of a parent. Though the rebellion of Prithiraj and his criminal opposition to the last places him in a situation deserving of little indulgence, his crimes may admit of some extenuation from the weakness of his character, which made him a mere instrument in the hands of Kachari and his associate Meg to facilitate their ambitious and base designs.

N. B.—I had omitted in the course of this letter to notice that among the disasters, which Prithiraj has brought on himself, the unfortunate death of his mother is to be numbered. It appears this lady was wounded during the assault; and although the medical officer, attached to Colonel East's detachment, applied immediate remedies with some hope of succeeding, she died in a few hours afterwards,

No. 1. Letter from T. D. Ballantine to James Rivett Carnac, dated Porbandar, 16th April.

1. I have the honour to announce to you the fall of the fortress *Fall of* of Chihaya on the noon of the 13th instant by storm to the force under *Chhaya* the command of Lieutenant-Colonel East.

2. Two days previous, conciliatory terms were offered to the Prithiraj, but rejected; and it clearly appearing that nothing was left but coercive measures to reduce him to allegiance, battering in a breach accordingly commenced on the 12th day.

3. The breach was not reported practicable till the day following at 9 A. M., when the assault was directed.

4. The loss on the part of enemy in killed and wounded was considerable. Kachari and Meg, the evil advisers of Prithiraj, were among the former.

5. Prithiraj was taken severely wounded, and has since been placed a prisoner under my charge.

6. I beg to assure that (in consideration to the painful and degraded state he is necessarily reduced to, and at the same time under the impression of his having acted from the evil advise of Kachari and Meg more than from any bad intentions of his own) I have treated him with every attention and kindness in my power, and will continue to do so till I am favoured with your commands respecting him.

The fortress of Khirasra having heard of the fate of that of Chhaya it was deserted by the followers of Prithiraj during the following night, and Kumar Haloji's sibandi have taken possession of it without opposition.

No. 2. Ballantine to Kumar Prithiraj.

Terms offered

Colonel East having arrived here with authority from the English Government to adjust the disputes between your father Kumar Haloji and yourself, I have to inform you from the Colonel that, if you surrender the fortress of Chhaya and Khirasra, and come to reside peacefully at Porbandar, you will with your adherents meet with the protection of the English sarkar and be treated in every respect as the eldest son and heir of Kumar Haloji. The misfortunes that may attend your not immediately complying with the offers of Colonel East must fall on your head.

1811 *Baroda, 14th May, 1811 (1811, P.D., 374)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Porbandar affairs

It affords me much pleasure to report to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the benefits, which had been anticipated from the restoration of the forts of Chhaya and Khirasra to the government of Haloji, have already been evinced by that Chieftain having commenced, in co-operation with Lieutenant Ballantine, the long pending reforms in the administration of his affairs; and that, judging by this first indication of his hearty disposition of prosecuting this desirable object, we may in the progress of a reasonable period of time expect to see the petty State of Porbandar in a fair way of attaining its former prosperity. The first act of Haloji appears to have been the reduction of his sibandi, which is probably the most difficult proportion of the reforms he intends to introduce into his government. I have much pleasure in forwarding the accompanying extract of a letter from the Superintendent of the Port on the subject of this reduction, and stating that confidence has been restored to the merchants, and the commerce of the bandar is beginning to flourish in a material degree. It is also satisfactory to observe that Prithiraj seems conscious of his criminal conduct, living apparently contented with his father.

Letter from Thomas Ballantine to James R. Carnac, dated Porbandar, 5th May.

Progress

It is a most pleasing and satisfactory part of my duty to report to you, Sir, that since the fall of Chhaya and the surrender of Khirasra and their since being placed in the charge of Kumar Haloji, the rightful owner, the affairs of this little State wear a most favourable aspect. Prithiraj, sensible of the former guilt, and grateful for his

present safety, is living happily and contented with his father. The merchants are restored to confidence in the security of their persons and property, and commerce is flourishing in a very considerable degree.

I am aware, Sir, that it will be gratifying to you for me to add also that I have prevailed on Kumar Haloji to reduce the expense of the sibandi to one lakh and twenty thousand koris per annum, fifty-five thousand koris less than it was last year (A. D. 1810/11), and to the sum stipulated in the arrangement made by Colonel Walker under date 4th December, 1809.

Greater reductions in this branch of expenditure may yet be effected; but I humbly submit that a few months be allowed for the purpose, as it will admit of the sibandi, daily discharged to look out for other employment and prevent any disturbance from their collecting in a body.

Cambay, 22nd May, 1813 (1813, P. D. 393)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to submit a copy of a letter from the agent at *Letter* Porbandar, reporting the death of Rana Sartanji. This person was the Chief of Porbandar and from imbecillity of mind was compelled to relinquish the management of the government under a suitable provision. His death cannot in any way effect the state of Porbandar.

Letter from Charles W. Elwood to James R. Carnac, dated 8th May.

On my return to this port from your leave of absence to the *Sartanji* Presidency, I found that Rana Sartanji had departed this life on the *dead* 22nd ultimo. Your intimate knowledge of the situation of the deceased with regard to this Government precludes the necessity for any communication from me on that subject. His advanced age, infirmities, and particularly his late declining health had created an expectation of his demise. Previous to his death, he expressed great satisfaction in leaving his family under the immediate protection of the Hon'ble Company, and added he hoped they would render themselves worthy of the continuance of an alliance which had produced such substantial benefits to the Porbandar State.

Porbandar, 8th May, 1813 (1813, P. D. 398)

Charles W. Elwood, Agent to Government to J. R. Carnac.

I have the honour to report for your information the result of *Progress* Sunderji Sivji's administration of the affairs of the Porbandar State during the last 12 months with respect to the tenor of his engagements with this Darbar for the liquidation of its debts and the management of its affairs.

I have much satisfaction in stating that Sunderji Sivji has faithfully fulfilled the whole of those engagements.

It is not less my duty to report the activity and vigilance of Sunderji Sivji's administration than it is to state the same has been performed with equal honour, justice and fidelity, most creditable to

him in his individual capacity, and supporting the high character of the Hon'ble Company in so remote a part of India.

The surrounding States have witnessed the successful interposition of the Hon'ble Company in the affairs of a Government, which 12 months ago was on the brink of insolvency; and Sunderji Sirji's administration having been honoured by the approbation of the late and present Residents at Baroda, his conduct in the affairs of this State has convinced the native community of the justice of so distinguished a confidence in one who was supposed to be and has since proved himself a zealous and faithful native servant.

I should be wanting in justice, were I to omit to report the persevering economy which has invariably manifested itself in the domestic expenses of the Kumar Prithiraj, notwithstanding the high price of provisions and all the disadvantages incident to the famine. This wise and prudent line of conduct in the Kumar has considerably tended to the uninterrupted fulfilment of your arrangements for the prosperity of this Government.

Thus it will appear, that the arrangements of the 28th April, 1812 (to preserve this little State from insolvency and to relieve the Hon'ble Company from the guarantee of debts under a system which would never have allowed of their discharge) have been attended with every wished-for effect, and the result of the first year's trial, under the most unfavourable circumstances, prove that the present system is the best that could have been adopted for the prosperity of the State and the interests of the Hon'ble Company.

1813 *Porbandar, 1st July, 1813 (1813, P. D. 399)*

Captain C. W. Elwood, Agent at Porbandar, to J. R. Carnac.

I have the honour to inform you that, in consequence of the decease of the late Rana of Porbandar, the Kumar Prithiraj, succeeded to that title on the 30th ultimo; and in conformity to the ancient custom of his family he has taken the name of Khimojiraj, which was that of the Rana of the fourth generation from the present succession.

VI. JASAGI OF NAVANAGAR

1808 *Baroda, 6th December, 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. 255)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Fateh M.'s I have the honour to forward for the information of the Hon'ble
invasion the Governor-in-Council two translated extracts of letters from Vithalrao Diwanji, commanding the Gaikwad troops in Kathiawar, intimating the occurrence of hostilities between Fateh Muhammad, Jamadar of Cutch Bhuj, and the Raja of Navanagar, which is also confirmed by accounts received by Sunderji. A translate of the letter from Navanagar to Vithalrao, I have also the honour to enclose.

Should the Jamadar prosecute his intentions and cross the Rann into Halar, it must tend to disturb in a very considerable degree the tranquillity of all the boundaries of the Hon'ble Company's and the

Gaikwad's possessions. I have therefore deemed it my duty to admonish Fateh Muhammad, as per copy of letter enclosed, of the impropriety and consequences of his conduct, and also offered him the opportunity of realising under the mediation of the Company every just demand he may have against Navanagar by dispatching vakils, either to the camp of Vithalrao Diwanji in Kathiawar or to Baroda, to discuss the subject, and empowered to conclude an amicable adjustment. The Chieftains of Morvi and Balamba-Jodiya have also been warned of the consequences of promoting disturbances and hostilities in the country.

With a view however to prevent Fateh Muhammad from carrying his designs into execution I have directed Sunderji Sivji, who is now on the point of leaving Baroda, to repair to the camp of Fateh Muhammad with instructions to enforce the arguments mentioned in my letter to the Jamadar, of which I have also furnished him with a duplicate.

Vithalrao Diwanji has also been requested to keep his attention to the concerns of Halar, until the apprehensions of Fateh Muhammad's approach have been removed, which, from the favourable train into which Major Corsellis has brought the Kathi affairs, he is enabled to perform without committing the tranquillity of the country.

No. 1. Letters from Vithalrao Diwanji to Alexander Walker and from the Jam. of Navanagar to Vithalrao Diwanji. (1808, S. & P. D. 255, pp. 14219-14222).

No. 2. Letter from Lieut-Colonel Walker to Fateh Muhammad, Jamadar of Cutch Bhuj, dated 5th December, 1808.

Previous to this period I have received several letters from you, *Overtures relative to the promotion of friendship between you and the Govern- to Fateh M.* ment of the Hon'ble Company; but the intelligence of the approach of your troops to commit hostilities and depredations in the district of Nagar, in prosecution of some pecuniary claim, have been a source of astonishment. But the tranquillity and happiness of those territories being under the protection of the two Governments of the Hon'ble Company and Gaikwad, this conduct is improper. It will therefore be consistent with the friendly relations existing between you and the Company's Government to send a respectable vakil to discuss this subject with Vithalrao Diwanji, who will assuredly conduct it to an amicable and just conclusion in concurrence with the vakils of Jam Jasaji.

I request you will be assured that your just demands shall, under the mediation of the Hon'ble Company, be made good to you. Should you now do this, you may then instruct your vakil, now proceeding to Baroda, that he may bring this business to a termination under the mediation of the Company.

The territories of the Jam Raja being under bhandari of the Company, no injury must be committed in them. The sole wish of the Hon'ble Company is to preserve tranquillity; and whatever may be your due, you shall receive.

This will be delivered to you by Sunderji Sivji, to whose communications I request your attention.

1808 *Baroda, 13th December, 1808. (1808, S. & P. D. 256)*

Alexander Walker to Major Thomas Corsellis.

*Military
precaution*

I have received undoubted intelligence of Fateh Muhammad with an army from Cutch having actually crossed the Rann with an intention of invading Halar; which renders it necessary that the field-detachment under your command should join the troops of Vithalrao Diwanji without delay.

It may be necessary to inform you that the professed object of Fateh Muhammad is to prosecute some pecuniary demand against Jam Jasaji, the Raja of Navanagar, but the Jamadar has been warned of the consequences of this proceeding and invited to send his vakil to the camp of Vithalrao Diwanji for an amicable discussion of his demands. Sunderji Sivji has been deputed by me to the Jamadar with this notification. Should this person arrive in your camp, I will thank you to show him every attention.

The object in directing your junction with the Gaikwad detachment is to countenance this negotiation as much as possible and to demonstrate to the commander of the Cutch troops the necessity of desisting from the hostile prosecution of his demand on a tributary of the Gaikwad Government.

In the prosecution of this object, Vithalrao Diwanji has been instructed to refrain from any movement against Fateh Muhammad's troops, that may lead to hostility, and to confine himself strictly to measures of negotiation and defence.

I will accordingly thank you to have the goodness to guide your conduct by these sentiments; and I place every reliance on your discretion and judgment for the adoption of such a line of conduct as may [not] involve the Hon'ble Company's Government in measures of hostility until instructions in this important subject can be obtained from the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

The terms of precaution in which this letter is addressed is not intended to prevent both you and Vithalrao extending the utmost practicable protection to the country. I trust however that this may be effected by a judicious choice of position. Fateh Muhammad will, I conceive, scarcely have the temerity to attempt to force his march to Nagar through the united troops of the Company and Gaikwad, to which I conceive his force is unequal. But, as this letter places you in possession of the views and wishes of Government as far as they are now known, I rely on your judgment for acting as conformably thereto as circumstances permit.

Your junction with Vithalrao Diwanji will, I trust, place it in your power more speedily and effectually to bring the differences among the Kathis to a conclusion under the personal investigation of Vithalrao than by the deputation of a karkun, as advised of in my

letter of yesterday; and I feel confident that you will embrace every favourable opportunity of conducting the business to a conclusion as satisfactory and as consistent with the principles therein detailed as circumstances will permit.

Baroda, 23rd December, 1808 (1808 S. & P. D. 1258)

1808

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

With reference to my letter respecting Fatch Muhammad's *Sunderji* invasion, I have the honour to forward for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council an extract of a letter from Sunderji *and Fatch M.* Sivji, dated the 15th instant, apprising me of his intentions of proceeding that evening to Fatch Muhammad's camp. Such further advices as may be received from Sunderji shall be duly transmitted for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Letter from Sunderji Sivji to Lieut.-Col. Walker, dated Tankara, 15th December, 1808.

When you dispatched me on the business of Fatch Muhammad, I *Coming* reached this place in six days. On my arrival I made inquiries of the *interview* Jamadar's troops, the result of which are as follows:

This army crossed the Rann on the 6th December and encamped at Hariana on the 10th December. I reached this [place] on the 12th December, and at the same time I dispatched your letter for Fatch Muhammad with two horsemen. On the receipt of your letter, the Jamadar sent 10 horsemen to call me to him. I shall set off for that encampment this night. On my reaching that camp I shall say everything to the purpose, and be you satisfied that I will cause that army to keep to its present ground. On reaching camp I shall make daily reports from thence of what occurs.

Camp at Balar, 24th December, 1808 (1809. P.D. 150/160A)

1808

Thomas Corsellis to Alexander Walker.

I am happy to inform you that Fatch Muhammed with his troops *Fatch M.* has evacuated Kathiawar. He went to Navanagar about 45 kos from *retires* the Rann, and returned by Jodiya taluka, and after committing many depredations he took off a booty of three lakhs of Koris, estimated at about one lakh of Surat Rupees, besides laying waste a number of places belonging to different Chiefs in those parts.

Vithalrao Diwanji informed me he shall prosecute offensive operations against Fatch Muhammad, notwithstanding the information you gave me. I have communicated to him your instructions to me, which will of course confine me to Kathiawar, till I receive further orders from you.

Sunderji Sivji arrived in the Diwanji's camp this morning, he has since been with me and informed me with the particulars that have taken place between him and Fatch Muhammad, which he acquaints me he has informed you of.

Baroda, 27th December, 1808 (1809, P. D. 150/160A)

1808

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to forward for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the copy and translate of a letter from

*Fateh M.
retires*

Sunderji Sivji, apprising me that Fateh Muhammad Jamadar had yielded an immediate and prompt obedience to the requisition made through Sunderji, and was on the date of Sunderji's letter evacuating Halar by successive marches.

This retreat of Fateh Muhammad, produced by the simple requisition of the Hon'ble the Company's Government, will probably place his conduct and dispositions towards us in the most favourable point of view. Unless Fateh Muhammad was really desirous of cultivating the relations of friendship with the Company's Government, it is unlikely that he would have retired upon a mere request, when at the head of so large a force as that under his command.

In my reply to Sunderji I shall desire him to improve the present favourable occasion to adjust the business of Positra, and I trust that his judgment and conduct will be able to prevent the occurrence of any hostility between the troops of the Jam and Fateh Muhammad.

Letter from Sunderji Sivji to Lt.-Col. Walker, dated 19th December, 1808.

*Fateh M.
listens* I arrived in Fateh Muhammad's camp on 16th December, 1808, and made known to him your wishes, delivering at the same time the letter to him addressed by you.

Fateh Muhammad answered that he would act entirely according to the desire of the sarkar. I then had an interview with Ranchodji, Diwan of Kutiana, and settled it that, whatever should be decided by four respectable men, should be agreed to by the both parties. It will however be necessary that you should warn the Jam to consent to this arrangement. The persons, whom I propose for the duty, are myself, Ranchodji and a soukar for each of the contending parties; our decision to be final, and either of the contending parties refusing to abide thereby, to be made to do so by the sarkar, Ranchodji has accordingly written to the purport to the Jam, which was accompanied by your letter to that Chieftain. These were dispatched on 17th December, 1808, and by the 18th December the Jam's answer was not received.

Fateh Muhammad then said: It will be impossible to say when the Jam's answer would be received, but that, as he had received the sarkar's orders, it was not proper for him to remain where he was, and that he would go back. I have money (says he) to receive from the Jam, which may be known to the sarkar, but they are the sovereignty and will settle the affair and grant my dues. If this should not be the case, my demands will still remain. Having said this, he marched from Ballasur (Balachari?) and halted at Dhrol, and will proceed by successive marches, and cross the Rann in 3 or 4 days.

The troops of the Jam are following, but hitherto no hostilities have occurred; but from this circumstances it appears that they may happen; and I accordingly mention it for your notice. What may happen hereafter, I shall duly apprise you of.

Baroda, 1st January, 1809 (1809, P.D. 150/160A)

1808

Alexander Walker to Thomas Corsellis.

Fateh Muhammad, Jamadar of Cutch, having retired from the country, all offensive operations against him will of course cease; and Vithoba Diwanji has received instructions from his Government to prosecute the ordinary duties of his charge. *End of operations*

Bombay, 2nd January, 1809 (1809 P.D. 150/160A)

1809

Francis Warden to Alexander Walker.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 27th of December and to notice that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is much gratified at the intelligence conveyed in that dispatch, and trusts that all the subsequent course of the proceedings will have tended to confirm the general peace and tranquillity of Gujarat. *Pleased*

Jodiyabandar, 7th January, 1809 (1809, P. D. 150/160 A)

1808

Sunderji Sivji to Alexander Walker.

The letters, you some time ago gave me to the address of Fateh Muhammad Jamadar and one to Jam Jasaji have been delivered. The letter to the address of the Jamadar I delivered to him in his camp; to which paying the most implicit obedience, he marched his troops back, the particulars of which I have already acquainted you with. *Sivji's report*

The letter to the Jam was presented through Ranchodji Diwan, to which I received no reply for 10 days, but after that time I received a summons to repair to Nagar myself.

Accordingly I set out to Nagar, and on my meeting with the Jam acquainted him with all particulars according to your orders, as follows in the succeeding paragraphs.

Article 1: In the first instance I admonished the Jam to adjust his dues with Fateh Muhammad by arbitration, convinced that it would be to his advantage. To this remonstrance the Jam answered that he would not give to Fateh Muhammad a picc of money, nor would he come to any settlement with him. Let the Jamadar, he said, invade his country at his entire pleasure, and he would give him such a reception as he had the means to do, and he said: "Touch not again the subject to me."

Article 2: The Jam's camp for 20 days has been encamped in the Amran taluka, by which all the villages of the three talukas of Amran, Jodiya, and Balambha have become waste, I remonstrated with the Jam and said that the circumstance did not befit him, for the subjects of the three talukas were the ryots of the sarkar. The Jam answered me that the people of Morvi and Jodiya had joined Fateh Muhammad's camp and were concerned in the plunder of his country; therefore in retaliation he would just do as he thought proper.

Article 3: I returned to Jodiya and questioned Khawas Sagaram if any of their people had actually gone to Fateh Muhammad's camp

or not. Khawas answered that a jamadar of theirs with 5 other men and a mehta did go to the camp for this obvious reason [that], had their people not gone, their villages would have been plundered; and having sent those people did afford that protection to their villages; but that since the return of Fateh Muhammad's army the Jam's troops had laid waste all their villages. They however considered themselves the subjects of the Company's Government, the masters of all, to whose instructions they would under all circumstances pay every due obedience.

Article 4: A number of 50 to 100 horse of the Morvi taluka did join Fateh Muhammad's camp, on which account the Morvi villages have and are now suffering great depredation.

Article 5: Three sarkar's vessels and 2 pattemars have arrived at Mandvi from Bombay. The officer commanding having written a letter to your address, I forward it to you.

Article 6: I shall pay every possible attention and use every exertion to accomplish your wish as to the arrangements you propose for Positra.

Article 7: Mulum Hurdas some time ago brought in vessel, the property of which he disposed of in the Jam Jasaji's country, in the villages of Bora and Cambaria (*Khambhaliya*). Some part of the property the merchants and my people have discovered. I asked the Jam an answer to your letter on this score. He replied: "Keep a man of yours with me, and I will consider and write you thereon." I have in consequence placed a man there, and I shall duly acquaint you with the answer I may receive.

Article 8: This moment a letter is received from Khambaliya, stating that a vessel proceeding from Jodiya to Mandvi, laden with cloth and grain, had been taken and brought into port by Mulum Hurdas. This person lives in Khambaliya and is carrying on piracy at the Jam's orders, which circumstance is perfectly known.

I have now only to bring to your notice that the whole of the country has suffered and is now suffering from the depredations of the Jam's army; but, since the confidence of the whole is in the Company, I beg you to afford them such relief as you may judge proper.

1809 *Bombay*, 26th January, 1809 (1809, P. D. 150/160A)

Copy of a letter from James R. Carnac to Sunderji Sivji.

Directions I lose no time in recommending that you communicate with Vithoba Diwanji on the subject of the Jam's troops plundering the villages of Jodiya, Morvi and Amran talukas, in consequence of their having been suspected of assisting the designs of Fateh Muhammad when he invaded Halar. Vithoba Diwanji has been desired by Babaji Saheb on no account to allow the Jam to distress these talukas.

With respect to the Jam declining to settle his dispute with Fateh Muhammad, your grand object just now is to see that he does not provoke any further aggression from that Jamadar, and that the latter

abides by his declaration to await the mediation of the Company's Government in his dispute with the Jam.

I am concerned to hear that the Jam has been encouraging piracy; which, he should be aware, will be productive of the most serious consequences. I trust however that your own exertions and influence will recover the property; and to prevent any further repetition of these piracies, I have written a letter to the officer commanding the Company's vessels cruising on the coast to capture and destroy any boats he may find committing piracy. This letter is enclosed. In the event therefore of your hearing of any piratical vessels putting to sea, you may give the information to this officer, who will take measures to intercept them.

Your letter of the 12th January has just come to hand. You write of a report having reached you of the intention of Fateh Muhammad again to invade this country. This information had reached this [place], previous to the Colonel's departure, and you were particularly written to on this subject; your reply to which I am anxiously waiting for.

I have now occasion to repeat my wishes to you on this score, requesting that you will immediately ascertain the truth thereof. Should you find it the case, I must enjoin from you every possible exertion to prevent it, and in using every influence most likely to convince the Jamadar of the pernicious consequences of such a measure. I am convinced you will be enabled to effect this, duly acquainting me with all haste.

Bombay, 26th January, 1809 (1809 P. D. 150/160A)

1809

Copy of a letter from Lieutenant James R. Carnac to Vithalrao Diwanji.

You will have heard of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's departure *Directions* on the 12th, as he wrote you at that time.

Diwanji Sahab, I am informed that Jam Jasaji's troops are still encamped in the Amran taluka, from whence they commit much oppression, the particulars of which may possibly have escaped your hearing. I would therefore most particularly request you to communicate on this head with the Jam's officer, who may be in command of the troops, to this great end that all further depredation on his part be put a stop to within the sarkar's taluka for the obvious reason that it must affect the peace of the ryots and by that means retard the progress of the arrangements so lately established. I am convinced you are perfectly sensible of all these circumstances; which renders it unnecessary for me to enlarge on them.

It is very desirable that the disputed claims of Fateh Muhammad against the Jam should be adjusted by arbitration according to justice.

In writing to you, Diwanji Sahab, on the subject of affairs, the peaceable accomplishment of which has a very material weight in my mind, I feel every confidence that these affairs will be adjusted in the same peaceable and conciliatory manner that has always characterised

your laudable conduct. I hope to hear frequently from you on all occasions, and on this your senior also has addressed you.

1809 *Bombay, 7th February, 1809 (1809, P.D. 161)*

Francis Warden to M. Elphinstone.

Greenwood's mission Captain Greenwood, the First Assistant at Baroda [has] been deputed to Kathiawar to accommodate the claims of Fateh Muhammad of Cutch on the Raja of Navanagar and in further carrying into effect other objects of a political nature, pursuant to order from the Supreme Government.

1809 *Baroda, 9th February, 1809 (1809 P.D. 161)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Fateh M.'s claims 1. On the 5th instant I received an intimation from Cooverji Mehta that he had arrived at Baroda, charged with a letter from Fateh Muhammad to the address of Lt.-Col. Walker, and requesting to be admitted to an interview.

2. This person accordingly waited on me on the following day and delivered a letter from his principal, a copy and translate of which I have the honour to submit for the information of Government.

3. The tenor of this council apprised me of the principal object of Cooverji's Mehta's mission, which was disclosed more circumstantially in a subsequent meeting with this person on the 8th of this month; and the substance of the conversation, which passed, will be found detailed in the accompanying paper.

4. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will learn from these accompaniments that Fateh Muhammad has dispatched Cooverji Mehta, conformably to the invitation of Col. Walker, with a view of representing the nature and justice of his claims on Navanagar, and bringing them to an equitable adjustment.

5. With the reference therefore to this subject, it may be proper to observe that the statement (with a bond annexed), which Cooverji Mehta has delivered to me, is only a transcript of the original document said to be in the possession of Fateh Muhammad; but, as its validity will be proved in the course of the investigation into these demands, I have received this statement and have the honour to forward a copy of and translate.

6. It may appear to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that these accounts are susceptible of a degree of caution and distrust, until Jam Jesaji's statement of the question is submitted to his consideration.

7. Although I was urgent in attempting to procure from Cooverji Mehta a more comprehensive description of the origin of the demands on Navanagar, he professed his ignorance, except that they have arisen from some pecuniary assistance by the grandfather of the present sovereign of Bhuj and the predecessor of the Jam, and that

the taluka of Balambha had been mortgaged by the Jam's family in liquidation of the interest accumulating on the loan.

8. From the other sources of information the causes, which have given Fateh Muhammad Mahmood a title of preferring claims on Navanagar, are as follows:

9. In the year 1840 (1783) the Bhayad of Navanagar requested Fateh Muhammad to co-operate in removing the restraint which Meru Khawas had placed on the person of Jam Jasaji, and restoring the power which had been usurped by that person.

10. Fateh Muhammad, to acquire reputation from placing one of the most powerful Rajas of the country in the exercise of his sovereignty and probably under an expectation of making some permanent establishment in Halar, assented to afford his assistance, on condition that the expenses of the equipment were provided by Navanagar.

11. The attempt which was made by the Jamadar in conjunction with many of the Bhayads of Nagar, proving abortive, he retired into Cutch; but persevering in his object, Fateh Muhammad again returned into Halar and was repulsed by the superior force of Meru Khawas who had engaged the Nawab of Junagarh in support of his cause.

12. These disasters however contributed only to animate the enterprising disposition of Fateh Muhammad; and having effected another invasion, he encamped at Nagar, and commenced his operations for the reduction of that fortress.

13. The formidable army, which accompanied the Jamadar on this expedition, performed acts of valour in the assault of Navanagar; and though they were not successful, it has been supposed that their discomfiture was the result of treachery in those Chieftains of the Bhayad, who had interceded in the first instance for the assistance of Fateh Muhammad.

14. Meru Khawas, anxious to be relieved from an opponent possessed of the resources and power of Fateh Muhammad, and whose valour and military talent were so justly esteemed, proposed a compromise of their differences by making a pecuniary sacrifice. It was accordingly settled that Fateh Muhammad should receive a certain sum of money in ready cash (the exact amount of which has been not stated) and 5,00,000 Koris at the expiration of a year.

15. In the interval however Meru Khawas died, and Jam Jasaji received the powers and influence incident to his government.

16. Fateh Muhammad requiring Jam Jasaji on his uncontrolled accession to the gadi to fulfil the engagements of Meru Khawas, the Jam disavowed the acts of a man, whom he considered a usurper, and unequivocally refused to recognise the demands of Fateh Muhammad, who, he alleged, had not merely abandoned his cause for a pecuniary compensation, but had tacitly acknowledged the authority of Meru Khawas.

17. To accomplish by coercive means what Fateh Muhammad foresaw would be impracticable to accomplish by negotiation, is said to have induced this Chieftain to carry his late invasion of Halar into execution, and that the Jam should also be made responsible for his repeated and unprovoked aggravation in attacking and destroying some villages on the seacoast, subordinate to the Bluj sarkar.

18. The name of Meru Khawas having been frequently mentioned in the letter, it may be proper to observe that person was the Diwan of Jam Jasaji and his immediate predecessor, and had acquired great influence and power during the minority of the former, which he exerted to procure the talukas of Balambha, Jodiya and Amran, formerly dependent on Nagar, and now an hereditary possession of the family of Meru Khawas.

19. It occurs to me in this place to mention that the communication of sentiments of Fateh Muhammad through his agent Cooverji Mehta appears at variance with the purport of a passage in his letter, insinuating that, in the event of the Jam disregarding the decision of the Company's Government, to leave the accomplishment of his claims to his own means.

20. This sentiment accords imperfectly with Cooverji Mehta's profession that his Master would have availed himself of the influence and authority of the Company's Government in bringing his claims to an adjustment in preference to resorting to hostility incompatible with their wishes.

21. I shall endeavour at a favourable opportunity to impress on Cooverji Mehta the pernicious consequences which would result from any further aggression on the Jam's territories, since the pending dispute has been left to the arbitration of the Company; and whilst I represent the forbearance of Government to Fateh Muhammad, when he violated the confines of the Gaikwad territories, and plundered the possessions of its tributaries, who are moreover under the bhandari of the Company, I will assure him, for the satisfaction of his Master, that his demands on the dependants of our ally will meet with every consideration conformable to the principles of justice and equity by a suitable representation to the Government of the Hon'ble Company.

22. I beg to inform you that Cooverji Mehta will proceed to the Narbada for the purpose of performing some religious ceremonies, but that he will not return to Cutch until I may be honoured with the instructions of Government.

No. 1. Translation of a letter from Fateh Muhammad to Lt.-Col. Walker, without date.

Fateh M.'s You must be well informed that there was formerly a demand of
claims the Maharao's Darbar upon Jam, the Chieftain of Nagar.

When Meru Khawas held the whole authority of the district of Halar in his own hands, and did not acknowledge the supremacy of Jam Jasaji, he withheld the amount of the demand under various false pretences.

The Jam publicly wrote me letters on various subjects and requesting to be placed on his throne. With a view to the honour and fame of my Superior, I marched to Halar with a strong force, and exerted myself to the utmost.

When the aforesaid Khawas resigned his pretensions, and agreed to re-establish Jam Jasaji in his authority, he transacted deeds and respectable witnesses for the regular discharge of the demands and, in the event of any delay occurring, consenting to pay it with interest.

In the meantime the Jam, being established in his sovereignty, forgot his obligations and, not only gave flat refusal to discharge the balance, but with a numerous force came by sea and plundered several of the villages of the Darbar.

Agreeable to the order of my Superior and instigated by my own loyalty, I proceeded to Halar with an army.

Some Grassias, who were at variance with the Jam, joined my army, and several villages have been plundered. At this time a negotiation was on foot between the Jam and myself for the payment of the demands. At this moment also your illustrious letter, desiring me to be lenient towards the ryots, whose comfort was your greatest care, as also a verbal message by Sunderji Sivji arrived, stating that the just dues should be claimed and realised through the mediation of the Hon'ble Company.

I that instant retired with my army, considering your letter as a perfect security. Upon reaching the boundaries of Cutch, I learnt that the Jam was in pursuit of me, accompanied by the army of Vithalrao Diwanji.

I am well acquainted with the valour of the Jam, and that he has not even the power of motion; yet with a view to your desire, I left the affair as it was, and went not to extremities.

Under these circumstances, and considering the ancient friendship which we have maintained, I have verbally informed Mehta Cooverji of everything, who will satisfy you in your presence.

It would be most advisable that you keep what you wrote in your mind; and having spoken to the Jam, realise and send every dam of the dues demanded by the sarkar. Should however things turn out differently, and he will not listen to you, it is of no consequence; let me know that I may terminate this affair as it ought and in a proper manner. Consider me always as a sincere well-wisher, and make me happy with commissions.

No. 2. Memorandum of conversation with Cooverji Mehta.

Cooverji Mehta called this morning and commenced the conversation by observing that the letter, which he had delivered 3 days since from Fateh Muhammad, will have disclosed the principal object of his visit to Baroda. *Cooverji's account*

He begged therefore to state that he is charged by the Jamadar to represent that the demands of the Bhuj Chieftain on Navanagar

amounted originally to 10 lakhs of Koris, five of which has been discharged; and the periods fixed for the liquidation of the balance were the years 1857 and 1858, at equal instalments.

This not having been performed according to the above stipulation, Fateh Muhammad made his demands on the Jam of Nagar, which were treated with contempt; and the Jam moreover equipped a force, which he transported by sea, and plundered some villages belonging to Bhuj.

In consequence of this unprovoked aggression and of his declining to satisfy what he had solemnly pledged to do, Fateh Muhammad assembled an army with an intention of punishing Nagar, and to retrieve his character, and to recover the sums which are above-mentioned.

With this view Fateh Muhammad crossed the Rann, and commenced hostile operations against the territories of the Jam, whom he had a reasonable prospect of bringing to a sense of propriety, when the Jamadar received a letter by express from Col. Walker, desiring him to retire into Cutch, which he immediately complied with in consideration of the friendship subsisting between his sarkar and the Government of the Hon'ble Company.

Sunderji Sivji also arrived in Fateh Muhammad's camp with verbal instructions to cause the force to return within its own boundary; and as Col. Walker has referred the adjustment of the Jamadar's claims on Nagar through the agency of Vithoba Diwanji, or Sunderji, or the deputation of a wakil to Baroda, the latter has been preferred.

Cooverji Mehta being desired to state the origin of the demands of the Bhuj Chieftain on Navanagar, observes that they have arisen from some pecuniary transactions between the predecessors of Jam Jasaji and the grandfather of the present Raja Rao Rayadhan.

The latter advanced about 60 years ago a large sum of money for the support of Navanagar, and the taluka of Balambha was mortgaged by Navanagar to Bhuj to cover the accumulating interest for the sum that had been lent.

This taluka continued in the hands of the Bhuj Chieftain during 10 years, when assisting the designs of Navanagar, deprived him [the Bhuj Chieftain] of the possession.

At this time the Bhuj Chieftain had not the power of resisting it with success, though he equipped a force for that purpose; but the superior influence of Navanagar with the talukas of Nagar, one of the tributaries of Bhuj rendered the attempt abortive.

When however the means of the Bhuj sarkar were adequate to enforce the payment of the demand from Navanagar, Fateh Muhammad thrice invaded Halar with an army, but with little success.

In 1835 the Jamadar renewed the attempts and by the means of Meru Khawas, the karbari of the Jam, it was settled that a sum amounting to 10 lakhs of koris should be paid to the Bhuj sarkar, in full of all demands—5 lakhs at that time, and the balance at the periods which Cooverji has already mentioned.

A writing was executed to the purport of the above agreement, copy of which is in the possession of Cooverji Mehta.

The writing has the names of several respectable persons, annexed to it, among whom Cooverji Mehta mentions the name of Sadaram of Beyt.

As Fateh Muhammad has now relinquished his intention of compelling Navanagar to satisfy the demands, which were solemnly pledged and authenticated by formal written engagements, he relies on the justice of the Hon'ble Company's Government. Cooverji Mehta begs to submit a statement of the demands of the Bhuj sarkar with interest from Samvat 1857, the period first specified to liquidate one half of the balance of the 10 lakhs of koris. This statement does not include the expenses of Fateh Muhammad in equipping the army, for which the Jamadar hopes some favourable consideration.

In conclusion Cooverji Mehta declares that Fateh Muhammad is disposed to abide by the arbitration of the Company's Government.

The uniform justice and equity of their proceedings would have induced him to avail himself of the influence and authority of the Company's mediation, had he been immediately aware that the prosecution of his demands on the Jam by the force of his own arms was incompatible with the wishes of their Government.

The Jamadar was principally betrayed into this step from the insult offered to his Government by the Jam invading its possession and destroying some villages.

No. 3. Translation of a bond, executed by Jam Jasaji of Navanagar and Khawas Meruman, in the year of Samvat 1855, 3rd Phalgun to Maharaj Rao Shri Rayadhan and to Kumar Prithiraji.

For koris 5,00,000, due by me to you, payable at these Bond instalments;

1st instalment: Samvat 1856, 2nd Phalgun Sudh koris 2,50,000

2nd instalment: Samvat 1857, 2nd Phalgun Sudh koris 2,50,000

Koris 5,00,000

And is to be paid the said sum of 5 lakhs of Rashi Koris at the periods as above stated; but, if not paid at those periods, the same to be chargeable at 1 p. c. per mensem; and be it further known that this recovery is to be made good from the talukas of Nagar.

Baroda, 11th March, 1809 (1809, P. D. 325)

1809

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have addressed the accompanying to Captain Greenwood, *Cutch* requesting the early attention of that officer to the circumstances and *danger*

his report on the nature of relations, on which Fateh Muhammad has founded a new right to interfere in the concerns of the tributary Chieftains of the Gaikwad Government.

If a powerful Chieftain of some military reputation with a numerous army at his command possesses a plausible or a justifiable cause of interference in the concerns of the western peninsula, the peace of that part of the country is always endangered; and in that case the aid of a considerable detachment of the Company's troops may be requisite to restore tranquillity.

Should such a circumstance occur, when the attention of the Hon'ble Company's Government be occupied with some remote object, it might be productive of prejudicial or disagreeable consequences. It will therefore remain with the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to determine how far it may be consistent with expediency and policy to convey specific instructions to Captain Greenwood to embrace the opportunity, which his present deputation may afford, to obtain an unequivocal renunciation of all claims by the Government of Cutch to interfere in the concerns of the western peninsula.

Bombay directions.

Directions Under the obligation, which the Hon'ble Company have contracted to protect the peninsula of Gujarat as allies of the Gaikwad State, it is certainly an object of primary consideration to obtain a renunciation from Fateh Muhammad and generally from the Cutch Government of all pretensions to interfere in the concerns of the Kathiawar territory; such as this Government would, under the full knowledge it possesses of the sentiments of the Supreme Government, find itself bound to resist and repel, if necessary, by force; previously to which it has however become requisite, in consequence of the new plea of bhandari on the part of Fateh Muhammad, that its foundation and circumstances be investigated, to the end that our proceedings may in all respects be conducted with that regard to general justice, which the Company's interest no less than their reputation require in all instances to be observed.

Another object, essentially necessary to be regulated with Fateh Muhammad, relates to the harbour afforded by his people, who are in possession of Positra, to the few piracies, which still continue to be committed on our country-trade by the freebooters who experience his protection either at that place or in some of the inlets into the Cutch country, practices on his part which he must in like manner be required definitively to renounce, as well as to surrender the fort of Positra which the present year's experience (as so fully shown by the Acting Resident's letter of the 11th instant) has shown him to make so bad a use of, and which, after he has evacuated or been dislodged from it, may be committed to the charge of the Gaikwad Government, to which its occupancy more naturally belongs than as a dependency of Cutch; from which it is divided by the whole extent of that Gulf; besides, that if we tolerate Positra in the avowed commission of piracy, we cannot expect that the vicinal stations of Dwarka and Beyt will continue to refrain from it; and thus by overlooking an act,

in itself altogether unjustifiable (for pirates are by the law of nations appropriately denominated the common enemies of mankind) we risk most materially all the advantages derivable from the engagements entered into two years ago by the hitherto Piratical States of Beyt and Dwarka aforesaid, who have even submitted to let our agents remain in their ports to inspect and control their future maritime proceedings; advantages that should certainly not be sacrificed from any apprehension of the consequences of coercing and, if found requisite, of expelling from their single remaining haunts throughout all the peninsula of Gujarat those freebooters of Positra, and putting that place into safe hands; which must more than any other expedient contribute to the extirpation of piracy in all that part of the country; since with that single exception, there remains not at this day any port, from the Gulf of Cutch downwards, whence pirates are known to fit out; with however this qualification that we have been of late years obliged to maintain a small maritime force off the coast of Malvan and Rairi to keep the pirates there from committing depredation in the trade between Malabar and Kanara and the northern ports.

To carry these several measures into effect, with the least risk of bloodshed or, at most, of protracted hostility, the Board are sensible that they cannot but avail themselves of so experienced and able an agency as that of Colonel Walker, who, having returned to this Presidency at the requisition of the Supreme Government for the purpose chiefly of carrying into effect, in his resumed capacity of the Resident at Baroda, the views of the Government General regarding the country of Cutch, may be now desired, to combine with those principal objects of his intended return into Gujarat, the several subordinate ones above specified.

Bombay, 31st March, 1809 (1809, P. D. 162)

1809

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

On this subject [*war between Fateh Muhammad and Jām Jasajī*] *Fateh M.'s* however I must observe that the aggression is more likely to come from *claims* Fateh Muhammad than from the Jam, as, although Muhammad claims may be founded on written obligations, they must be long since cancelled by the collections he has made from, and the injuries he has inflicted on, Halar.

Baroda, 17th April, 1809 (1809, P. D. 162)

1809

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

2. The accompanying transcript of a letter with its enclosures *Fateh M.* from Captain Greenwood will apprise the Hon'ble the Governor-in- *and Jodiya* Council of the nature of the connection, subsisting between Jodiya and Jamadar Fateh Muhammad of Cutch.

3. The justifiable causes for the resentment of Navanagar as detailed in the enclosure should have superseded the obligations of the bhandari of Fateh Muhammad, whose interference under such circumstances was one proof of the Jodiya Chieftain having aided and abetted the invasion of Fateh Muhammad.

4. This misconduct has already subjected the Jodiya man to the payment of a fine imposed by the Gaikwad commander; but it rests with the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to decide how far the offences and criminality of the Khawascs, have been compensated by a sacrifice of an inconsiderable pecuniary amount.

5. It may be proper also to remark on the culpability of the Khawascs continuing to retain the assistance of Fatch Muhammad, as well as the incompatibility of the professions of Cooverji Mehta that this assistance would be immediately withdrawn, as communicated in the verbal information above adverted to.

No. 1. Letter from Captain Greenwood to James R. Carnac, dated 11th April.

Fatch M. and Jodiya I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter requiring my report on the circumstance of the connexion between Jodiya and Cutch as well as relative to the assistance which Fatch Muhammad had sent to the aid of Hirji Khawas, Chief of the former [Jodiya].

2. Having failed in an attempt to obtain a copy of the document, on which the bhandari is founded, through the private agency of Sunderji Sivji, I conceived it proper to address a letter to Khawas in conjunction with Vithalrao Diwanji, requiring an explanation of the grounds on which he demanded assistance from Jamadar Fatch Muhammad.

3. His answer to this letter I have the honour to enclose; by which you will observe that Khawas distinctly states that he called on the assistance of the Jamadar in consequence of his being his bhandari.

4. It may however be observed that the bhandari was in this case made use of merely as a pretext to defend the taluka of Jodiya from the just resentment of the Chieftain of Navanagar, who was extremely desirous of retaliating on Jodiya these injuries which Khawas had assisted Fatch Muhammad in committing in Halar. The purport and tenor of the bhandari could only secure Jodiya from the unprovoked aggressions of the Navanagar Chieftain, but not to protect him from the punishment to which his behaviour during Fatch Muhammad's invasion of Halar would justly have subjected him.

5. This conduct as well as a considerable part of the property plundered from Navanagar having found its way into the district of Jodiya, attracted the notice of Vithalrao Diwanji, who after Fatch Muhammad's retreat encamped in that taluka.

6. In consequence of this measure Hirji Khawas consented to give satisfaction for his conduct in paying a fine of 6,000 Rupees, engaging to restore all the plunder which could be found in his taluka and by receiving and confirming the fil-zamini engagements.

7. It may be proper to add that, when Hirji Khawas wrote the above letter to me, the troops of Fatch Muhammad were still encamped at Jodiya, and might consist of about 400 men.

No. 2. Letter from the Khawas of Jodiya to Captain Greenwood.

Your letter arrived, which I place on my head. You wrote that *Amenable* troops from Cutch had arrived. The case is this: The Jam gave me the guarantee of jamadar Fatch Muhammad; and the Jam having come with an army, on that account the jamadar's assistance was called for. If the sarkar will support me, I will dismiss them. The Company are my sovereigns.

No. 3. Translate of a security bond.

Fatch Muhammad brought an army into Halar from Cutch. He *Bond* was assisted by the people of Amran. For whatever these people have carried away of property, cattle or anything animate or inanimate of every description from Navanagar, we do hereby engage to become responsible.

Baroda, 8th September, 1809 (1809, P. D. 346).

1809

Alexander Walker to Fatch Muhammad.

When, on the receipt of my letter, you retired with your troops *Friendly overtures* from Halar, and your recent conduct in withdrawing your thana from Positra, are proofs which the Hon'ble Company are willing to conceive to be indicative of your desire to cultivate friendship with them. I am desirous that this favourable result should not be prevented by miscomprehension, and that our present friendly intercourse should terminate without affording a full explanation.

As Cutch borders so closely on the territory of the Hon'ble Company and of their ally, the Gaikwad, they are peculiarly interested in the prosperity and welfare of that Government, for their boundaries cannot be secure as long as anarchy and confusion prevail in Cutch.

While however the present dissensions prevail in Cutch, the tranquillity of Gujarat and the safety and security of the whole raj is endangered; and being divided among yourselves, and fearful of your enemies and of each other, you have everything to fear and nothing to hope for. This state of affairs cannot last long; experience has proved that it has always ended in ruin.

If the Hon'ble the Company entertained any ambitious views, nothing could be more favourable for their attainment than the present distracted state of the country. But the Hon'ble Company entertain no views on Cutch, prejudicial to those holding power and authority there. On the contrary, they desire to see the present troubles in the country healed and composed, and the Government settled and confirmed in a manner consistent with the interests of all persons.

These objects, it is trusted, must prove satisfactory to every person, who has any interest in the prosperity and welfare of the country of Cutch; and for the preceding reason it is necessary also to the Company.

1809 Baroda, 27th September, 1809 (1809, P. D. 347)

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

*Jodiya
settlement*

The cause, which gave rise to the separate establishment of Jodiya, Balambha and Amran in the family of Khawas, arose at the time when the Jam, the present Raja of Navanagar, managed to obtain his release from the custody of his Diwan, Meru Khawas.

It is unnecessary to repeat in this place the historical memoranda relative to the Jam and Meru Khawas. It will be sufficient at present to notice that it was during the management of Meru Khawas that the Jamadar Fateh Muhammad made that invasion by which he obtained the deeds on which his present demands on Navanagar are founded.

The deeds were at that time made out in the name of Meru Khawas; but at the period of this Diwan being under the necessity of relinquishing his charges he availed himself of the power he then possessed to transfer the responsibility of the demand to his Master, the Jam. On this occasion also he obtained by a similar act of power the cession of Jodiya, Balambha and Amran.

As the alienation of the territory had been so long acquiesced in, there was no obligation to enforce its restitution. Khawas also had some claim to consideration from the engagements entered into during the former circuit, when we found Jodiya already in a manner established as a separate independency and settling his revenue accordingly with the Superior Government on the footing of an original bhumia of the country. A certain degree of respect was also due to the feelings of those bhumias who, it was at that time supposed, were bhandaris to the engagement between the Jam and Meru Khawas, and particularly to the Government of Cutch, which the Hon'ble the Company was desirous of conciliating.

The following accordingly comprises the heads of adjustment with Jodiya and Amran, which were acceded to by the possessors.

1. A nazranah of Rupees 70,000 to be paid to the sarkar, inclusive of a compensation for the plunder of Bhimkota of Rupees 20,000.

2. Jodiya to become responsible for the payment of five lakhs of Koris, the original amount due to the Government of Cutch, whenever this sum may be called for. It is however inclusive of an instalment of 1,25,000 Koris already paid by Jodiya.

3. Sagram Khawas also offered to present a nazranah of a lakh of Koris to the Jam in lieu of making a landed assignment of four villages towards a provision for Sataji, the brother of the Jam. This arrangement Sagram Khawas hoped would prove the means of conciliating the Jam, and inducing him to consent to the substitution of a bhandari more powerful and secure than that of Rao of Bhuj. The observation of the Jam Jasaji on this adjustment will be submitted to your notice, Hon'ble Sir, in a separate address.

Bombay, 10th November, 1809 (1809, P. D. 346)

1809

At a Consultation.

Articles of agreement between the Hon'ble East India Company, entered into by Captain Samuel Adam Greenwood under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, Resident, and Wazarat Jamadar Fateh Muhammad and his son Notiar Husain Mija on behalf of the Maharao Shri Rayadhanji. *Treaty with Fateh M.*

1. As friendship exist between the Government of the Hon'ble Company and the Government of the Maharaja Anandrao Gaikwad Scnakhaskhel on the one part, and the Government of the Maharao Shri Rayadhan on the other, it is agreed that no troops shall cross to the country to the east or opposite side of the gulf and Rann, lying between Cutch and Gujarat; nor shall any claim or interference be therein maintained.

The above article is indispensable; but, as the Maharao Rayadhan possesses old claims on Navanagar, it is agreed that these as well as any other demands, either pecuniary or otherwise, which exist or may arise, shall be settled agreeably to equity and justice and with due regard to the character of Maharao Shri by the decision of three people; one on behalf of the Hon'ble Company, one on behalf of the Maharao Shri, and a third on behalf of the parties on whom the claims are made.

The Maharao Shri Rayadhan engages that piracy shall be eradicated throughout the country of Cutch. Should any piracy take place, the pirates shall be punished and expelled from the country.

Maharao Shri Rayadhan engages not to permit any establishment whatever to be made in the country by any European or American Power, or any of those nations to remain therein.

In the trust of the above, God is witness.

Dated the 26th October, 1809.

Baroda, 18th December, 1809. (1810, P. D. 350)

1809

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

3. The negotiations with the State of Cutch have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and it may therefore be observed that the presence of the detachment on the frontiers of Gujarat is no longer necessary to add weight to those negotiations. It therefore only remains a subject of consideration how far the continuance or reassembly of the detachment in an advanced position would be conducive to the British interests with reference to the views of the rulers of Sind on the country of Cutch, the stability of the arrangements accomplished in Kathiawar, the eventual extension of a more effectual control into Cutch, and the security of the Hon'ble Company's interest at Porbandar. *Troops in Kathiawar*

4. The distinct and undisguised manner in which the Mirs of Sind have disclosed their ambitious designs on the territory of Cutch

leaves no room to doubt of their wishes to attempt the conquest of the country; but from the opportunities which the recent expedition has afforded me of ascertaining the resources of the country of Cutch for defensive warfare, I am inclined to conceive that the Amirs of Sind have overestimated their ability to effect this conquest. Their anxiety to obtain the assistance or connivance of the British Government to this conquest would seem to proceed from a consciousness of their inability, unless the project were sanctioned by our concurrence.

5. Few countries in Asia have greater facilities for resisting the progress of an invading army than Cutch; almost every village is fortified, and some of the forts are respectable; but however contemptible they may appear to an army provided with the means of their reduction, they oppose formidable and probably insurmountable obstacles to the progress of troops unprovided with artillery and unskilled in operations of this nature.

6. The same causes which have hitherto preserved the independence of Cutch, place it out of the power of the Government of Sind to effect its conquest by any sudden irruption, or surprise, and probably not without a series of protracted operations to which their undisciplined armies are unequal.

7. In addition to the capacities of the country of Cutch for defence, it should also be noticed that for several months in the year it is wholly inaccessible to an invading army from the westward. The Rann that extends from Lakhpatbandar to the borders of Gujarat, varies in breadth from 6 to 16 kos, and from the commencement of the rains to the opening of the season, is nearly impassable for single horsemen.

8. It does not appear also that there is any immediate danger of the rulers of Sind attempting this conquest. They will probably at least await the result of the mission of their vakil to the Supreme Government, and it is unlikely they would make the attempt under the knowledge, they will have acquired, of the sentiments of the British Government.

9. It is also probable that a Government, so unstable and unsettled as that which at present rules in Sind, must have sufficient occupation to secure their own power and frustrate the progress of faction and intrigue, and that they could not, consistent with their own security, venture to undertake schemes of foreign conquest. By late advices from that country I understand that their troops are at present employed in prosecuting some domestic quarrel within their own dominions, and in effecting the subjugation of the tributary district of Bhawalpur.

10. Under these circumstances it may probably appear that there is little cause for apprehension lest Cutch should fall under the power to the Mirs of Sind, and that the presence of the detachment in its advanced position on the frontiers of Gujarat may not be necessary to guard against a contingency so apparently remote.

11. The detachment also being now actually broken up, there are certain considerations which militate against the expediency of its being reassembled, that possibly may not have been in the contemplation of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council, and which it becomes my duty respectfully to submit for the information of Government.

12. The muluk sherishta or common law of the country in the western part of Gujarat, which consists, as the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is aware, of a variety of tributary but otherwise independent States, would in justice prevent the Company's or Gaikwad forces from taking up a position in any of their territories without their consent, unless in prosecution of the claims of the Superior Government, or in the progress of the troops to chastise another refractory tributary, or for the preservation of public peace.

13. The observation of this law is certainly obligatory on Government for their own convenience and advantage as well as for the sake of the tributary, whose small possessions would be unable to support the burden of a body of troops resident for any long period within his boundaries.

14. As the object of keeping the detachment collected on the frontiers is principally for the purpose of preventing or anticipating the designs of the Mirs of Sind on Cutch, it may possibly deserve attention whether it would not rather increase the alarm and jealousy of the Government of Bhuj or of the parties in that country respecting our real views.

15. It is probably difficult for a Government in its divided and discordant state to estimate in a proper manner the disinterested policy, which would incur a considerable expense and maintain a body of forces in a constant state of equipment to prevent the approximation of a turbulent and ambitious tribe to our frontiers.

16. The Government and parties in Cutch are too confident of their own security in respect to Sind to entertain any apprehensions of its power, unless that power should be directed to the aid of either of the rival parties.

17. Hunsraja having unequivocally thrown himself on the protection of the Company, and friendly relations being now established with Fateh Muhammad, I am inclined to think it extremely unlikely that either of them would call in the assistance of the Government of Sind. The only occurrence, which appears probable to produce such a result, would be the actual or threatened invasion of a body of British troops.

18. Under this view of the circumstance I respectfully beg leave to submit to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council whether the reassembly of the detachment would not rather tend to produce impressions unfavourable to our views.

19. Should however the Mirs of Sind, notwithstanding the observations above advanced, exhibit any real design of prosecuting

their ambitious projects on Cutch, the Hon'ble Company's Agent will, from his own means as well as from the cordial intercourse which it will be his duty to cultivate with the parties in that country, have abundant opportunity of being informed of their views; and should any just apprehension of danger be entertained, the Government of Cutch will not be backward in soliciting that assistance, which they might hesitate to avail themselves of, if too hastily obtruded on their acceptance.

20. As the country of Cutch is beyond all danger of surprise, I should also hope that our preparations would always be able to anticipate the Mirs, in affording such assistance as the Government of Bhuj may require. The country of Cutch can receive reinforcements at all seasons of the year, and this assistance could be afforded in a very few days from Bombay or Surat by sea, or from Gujarat by land.

21. While however I respectfully state the sentiments which appear to me to render the reassembly of the detachment inexpedient on general grounds, the inconvenience of stationing a single company of sepoys at a station so remote from assistance as Porbandar must be admitted as well as the advantage which would result to the general interests of the Company's Government by permanently establishing a battalion at that place.

22. A battalion thus situated will always be ready to support such objects as the Hon'ble Company's interests may require to the westward, whether with reference to the projects of the Government of Sind, the introduction of a more effectual control into Cutch, or the ostensible and justifiable object of securing the newly acquired interests of the Company's Government at Porbandar.

23. This situation would also control a line of sea coast extending from Beyt to Diu. It must confirm the arrangements in Kathiawar, as they affect the conduct of the two most powerful Chieftains of the peninsula, the Nawab of Junagarh and Jam the Raja of Navanagar; and although I am willing to believe that the final abolishment of piracy can require no additional security, yet a further powerful restraint must be imposed by the vicinity of this battalion.

24. The advantages of stationing a battalion at Porbandar would also be greatly consolidated and confirmed by establishing a small magazine and arsenal at that port. Few places are more capable of affording accommodation to articles of store than Porbandar, and the reputation of having the means of offensive operation within the power of the British detachment at that station must add considerably to the impression which its residence there would create.

25. While however I recommend this measure, I am aware of the inconvenience and disadvantage of removing the station of Paliyad, which is so conveniently situated for the protection of the Company's districts and preserving a chain of connexion to the advanced station of Porbandar.

26. Were the Baroda subsidiary force always complete to its regular and proper establishment of 3000 effective men, this arrangement could be easily adopted; but under the general deficiency in point of numbers, which this force has laboured under, it would be impracticable, unless another battalion should be added to the subsidiary.

27. Could this arrangement be effected, it would not cause the subsidiary force much, if at all, to exceed the number, which we are bound by treaty to keep up; and while we should be fulfilling the stipulations of that instrument, we should be providing for the security of the public interests of the Company in general as well of those of Gujarat.

28. Previous however to adopting the measure it may be necessary to observe that the consent of the Gaikwad Government and of the Chieftain of Porbandar must be obtained. This need not delay any preliminary proceedings, as I conceive it would not be difficult to obtain their consent to a measure, which their own interests would lead them to solicit.

29. Should the deliberations on this subject terminate in ordering a battalion to be stationed in the vicinity of Porbandar, I would respectfully suggest, for the obvious purposes of keeping it disposable and preserving the tenor of our engagements with the Chieftain of Porbandar, that the 100 men who are stationed within the fort, should still be considered as a separate and distinct command; and to preserve the means of communication with the family of the Ranas of Porbandar in the same state of cordiality and confidence, it would not be advisable to trust to the indiscriminate selection of a roster. This however need not interfere with the regular relief of the sepoys.

Baroda, 28th December, 1810 (1811, P. D. 368).

1810

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I am honoured by the receipt of your letter giving cover to the *The Jam's* transcript of a translated letter from the Jam of Navanagar to the *letters* address of the Hon'ble the Governor.

I request you will be good enough to observe in reply to this reference that, unless the Chieftain above mentioned intends to complement the British Government as having the power and inclination to resist tyranny and oppression, I am at a loss to conjecture to what particular object such expressions are applicable.

The Jam of Navanagar has received signal marks of favour and protection from the Government, to which he is tributary, especially evinced on the prompt advance of the Gaikwad troops to his assistance on the occupation of Halar by Fateh Muhammad at the close of the year 1808; and I conceive that the epithets, which have attracted the attention of Government, are by no means deserving of further attention.

Translation of a letter from the Jam of Navanagar to the Hon'ble Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, dated 25th September, 1810.

Jasaji's appeal I had the pleasure to receive at an auspicious moment by Captain Greenwood your agreeable letter, in which you have, in the spirit of sincerity, observed that no distinction existed between the Hon'ble Company's Government, and that of the Gaikwad. And there is no doubt that, in demonstration of this circumstance, the respectable Colonel Walker undertook to maintain the future tranquillity of this country. It will therefore behove you, in view to the corroboration of the foundation of the existing cordial connexion and in promotion of the happiness of mankind in general, to repeat your injunctions on this subject to the British authorities at Baroda in order to protect and secure the present generation from tyranny and oppression. I request you will afford me the pleasure of hearing of your welfare, and advising me of any articles you may require in this quarter, gratify me with your correspondence. For the rest I have only to express my desire to cement the foundation of harmony and good understanding.

Bombay comment.

Query Order that a copy of a translate of the kharita from the Jam of Navanagar be sent to the Acting Resident at Baroda, who may not be apprised fully of its purport; the contents of which seem to exceed the ordinary line of complimentary correspondence; and as bearing allusion to sufferings of hardship and oppressions Captain Carnac should report his impression of them, in the event of his having any idea to what particulars they allude.

1811 *Cutch Bhuj, May, 1811 (1811, P. D 374)*

Jamadar Fateh Muhammed to Captain James R. Carnac, letter received at Baroda on 10th May.

eh M. enable Your friendly letter, every word of which had the odour of friendship, wishing me to send my vakil with full power to confer on the affairs of Navanagar, and having called one of the people of Jam Jasaji, everything will be settled in a proper manner. What was written arrived in a lucky hour and was the occasion of great joy, and its meaning clearly understood. In a just business there is no necessity for sending a vakil with these powers, the former true account of everything which I wrote you, will by this time have arrived.

I have sent agreeably to your wishes Cooverji Mehta. I have dispatched him this day, and he will make known to you every circumstance regarding me. I trust that you will place confidence in what he says and terminate everything in a proper manner. I have always trusted that you would arrange all things properly, and that the Company will act according to justice. Colonel Walker informed me that this would be properly arranged, and I relied on his word. Whatever you may think best to be done, do; for the rest it is only necessary to request you will always continue in a friendly manner.

Baroda, 10th May, 1811 (1811, P. D. 374)

1811

James R. Carnac to Jamadar Fateh Muhammad.

Your letter by the means of your agent Cooverji Vaniram has been received and the subject was fully comprehended. *Carnac friendly*

In regard to the adjustment with Jam Jasaji of Navanagar, for which the respectable Colonel Walker had suggested proper measures, I beg to repeat my assurance that whatever may be just, will not fail of being executed by the English Government; on this subject therefore be you satisfied of my hearty desire of doing everything that you would approve.

I have had an opportunity in my interview with Cooverji of conversing with him unreservedly on many points, and it is my wish that the report he may make to you should be admitted to your implicit confidence. Actuated with feelings of friendship I have deputed Rajasri Bajirao in company with Cooverji to your quarter, with a view of further explaining the friendly tendency of my disposition towards you. The great motive for my dispatching this person is that you may so cultivate the friendship of the Hon'ble Company's Government that advantages to you and your family may be the certain consequence. With this intention do you open your mind to the persons and expedite their return, which I shall expect in the course of 25 days.

Baroda, 11th May, 1811 (1811, P. D. 374)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the arrival at this Residency on the 8th instant of a wakil from Jamadar Fateh Muhammad. The object of the Jamadar is a settlement of his long standing claims on Navanagar. *Fateh M.'s wakil*

Baroda, 30th July, 1811 (1811, P. D. 377)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I am much concerned to transmit for the notice of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the enclosed copy of a dispatch received last night from Major Boye, reporting a proceeding by the person commanding at a fort called Murpur subject to the authority of the Jam of Navanagar; which I respectfully conceive, should be attended with the particular displeasure of the British Government, not only as an act of immediate justice to ourselves, but that the grievous insult, thus offered, be noticed in a manner calculated to make an impression on the country, at large of conduct so unprovoked and unexampled meeting with punishment fully adequate to the offence. *Murpur outrage*

While I have occasion to regret the imprudence of the officer, thus barbarously wounded, in straying so far from the neighbourhood of Major Boye's encampment, and proceeding to the immediate vicinity of the fort when it is generally known that the native Chiefs are so particularly tenacious of the approach of strangers to their places of defence, still the violence and cruelty, of the killadar of

Murpur can be justified by no cause whatever, and may fairly be attributed to a spirit of bitter enmity, which it may be incumbent on us to treat with our marked indignation and resentment.

If the wanton insult is received without exacting some exemplary penalty the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may be disposed to admit that such insults will be repeated, and that the respect due to our character must become considerably affected.

Though impressed with these sentiments, I have felt the propriety of addressing the Navanagar Chieftain in terms of civility, calling on him to deliver over the persons who have perpetrated the ferocious act of wounding an officer unarmed, and afterwards threatening to put him to death. I beg to transmit a copy and translate of this letter, the tenor of which, I trust, will meet the approbation of the Hon'ble Board. It will enable the Jam Chieftain, if disposed, to evince his horror at the conduct of his servants by giving them over to justice; or it will decide whether the Jam authorises or connives at such atrocious proceedings. The Gaikwad Government have also written to the Navanagar Chief in the terms expressed in my address, and I have been in a great measure actuated in demanding the persons guilty of the act before noticed under an assurance from Vithalrao Diwanji now at Baroda that, were we to follow any other course on this occasion, the Navanagar Chieftain would in every probability make professions of punishing the parties, while he would abstain from doing so, and thus give ample encouragement for a reoccurrence of these daring outrages.

No. 1. Letter from Major Boye to James R. Carnac, dated Banwar, 21st July.

Boye's account I cannot sufficiently deplore the circumstance of being detained by bad weather, as the occasion of this dispatch is to report one of the most flagrant insults to the British flag ever experienced from the natives of this country, and which, had I followed the dictates of my own feelings at this glaring outrage, I should have attempted this morning to revenge with the detachment under my command. Prudence however has dictated to me that I was not possessed with sufficient authority, and that attempting to carry a hill-fort by escalade, the only means in my power, the strength of which from nature is reported to be great, and from which the result could not be certain, would subject me in case of failure to the severest reprehension of Government. To keep you however no longer in the dark with respect to the circumstances I allude to, I must inform you that Lieutenant Knight and Doctor Orton left camp yesterday afternoon after the rain had a little ceased with the intention of walking in the direction of some high hills in this neighbourhood and in the vicinity of the fort of Murpur. They had walked about two miles from camp when they perceived the fort on the top of the hill; and when within a quarter of a mile of it, two Arabs came down towards Lieutenant Knight, one of whom instantly drew his kris with the intention of killing him, and actually wounded him in three places on the head; one of them, I am sorry to say, is a most severe one about six inches in circumference. I however

enclose you his own deposition, taken immediately he arrived in camp, which he gave in a very sensible and clear manner. I am sorry I cannot at present declare him out of danger, as the Doctor pronounces the effect from wounds, in the head, similar to what Lieutenant Knight has received at all times very precarious and uncertain. Doctor Orton most fortunately escaped unhurt from the sanguinary villains, but was chased upwards of two miles, and was then under the necessity of concealing himself in the bed of a nullah until night. He reached camp about 8 o'clock, and gave the necessary information, on which I dispatched a letter to the Killadar, copy of which I send for your information, and to which as yet I have received no answer. Nor has the horseman, who was the bearer of it returned; which makes me rather anxious for his fate. Lieutenant Knight reached camp about 6 o'clock this morning, completely covered with blood. Had he not arrived, humanity and feelings of sympathy for a brother-officer would have induced me to have marched this morning to take up a position out of gunshot from the fort with the idea of intimidating the Killadar and effecting his release, in which situation I should have awaited orders from Lieutenant-Colonel East to whom I immediately reported.

Although in a military point of view, officers walking without arms may be deemed improper, yet I cannot but in the present instance conceive it a most providential circumstance, as, had they been armed, the first great principle of nature, self-preservation, would have induced them to make a stand, in which case, I fear, they would have been both massacred by the vile wretches coming down the hill.

I can hardly find words to express my horror and detestation at the cowardly conduct of the garrison of Murpur; for after Lieutenant Knight was wounded in this severe manner, they beat him more shockingly with bamboos and spears. I beg leave to mention to you that this is the third time that the garrison of Murpur has insulted the British flag. They fired on both Colonel Walker and Major Gifford, and actually, as I am informed by the natives, were the occasion of his going three kos from the direct route.

I trust my conduct on this occasion will merit your approbation and sanction. I was aware that making any hostile attempt on a fort belonging to the Jam Raja would possibly involve our political interests in this quarter in a dilemma, which we conveniently at this time could not spare force to extricate ourselves from, and therefore have sacrificed my feelings as a man to what I conceive my duty as a soldier and the interests of the Company.

I am sorry I have not in my power to give you a very correct account of the fort. Lieutenant Knight is of the opinion there is a inner fort, beyond the one he was taken into; and the natives inform me it has guns and is at present garrisoned by 250 Arabs. There is however a very good understanding between Banwar and Murpur, and they, no doubt, could easily draw reinforcements; indeed I am informed that different parts of the hill, on which Murpur stands, are fortified.

To conclude I cannot sufficiently express my approbation of the eagerness of my detachment to revenge the insult offered to their officer. The instant it was known in camp, the men fell in with one accord, and I regretted much that political and prudential motives must make my conduct appear to them passive and unnatural.

No. 2. Letter from Dr. Orton, dated Banwar, 21st July, 1811.

Dr. Orton to J. R. Carnac.

Doctor's account I hereby depose that Lieutenant Knight and I took a walk about three o'clock yesterday afternoon towards the fort of Murpur at a distance of three or four miles from camp. When we had arrived at the foot of the hill, about 200 yards from the fort, we heard a terrible uproar among the people, and saw several of them armed rushing down the hill. One of them, a serious looking fellow armed with a match-lock, a sabre and large broad knife, ran up to Mr. Knight (who was about five yards before me), and accosting him in a menacing loud voice instantly drew his knife and brandished it over his (Mr. Knight's) head. Mr. Knight tore open his cloak, apparently to show that he was unarmed; which did not seem at all to appease the man's violence; and thinking there was no mercy to be hoped for, and that resistance would be madness, I made my escape into the jungle, and saw a man in close pursuit of me about two miles.

No. 3. Letter for Major Boye to James R. Carnac, dated Banwar, 21st July, 1811.

Knight's deposition Lieutenant Knight deposes that Doctor Orton and himself left the town of Banwar about two o'clock P. M., for the purpose of walking in the direction of Murpur. They had proceeded within a quarter of a mile, when two Arabs came down, and immediately ran up to him (Lieutenant Knight.) One of whom instantly drew his kris with the intent of murdering him, on which he opened his breast to show that he had no arms; and if the man wanted to kill him, he might strike the blow. By this time several other men arrived, some of them stayed with him, and others ran after the Doctor. This event had no sooner occurred than the Arab, who first came up to him, sheathed his kris, drew his sword, and then cut him in the head; on which he ran into the jungle, when about twenty Arabs pursued, and soon overtook him. They drew him up the hill, severely beating him all the way with sticks and spears. After they had seized him the second time, he told them they might be assured that the commandant with his corps would march to his relief. Their answer was [that] they would murder the whole battalion. After ascending the hill they consulted whether they should put him to death, and who should give the blow. But they appeared to disagree on the subject. Shortly afterwards they told him he might depart, making use at the same time of the most abusive language, and desired their children to hoot him as he passed along; which was done by a few. After leaving the fort, he went on about three miles bleeding all the way. From great loss of blood he fell down, where he remained the whole night. The following morning at day-break he again started and reached the village of Banwar with the greatest difficulty.

No. 4. *Letter from Major Boye to the Killadar of Murpur.*

Instantly deliver up the British officer, whom some of your adherents, I should presume without your knowledge, have dared to lay hold of. If he is not in my camp by day-light, I shall be with you with my troops to assist the honour of the British name. I have guns with a reinforcement of troops at Adwana, which I have sent for. But I shall punish you myself, unless you comply with my requisition. *Threat*

Baroda, 30th July, 1811 (P. D. No. 377-1811)

1811

James R. Carnac to the Jam of Navanagar.

Major Boye, who marched from Paliyad, was encamped near Murpur, whence some persons came out and seizing one of two gentlemen, who were taking the air, carried him into the town and behaved highly disrespectfully to him.¹ This has come to my knowledge. You are a man of some importance and possess good sense. You will therefore see the propriety of sending the people who have been guilty of this offence to this place. This will be to your credit, be pleased to send me an answer without delay. *Request*

Bombay orders, dated 16th August, 1811 (1811 P. D. 377).

Captain Carnac, in acknowledgment of this dispatch, to be informed that he is to follow up his first mild letter to the Raja of Navanagar by calling upon the Gaikwad Government to adopt what further measures may be necessary for requiring the perpetrators of this cruel and flagitious attack being delivered up, in order that justice may take its due course regarding them, unless the Resident shall be satisfied by the Raja that he will himself take proper cognisance of it. *Orders*

Baroda, 8th August, 1811 (1811, P. D. 377)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

It is the policy and incumbent duty of the Company's Government under the stipulation of an express agreement to see that the fair and just claims preferred by Jamadar Fatch Muhammad against Navanagar be satisfied, not only that the character of the British Government should be maintained by an adherence to those promises, under its official and solemn pledge, but that the satisfaction of these claims should protect the boundaries of the Gaikwad territories from the invasion of a Foreign Power.² *Carnac's proposal*

It would perhaps be trying the forbearance of the Jamadar beyond the limits of prudence, to abstain any longer from our negotiations with Navanagar; and the urgency of entering on them will, I trust, be conclusive to the mind of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

The character of the Chief of Navanagar and the licentious freedom of his actions induce me to believe that some difficulty may be experienced in bringing this man to acknowledge the validity of claims which he has resisted hitherto with undeviating obstinacy. *Jasaji's character*

1. This is not a correct summary of the information which Carnac had received.

2. This was Carnac's view after the Murpur incident. *Post hoc, ergo.....*

The resources of his Principality, the success with which he has evaded the attempts of Fateh Muhammad to wrest from him an admission of his demands, and the unmolested state of his capital both by the Company's and Gaikwad's troops, when guilty of misbehaviour, may all tend to encourage the proverbial arrogance of this Chieftain.

Although by the extract of the letter from my agent at Bhuj it appears that the Jam had sent a Mehta to that capital under the avowed plea of satisfying the Jamadar, his uniform resistance to the right advanced by Bhuj makes it very suspicious and probable that this agent was deputed more for the purpose of ascertaining the proceedings of my vakil than with any view of adjusting the subsisting dispute.

It is not therefore advisable from this measure on the part of the Jam to calculate too much on his inclination to come to an understanding with the state of Cutch.

Desirable as it may be to obtain this object by available negotiation, which it will be my duty and earnest anxiety to promote, I should be acting contrary to the sentiments by which I am now animated, were I to ensure the attainment of the object of my proposed mission entirely by the means of amicable treaty.

Admitting it to be possible that the Navanagar Chieftain will not consent to abide by the award that may be passed on the approaching investigation, it will rest with the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to decide how far the credit of the British Government may require this Chieftain to be coerced into a concession founded on strict equity to the parties.

I am induced at this early stage to bring this question to the deliberation of Government, not from any positive despair of settling peaceably with the Navanagar Power, but that we may be seasonably aware of the possibility of failure. These doubts have originated in a great measure from certain indications on the part of the Jam within a recent period, calculated to impress me with no favourable idea of his subordination. For instance the late unprovoked attack upon the officers at Murpur, which I had the honour to report in letter of the 30th July, and also the insult which he has offered to the Gaikwad Government by ill-treating and expelling from his territories a Mehta, who had been deputed to ascertain the number of female infants saved to the community in consequence of the engagements on the part of the Jetwat and Jharaja, Rajput Chieftains of Kathiawar, to desist from the barbarous crime of infanticide.

Force and threats Reckoning therefore on the contingency before noticed, the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may be disposed to concur in the propriety of my being authorised, if necessary, to warn the Navanagar Chieftain of our resolution to punish him in the event of his evincing a disposition to refuse his accession to an equitable compromise. In such case it will be apparent to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the provisions of our treaty with the Government at Bhuj may not admit in strict consistency, of our availing ourselves of the services which the Jamadar Fateh Muhammad would probably be disposed to offer for the success of his own views.

I beg, in this place to communicate to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad, becoming informed of my intended absence from Baroda, and the objects of my mission, has announced his wishes of accompanying me in terms particularly importunate. His Highness observes that he has now arrived at that time of life, which renders it proper that he should become acquainted with those affairs of his own government, which a local knowledge of the country will alone allow him distinctly to comprehend. It has been, he added, the practice of his family, and that he is aware the British Government would be inclined to gratify him in a wish, which would be productive of so much advantage, enhanced as those advantages would in his estimation prove by the opportunity of being present at those negotiations in which the British Government are so much interested. *Fatesing's wish*

In submitting the substance of His Highness's observations, I have respectfully to remark that many beneficial effects will in my apprehension be produced to the objects in contemplation by acceding to the wishes of His Highness. Exclusive of the desirable consequences of giving that scope to His Highness's capacity and judgment, which an intercourse with the various parts of the Gaikwad territories will tend to facilitate, the presence of His Highness must give additional weight to our proceedings in Kathiawar, and no occasion can be better fitted than the present for gratifying his reasonable and praiseworthy wishes, as we shall have ample means of guiding His Highness to proper pursuits and defending him from those disadvantages to which his youth might be exposed, if allowed to visit his country without the counsels and friendly admonitions of the British Government. Disinterested as the motives for our conduct must prove, it would be beneficial in other points of view that His Highness should accompany me, especially as it will enable me to avail myself of the services of Amin Sahib (who with other sardars will attend His Highness), a Sindhi jamadar of great respectability, connected by caste and former acquaintance with Fatch Muhammad, who can be employed to advantage in our negotiations with Cutch without the appearance of his proceeding into Kathiawar for express purpose.

An eligible opportunity will be afforded in the course of our negotiations with Navanagar to impress the Jamadar with the sincerity of our motives for desiring the connexion with the state of Cutch, and this proceeding should be preliminary to any discussions with reference to our Cutch relations. *Fatch M.*

Bombay, 27th August, 1811 (1811, P. D. 377)

1811

Board's resolutions.

The anxiety of this Government for the Resident's proceeding, at the earliest practicable period, on the object of adjusting the claims of Fatch Muhammad on Navanagar, was expressed in our Chief Secretary's letter dated the 19th of this month; and the Governor-in-Council is happy to find that anxiety to be in consistence with the views and intentions of Captain Carnac. *Bombay policy.*

The Governor-in-Council does not anticipate the difficulty, apprehended by Captain Carnac, of inducing the Chieftain of

Navanagar to accede to the amount that may be awarded to be due to Fateh Muhammad, because Captain Carnac will observe from his predecessor's reports the greater part, if not the whole, of the amount to be discharged under the award, is to be ultimately paid, not by the Jam, if Government understand it rightly, but by Sagram Khawas of Jodiya; who would also seem bound under the settlement made by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker to reimburse the Jam for whatever part of the original amount of the claim the latter may have paid to Fateh Muhammad.

Under any circumstances, however, the Governor-in-Council is of opinion that every chance of the interposition of the British Government failing in its object should be provided against by Captain Carnac's being accompanied by a portion of the subsidiary force adequate to impress upon the parties a conviction that we are seriously bent upon the accomplishment of a measure, dictated by considerations of regard to the interests of those concerned, but above all to guard against the territory of our ally, the Gaikwad, being invaded, as it has so often been, on the alleged ground of obtaining satisfaction for the claim in question; and it would be acceptable to receive at the earliest period the Resident's opinion of the force that he may consider necessary for the purpose, and a statement of the probable expense that would attend the prosecution of the measure in question.

Instead of affording the Navanagar Chieftain any indication of our entertaining a question of his acceding to a compromise under the Company's interposition, as suggested in Captain Carnac's letter, it seems on the contrary the most advisable that he should address that Chieftain in terms, untinctured with doubt of his implicit and ready accession in the result of the award, the principles of which have been so fully discussed, nor should the Resident, under any consideration, look to the services of Jamadar Fateh Muhammad in the promotion of this object, but under the stipulations in the treaty point out, if necessary, that the deputation of a wakil or an agent as his arbitrator is all that can be required or can be admitted of on his part.

Fatesing On the paragraphs of Captain Carnac's dispatch [*referring to Fatesing,*] it is only necessary to observe that, if the Resident sees no objection to Fatesing's accompanying him, the Governor-in-Council does not withhold his acquiescence in the wishes of His Highness.

1811 *Baroda, 1st September, 1811 (1811, P. D. 378)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Carnac's animosity In reference to the subject of my address dated the 30th July and of your reply of the 15th August following, I have the honour to submit for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council copies of a letter from Major Boye, reporting the communication he has had with the Jam of Navanagar in consequence of the unpardonable attack at Murpur.

I should not trouble Government with my particular observations on the correspondence of Major Boye, provided it was in my power

to concur in the smallest degree in the sentiments expressed by that officer of the genuine sorrow manifested by the Navanagar Chief for the conduct of his servants.

It was to be expected that the Jam, who is no stranger to the power of the Company's Government and its resolution on all occasions to resent an unprovoked and atrocious insult, would soon come forward with ample declarations of contrition, the offspring of his apprehensions, and not of his feelings of regret or honest indignation.

The character of this Chieftain led me to expect a line of conduct on his part similar to that reported in the accompaniments to this letter. Proud and presumptuous, he would boast to the surrounding country that he had corrected a British officer for having the temerity to approach his fort; while he would hope that a few concessions of a trivial nature might satisfy the Company's Government and secure the perpetrators of the flagitious acts at Murpur from a punishment, loudly called for by every consideration of justice to ourselves and by public expediency.

Under these imperious circumstances, and reflecting on the effect of an easy forgiveness on other Chieftains in the country, Government may not be disposed to consider any acknowledgment extracted from Major Boye or Lieutenant Knight to have the virtue of cancelling the demand for the persons of the atrocities of Murpur.

The concessions made by Lieutenant Knight have originated in a benevolent feeling to forgive an injury, as far as it affected his own person; but, laudable as this conduct must be admitted, it cannot supersede the propriety of avenging a public transgression, though committed on an individual. Lieutenant Knight was serving in his official capacity; and the insult by the dastardly people of Murpur is virtually an insult to the Government under which that officer served.

It does not appear also that the insufficient reparation, said to have been afforded, is founded. In fact, the accompanying translated letter from the Gaikwad Mehta will give a proof of the existence of the same spirit of barbarity, the cognisance of which has already been declared with a profligate effrontery.

It will rest with the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to decide on the measure of giving Lieutenant Knight a remuneration for the wounds he has suffered, under the hard circumstances to which he will become exposed; but it would, I conceive, prove a dereliction of my duty and a want of justice to Mr. Knight, were I to pass over in silence his praiseworthy and judicious rejection of the sum of money offered to him by the Jam Chieftain.

Impressed with the belief that Government are sincerely desirous to see a becoming understanding effected with the Navanagar Power on the grounds of my first letter to the Jam, I have forwarded the accompanying reply to the answer to that address, which I have also the honour to enclose with the one received by the Gaikwad Government, containing, as the Hon'ble the Board will perceive, an insinuation against Lieutenant Knight as unjust as it is descriptive of the real sentiments by which the Jam is animated on the occasion where he feigns such serious regret.

No. 1. Letter from Major Boye to James R. Carnac, dated Banwar, 23rd July, 1811.

*Banwar
fort*

Since my last dispatch, the weather having in a great measure cleared up, and a little sunshine having made its appearance, the fort was visible from my camp; and I was induced to reconnoitre it. The walls seem to be regularly built and flanked by four towers, the whole upon an abrupt acclivity with an ascent; from within a quarter of a mile the roads narrow, and the hill is very steep. Indeed it only appears accessible on one side. The person, whom I sent with the summons to the killadar on the night that I conceived that Lieutenant Knight was detained and perhaps murdered in the fort, has not returned and appears afraid to do so. He sent a message that the fort, which had behaved so ill, being subject to his Master, the Jam Raja, he was afraid to return into camp. I however have quieted his fears by informing him that it is not the custom of the British nation to take vengeance on the defenceless and inoffensive. The people of Banwar and the surrounding villages seem perfectly aware of the flagrancy of the act that has been committed, and seem to entertain apprehensions that vengeance would be wreaked on them. They were also drawing reinforcements from the surrounding villages and sending their families out of the town. My out-pickets report about 150 men having got into the fort of Banwar during the night of the 21st. I however felt perfectly safe against any hostile attempts, should they possess sufficient energy to make any, but which, in my opinion, is the furthest from their thoughts.

*State of
affairs*

Six of the head people from Banwar waited on me yesterday, and I have completely pacified their fears with regard to any intended attack to be made on them, which had been much exaggerated by the reinforcement sent into the fort the preceding night by the Jam Raja or some of his Chieftains; indeed so much so, that the ryots and Banians were actually leaving the pettah, and some had already gone.

This conduct on the part of the Jam is the only circumstance that could give them the least cause for apprehension as to avoid doing so I have omitted changing ground since I first took up my encampment, and also afforded them a guard in the pettah to prevent disturbances.

I yesterday received a letter from the Jam Raja, expressive of his concern for the transaction. I however have been careful in my reply and merely corrected the statement of the circumstances, which had been made to him, it being false. Lieutenant Knight never was desired by the Arabs to go back, or he most surely, from a regard for his safety, would have complied, being completely unarmed. The man attacked him without uttering a syllable. I enclose the Jam's letter and my answer.

Kessanji, the person whom I sent the first night with my summons to the killadar of Murpur, has just returned, having received my letter that he need have no apprehensions of bad treatment in the English camp in consequence of the atrocious act which had been perpetrated by his Master's adherents.

It appears that the Arabs would not allow him to enter the fort. Indeed, I am of opinion, from every information I have been able to

obtain, that, though the fort is nominally subject to the Jam, he has not the least control over it; nor do I think they would even obey his orders to deliver up the Arabs most active on this occasion, the [officer] in charge of the fort told Kessanji, if the Jam had no further occasion for their services, they will take their discharge and leave the fort, but could never think of giving up the criminals.

To conclude I have the pleasure to inform you that the people are returning to the pettah, and everything is in perfect quietness.

No. 2. Letter from Major Boye to James R. Carnac, dated Gondal, 1811 13th August, 1811.

I have the honour to report to you that a deputation from the Jam Raja, conducted by a sardar of the name of Fakir Muhammad, waited on me yesterday at this place; conveying the most poignant expressions of sorrow on the distressing event which took place at Murpur, and informing me that he had driven from his service with disgrace the perpetrators of the crime, and had moreover discharged the whole of the Arabs composing that garrison at the time the outrage was offered to Lieutenant Knight. *Jasaji's excuses*

From many a conciliatory message sent by the Jam and from his conduct after this unfortunate transaction I am really of opinion that he is sincere, and his feeling much affected by the circumstance. My answer to the deputation was short, but the mentioning my incompetency to interfere in the matter, but at the same time stating that I should conceive it my particular duty, as it would also constitute my highest pleasure, to mention to you in the most strong and favourable terms the very friendly and conciliatory behaviour adopted by his Master since the melancholy catastrophe.

With this answer the deputation left my tent with the most apparent satisfaction and, I understand, afterwards waited on Lieutenant Knight, the sardar having particularly expressed a wish to see him personally and inquire after his health.

I have this morning received the accompanying official letter from Lieutenant Knight, explanatory of what took place at the meeting, and which I have thought it right immediately to submit to your consideration.

No. 3. Jam Jasaji Letter.

The friendly letter, which was sent, has arrived; from perusing it the rosebud of my beard flowered. In future consider this Darbar as your own, and continue writing about the disputes of the people between the two Darbars. The reproof you wrote me was very proper; certainly this act has proceeded from men who are extremely foolish and bloodthirsty. Hence I am much displeased with these people, and have caused them to be severely punished; and do you now through the favour of the Company and their well-wishers preserve the credit of this Darbar and pardon the offence. In this way sense and good intention will be apparent. Whatever business will be proper ..., write about it. I consider you as my protector. *Excuses*

No. 4. Letter from Lieutenant Knight to Major William Boye.

*Peace
offering*

I have the honour to inform you the Jam Raja deputed two sardars to me some time ago to inquire after my health, and beg my acceptance of a pair of golden bangles and a superb turban, which I politely refused accepting, as I reported to you before.

The Jam Raja again sent two sardars with a letter inquiring after my health, and begging I would write him how I was, also informed me the two sardars had a message to deliver.

On asking them what the message was, they replied the Raja requested my acceptance of seven thousand Rupees, and assured the men, who had behaved so ill, had been discharged and turned out of his country; in consequence they hoped I would forgive the outrage and [show] my interest to get the matter settled; informing me also how sorry the Raja was that such a circumstance should have happened. I enclose a copy of the answer I sent the Raja.

I received from the sardars a copy of their proposition, which I have the honour of forwarding for the information of the Government.

7000 rupees

The purport of it is to ask the Government to forgive the insult and to state that the Arabs had been disgraced and turned out of his country, also requesting permission that I may receive seven thousand Rupees as a remuneration for the expenses, they understood, I should be put to in consequence of the injury my health had sustained.

In making known to you this offer I have received from the Jam Raja, I would wish to impress on your mind that it is far from my desire to compromise the insult and injury I have received in any way derogatory to the honour of the Government under which I serve; nor could I think of receiving the sum offered by the Jam Raja in the light of the pecuniary consideration for the outrage; but, should the Government see no impropriety (being much involved from the loss of my baggage at two distinct periods, and the expediency of a voyage to Europe to renovate my exhausted constitution, after the immense loss of blood I sustained, being at present deemed necessary) I think without injustice to my feelings I could receive the sum tendered to defray the heavy expenses attendant on a voyage to my native country, occasioned exclusively by the wounds I received from the adherents of the Raja.

In concluding I would by no means wish to attach any merit to myself for the part I have acted in this transaction, as I have only been influenced by those feelings and ideas congenial to British officers; but candour to myself obliges me to mention that I might have received the sum of money without the knowledge of any one, as a person was actually deputed to deliver it to me at my tent.

I have now, Sir, made you acquainted with every circumstance, which has passed between me and the Jam Raja, and leave the decision of this proceeding with pleasure to the judgement and equity of my own Government.

No. 5. *Letter from Lieutenant Knight to Jam Jasaji (1811, P. D. 378)*

The letter you did me the honour of sending by Fakir Muhammad I have duly received, and Trivedi has explained the contents. It does not lie in my power to accept any sum of money either large or small without the permission of Government. *Conditional acceptance*

Fakir Muhammad has given me in writing your wishes, which I have delivered to my commanding officer, Major Boye, who will forward you the requisite information as soon as he receives an answer. I feel highly flattered by your kind inquiries after my health, and have much pleasure in informing you the doctor has reported me out of danger.

Should the Government, under which I have the honour of serving, accept your proposal, it will afford me much pleasure; and whatever may be their decision, you may depend upon it they will be guided by the strictest honour and equity. Jamadar Fakir Muhammad has requested me to mention that he offered me in your name seven thousand Rupees.

I have now only to add that I feel perfectly convinced that the injury I received was entirely without your knowledge, and I would wish it to be understood that, should the Government allow me to accept your offer, it cannot be considered a remuneration for the personal insult, which after your friendly behaviour I freely forgive, but as an indemnification for the very great expense which the unfortunate wounds will lay me under in visiting my native country, which the Doctor is of opinion will be necessary.

No. 6. *Letter from James R. Carnac to Jam Jasaji, dated Baroda, 23rd August, 1811.*

Your letter has been received and its contents perfectly understood. *Carnac's demands*

I lose no time in acquainting you that the reparation you state to have afforded by the dismissal of the sepoy, who committed the atrocious act of wounding a British officer without cause and unarmed, is considered by me very insufficient, and that, as you value the friendship of the sarkars of the Company Bahadur and Senakhaskel, you will without hesitation conform with the demand made in my communication of the 30th July last.

It behoves me here to mention to you, in consequence of the amity which subsists (the happy continuance of which relation will depend on yourself) that you have merely dismissed the sepoy from your service, who was the instrument of the cowardly, base and flagitious proceeding noticed, although it was my desire that this sepoy and others of the same description, leagued in the infamous proceeding, should be delivered over to me for the purpose of being dealt with, as strict justice requires. My principal object is to obtain the persons or the chief authorities on your part at Murpur who instigated the commission of the shameful attack.

You are therefore requested to comply with what will appear to you so obviously just; and that you may be fully aware that this gross insult from your servants is not forgiven by the Company's

Government, I here make it known to you, wishing you well and in the spirit of a friend who is anxious that the bonds of friendship be strengthened by a propriety of behaviour on your part, though misconduct beyond belief has been observed by your Murpur dependants.

Favour me with a speedy answer and news of your continued health and happiness.

No. 7. Letter from Jam Jasaji to James R. Carnac, dated 23rd August, 1811.

Excuses I have received your letter and understood it. Some gentlemen belonging to Major Boye's detachment were probably taking a walk, where a quarrel happened to ensue between them and a Murpur sepoy. I heard of this, and that very hour I dismissed the sepoy, who had quarrelled with the officer. I sent a man to Major Boye with an appropriate message, and Major Knight was pleased of his own free award to pardon it. Major Boye is also acquainted with this and wrote you a letter from Gondal, from which you will have learnt everything. Grant me the friendship of the Hon'ble Company as heretofore, write me often of your health.

No. 8. Letter from Jam Jasaji to Vithalrao Diwanji, dated 16th August, 1811 (1811, P.D. 378)

Excuses Your letter arrived, and I have understood its contents. You wrote that a European belonging to the English battalion was walking and was ill treated by a sepoy of Murpur. This was not proper.

The business is this; the Murpur sepoy did not act in that manner intentionally. This European was probably walking intoxicated, when by chance a quarrel took place between him and the Murpur sepoy. When I heard it, I instantly sent a man to Major Boye with a proper message. This officer and also Major Knight of their own accord forgave this business. This you will hear. You are my friend, therefore I write you. You may believe that I have not acted against the orders of Saheb (God,) nor will I ever.

1811 *Bombay, 14th September, 1811 (1811, P. D. 378)*

Minutes by the Commander-in-Chief.

Jasaji condemned If the Navanagar Chief had manifested a cordial and sincere disposition to make every atonement to the Company's Government for the wanton and barbarous assault committed on Lieutenant Knight by the garrison of Murpur (for the whole may to a certain extent be considered as implicated from the manner in which that officer was treated, after he had been dragged into the fort apparently in a dying state), and which he could not have demonstrated in a manner more to the satisfaction of the Governor-in-Council than by a ready and cheerful compliance with the desire, conveyed to him through the Resident at Baroda, the Jam under such a line of conduct would have been convinced that we were anxious to exonerate him from any participation in the flagitious act; but it appears from the correspondence now before me that the Navanagar Chief, so far from being impressed with a due sense of the insult offered by his lawless

adherents to the British Government, seems on the contrary disposed to treat the subject of complaint with the utmost levity, and in his letter addressed to Vithalrao Diwanji has even the effrontery to assert that it was simply an affray originating with an intoxicated Englishman.

With every desire to avoid discussions which might have the most remote tendency to interrupt the good understanding which it is so desirable should at all times subsist between the Company's Government and the petty States in Kathiawar, I conceive it on the present occasion to be nevertheless a point of public duty that this thoughtless Chieftain should be required to make every proper concession for the unprovoked misconduct of his adherents; or otherways we should be departing from those sound and wise principles to which we owe that power and influence we at present possess in India.

Under this view of the case, I entirely approve both the tenor of Captain Carnac's letter to the Navanagar Chief, and I sincerely trust that cool reflection on the consequences, which must result from delay or hesitation in complying with our well-grounded and just demands, will prevent the necessity of having recourse to measures which may leave the Jam cause to repent of his folly and temerity.

It is perhaps to be regretted that Major Boye and Lieutenant Knight should have accepted of the slightest compromise with the Jam; but their conduct as individuals, as the Resident justly observes, cannot supersede the measures which Government may deem it requisite to pursue with the view of obtaining satisfaction for a public transgression under whatever shape it may have been committed.

The disinterestedness of Lieutenant Knight in having refused the money offered to him by the Navanagar Chief is highly commendable, although it would have been still more satisfactory if it had been unconditionally rejected. I shall be perfectly disposed to take a favourable view of Lieutenant Knight's claims to a pecuniary remuneration when it shall become a subject of discussion before the Board.

Bombay, 14th September, 1811 (1811, P. D. 378)

1811

Minute by the Governor.

I most cordially subscribe to the sentiments, expressed by His Excellency Lieutenant-General Abercomby upon the dispatch from Baroda, relative to the conduct of Navanagar Raja in the affair at Murpur, these sentiments being precisely in purport what I should myself have submitted to the Board at its next meeting. In preparation therefore for the Raja's answer to the Resident's last letter, Captain Carnac should be apprised that he is no longer to concede to the Raja the option, which was contained in the former communication from the Board, but firmly and steadily to adhere to his requisition for the perpetrators of this assault upon Lieutenant Knight being given up for trial to the Gaikwad Government, since the tenor of the Raja's letter satisfactorily demonstrated that an evasion and not a performance of justice will be the result of the investigation being entrusted in his hands,

*Knight's
request*

With respect to Lieutenant Knight's expectation of deriving a pecuniary recompense from this Government, in consequence of having refused the offer made him by the Jam Raja (the merit of which refusal it is not necessary to discuss), I am compelled to observe that, as the wounds he received were the consequence of an imprudent, if not culpable departure from the limits of the camp, and wholly unconnected with his public duty, I do not see how Government can with any degree of consistency or propriety admit his pretensions to relief from the public purse.

1811 *Baroda, 11th September, 1811 (1811, P. D. 378)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

*Carnac's
proposal*

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch dated 27th ultimo in reply to my communication of the 21st preceding, and with reference to the subject of the 3rd paragraph I beg respectfully to submit the following observations for the deliberation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Although it is highly expedient that the interposition of the British Government should be attended with full and complete success, it will probably be more prudent, for the reasons hereafter assigned, to attempt in the first instance the attainment of the pending objects through the medium of simple negotiation.

During the expeditions of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker into Kathiawar the appearance of his force did not certainly produce any extraordinary impression on the proceedings of the Jam of Navanagar, so particularly evinced in his obstinate resistance to the restoration of the fort of Kandorna to the authority of Porbandar.

The presence however of troops, on my first entry into Kathiawar, may be attended with more inconvenience from the suspicions it might create in the mind of the Jamadar Fateh Muhammad, deducing this opinion not only from the immediate vicinity of Navanagar to the Rann, which divides the peninsula of Kathiawar from Cutch, but from the extreme jealousy and alarm excited at Bhuj at the period Colonel Walker's detachment traversed the borders of that tract from Malia to Positra.

Exclusive therefore of the apparent advantage of attempting negotiation alone (which, if availing, would obviate the outlay of the public money), it is advisable with reference to our view in Cutch that the greatest circumspection and discretion be observed in all our dealings with the Jamadar, as his tenacity to connect himself with the British Government has obviously arisen from a want of confidence in their views, which conciliation and every outward appearance of cordiality may possibly remove.

In the contingency of the Navanagar Chieftain manifesting an improper disposition, the advance of a body of troops at that crisis must convince him that the object intended is to coerce him into a concurrence, which an amicable intercourse has failed to obtain; while on the other hand my being accompanied by a military force at the onset would more likely impress the Jam with an erroneous idea that my mission embraced those general objects committed to Colonel

Walker on former occasions without specific reference to himself. But the appearance of the force at a later stage will produce a contrary effect and, in lieu of alarming Fatch Muhammad, tend to convince him of the deep interest which the Company's Government have taken in the realisation of the just dues from the Navanagar State, and bias his mind to those sentiments that may enable me with greater ease to accomplish the desirable consolidation of the treaties in that country.

At present I would therefore suggest to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I should proceed in the execution of his instructions, attended by an honorary guard composed of the flank companies of the battalion at Paliyad and a party of native cavalry under a European officer; which detail, I conceive, would be sufficient for respectability of appearance and personal safety. In the meantime it would perhaps be advisable to place me in possession of authority to call on the proposed proportion of the subsidiary force when circumstances may appear to me to require it.

In obedience to the directions contained in your letter under reply, I beg with every deference to submit my opinion that, in the event of a force proceeding into Kathiawar, its efficiency should be equal to the complete subserviency of the Navanagar Chieftain; under which impression it appears to me prudent that a portion of the Gaikwad subsidiary force, not less than 2 battalions, and a proportion of artillery should be employed, while a reserve, if necessary, of a body of European infantry might be prepared to proceed to Porbandar from Broach or Bombay, the season admitting of their being conveyed with expedition from either of these ports.

Taking into consideration the present organised state of this Government as well as the proposed removal of His Majesty's 17 Light Dragoons to the station of Kaira, I am not aware under these circumstances that any material objection exists to the measure of leaving only one battalion at Baroda, though if it would be convenient to the public service to detach to detail of native infantry from Kaira to this station during the limited period of the Kathiawar service, the public interests here would be secured from interruption.

I have the honour to enclose a statement of the probable additional expense attending the employment of two battalions of native infantry and the proportion of artillery before mentioned, derived from the best sources of information in my power, exclusive of the charges of a commissariat, which it is impossible for me correctly to ascertain.

I take this opportunity to request you will have the goodness to communicate to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council my present intention of leaving Baroda on the Dasara, falling on the 27th instant, being compelled to delay my departure till that period, the intervening days being considered by the natives inauspicious and consequently objectionable to His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad and the persons attending his suite.

In conclusion, I have the honour to submit a list of the gentlemen and native servants of this Residency whose services on my pending mission are indispensable, and have respectfully to suggest that a

remuneration for the extra charges to which they will be subjected may be admitted, as during Colonel Walker's circuit in 1809 in the province of Kathiawar.

I have at the same time to notice, should it meet the approval of the Governor-in-Council, that my Assistant, Captain Ballantine, will take charge of the Residency during my absence.

1811 *Bombay, 18th September, 1811 (1811, P. D. 378)*

Further minute by the Commander-in-Chief.

Knight's request

Having stated generally in the concluding para of my minute of the 14th instant that I should be disposed to take a favourable view of Lieutenant Knight's claims to a pecuniary remuneration, when it should become the subject of discussion before the Board, I am desirous to place upon record the extent to which it was my intention to have afforded relief to that officer. It has been brought to the notice of Government that Lieutenant Knight will probably be compelled to apply for leave of absence to return to Europe for the re-establishment of his health, which has been much impaired from the severe wounds he received, when assaulted in the neighbourhood of the Fort of Murpur. The peculiarity of the circumstances attending his case would have appeared to me motions of sufficient weight to have obtained my sanction for granting him such a reasonable pecuniary assistance as would have aided him in defraying the heavy expense of a voyage to his native country; and I should confidently have hoped that under a proper explanation an indulgence, conferred in this manner, would have been confirmed and approved by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. The majority of the Board reviewing the claims of Lieutenant Knight in a different manner, I most cheerfully submit to the unanimous decision of my colleagues, and I beg to assure them that my only object on the present occasion is to explain the sentiments which dictated the last para of my former minute upon this subject.

1811 *Baroda, 24th September, 1811 (1811, P. D. 378).*

Board's resolution.

Approval

The Governor-in-Council having considered the suggestions and the reasoning contained in the Resident's letter, [*letter of 11th September*], entirely approves the modification which Captain Carnac has proposed of the instruction conveyed in the 3rd para of Government's letter of the 27th ultimo, with the subject and intention of which it is found to be in full consistence.

Conformably thereto His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is requested to direct the flank companies of the battalion stationed at Paliyad and a detachment of native cavalry, commanded by a European officer, to join the Resident as an honorary guard, and at the same time to suggest such arrangements as His Excellency may deem best calculated to meet the eventual call of two battalions and a proportion of artillery into Kathiawar, providing also for the possible contingency of the aid of a body of European infantry.

The Governor-in-Council does not mean to make a positive exception to the proposition of the Resident's letter regarding the

gentlemen and native servants of the Residency, who are to accompany him, and whose services he represents to be indispensable, nor to their deriving the same remuneration for the extra charges which they will be subjected to, as was admitted during Colonel Walker's circuit in 1809; but it will be very acceptable to Government that Captain Carnac, in this as in every other instance of pecuniary disbursement, should adapt his means to the object in contemplation from them with a view to the least possible expense; and under this impression the Governor-in-Council does not exactly see what necessity can exist for a surveyor being employed in a part of the country, the whole of which, if the Governor-in-Council is rightly informed, has already been visited by Colonel Walker.

The charge of the Residency being committed to Captain Ballantine during Captain Carnac's absence is approved.

Viringam, 3rd November, 1811 (1811 P. D. 380)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Since my arrival at this encampment I have received letters from *Jasaji* Sunderji Sivji and my native agent at Bhuj, containing satisfactory evidence of the Navanagar Chief having made application to Jamadar *obstinate* Fatch Muhammad to form a defensive alliance, which the latter has unequivocally rejected, and made known his reply and intentions to my agent.

While this instance of friendly disposition on the part of Jamadar may be fairly calculated on with reference to his general conduct to the Company's Government in our expected negotiations, it will be seen from Sunderji Sivji's letter, reporting considerable levies at Navanagar, that the apprehensions expressed in my letter of the 8th August on the probable disposition of the Jam, deduced from certain acts of insubordination and arrogance, are likely to be fulfilled; and I am still disposed to hope that this Chieftain [*will yield*] on discovering the justice of our demands and the obvious rights of calling him to an account for his repeated misdemeanours evinced not only to the Company's and Gaikwad's Governments at Murpur, but for a systematic deviation in his engagement to refrain from female infanticide, as well as in other circumstances towards his immediate superior Government; I deem it my duty nevertheless to prepare the Hon'ble Board for a disappointment of these hopes and the consequent necessity of resorting to the alternative of signal coercion.

Baroda, 7th October, 1811 (1811, P. D. 379)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that it is my intention to quit Baroda this evening for the province of Kathiawar in company with His Highness Fatchsingrao Gaikwad. The delay from the 27th ultimo has been occasioned by the request of His Highness, which became of less importance, as your reply to my dispatch of the 10th ultimo only reached me a few days since. I beg to state that I have delivered over charge of the Residency under the prescribed forms to my Assistant, Captain Ballantine.

1811 *Baroda, 13th November, 1811 (1811, P. D. 381)*

Fatch Muhammad to James R. Carnac.

Fatch M. amenable Your friendly letter from Ahmadabad, announcing your arrival at that city with His Highness Maharaja Fatesing Gaikwad and your approach towards Navanagar for the purpose of settling certain concerns with that place, and the expression of your desires to strengthen the friendship which exist between the sarkars, reached me at a fortunate time and afforded me pleasure. I perfectly understood its contents, and had also the pleasure to learn many particulars from the respectable Amin Jamadar's letter. Why should it not be so, when the Hon'ble Company's word is lasting as engraven on stone? I am perfectly satisfied that all my known and just demands will be granted.

Although the Hon'ble Company are extremely desirous to be on terms of the strictest intimacy and friendship, yet, please God, in no respect shall I be wanting to effect the beneficial end; on this head I have disclosed my sentiments fully to your wakil Rajasri Bajirao and dispatched him to you. You will probably learn everything from him, and make me happy with a reply; after which one of my respectable and trusty men shall be sent to your presence.

1811 *Sarafdar, 24th November, 1811 (1811, P. D. 381)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Jasaji obstinate A spirit of resistance influences the conduct of that Chieftain. The deliberate steps that are now adopting to obtain the assistance of the surrounding petty Chiefs, and the rapid levies of troops at Navanagar, with other indications to repel our just interposition, leave me much reason to believe that simple negotiations in the proceedings of Jam Jasaji [*will be of no avail*] unless supported by the presence of a body of troops.

I am unable to discover any rational ground for preparations of the hostile description of those now in progress at Navanagar; and it appears extraordinary that such an exposition of the sentiments of the Jam should have taken place without any attempt to ascertain the object of the British Government, unless it may be attributed to the observance of that system of arrogance, which has distinguished for some time the conduct of this person, and a resolution to come to hostility.

Desirous that no endeavours should prove wanting to accomplish the instructions of Government by amicable communication with the Chief of Navanagar, I have addressed him to the full effect of the enclosure, and the consequences of this letter will probably place it in my power to submit to the Hon'ble Board more satisfactorily, than I yet feel authorised to do, the course which circumstances may appear to warrant.

With a view of receiving a reply to my letter, I have halted at this place, conveniently situated within the limits of the possessions of Jam Jasaji, and that my advance to Nikawa on the direct route to the port of Murpur should not prematurely give birth to unfavourable impressions.

It will be satisfactory to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to learn that the applications to the Chiefs (translates of whose letters are enclosed in this dispatch) will not be successful; and that I am aware of no material assistance having been afforded, except by Dosaji of Malia and the Mianas who were expelled from that place, when assaulted in 1809 by the troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker.

No. 1. Letter from Jam Jasaji to Sagram Khawas.

Pandia Samulji told me of your affairs. I have at present *Appeal* occasion for your services; therefore come quickly to the presence with 2,000 men, gunpowder and shot, jinjals, armour, pakhar, lead and other stores; do not delay; you are a Darbar servant; but, should you not be able to come, send your men with 1,000 cavalry and 1,000 infantry. You are the most respectable of the Darbar servants; therefore send your trusty men and mutasaddis. You enjoy a jagir and are respected by the Darbar; and if you do not serve, who else will! Therefore come quickly with the horse and men.

No. 2. Mulu Maneck of Dwarka to Sunderji Sivji.

Mehta Ambaram came here from Nagar and invited me in the *No aid* Jam's name. I replied that I should take no steps without Sunderji's advice.

No. 3. Sunderji's Agent to Sunderji.

The Nawab of Junagarh's army, consisting of 2,000 or 3,000 men *Troops* and 2 guns, is encamped at Janjimur, 3 kos from Dhoraji. The army is going to Murpur. It is said that the Sorath blumias are on their way to Murpur. Men are entertained at Junagarh; there daily fresh troops are enlisted. Troops will be collected at Murpur; and fard (written authority), it is said, has been given for 5,000 Gosains; men are gone to call them.

Yesterday 400 Marwaris were entertained. Should the English corps move from Porbandar, they will be attacked on the side of Murpur; and those from the other side will be attacked on the Agi River.

He has made friendship with Fateh Muhammad, and it is said that Jagjivan will come with assistance. The Jam is making terms with the Jodiya Man.

No. 4. Letter from James R. Carnac to Jam Jasaji.

Previous to my departure from Baroda I communicated with you *Terms of* upon some particular points, to which I received no satisfactory *inquiry* answer; and though your conduct on this occasion has not been becoming your situation, I shall at present dispense with your oversight, and apprise you of the reasons which have made me come to this quarter.

The first is to require from you the discharge of the just demands of the Government of Rao Rayadhan, and on this head I suppose you will conform to what justice may dictate. The second object of my journey is to require from you the persons who committed the

barbarous act of wantonly wounding an English gentleman, convinced that, if reason guides your conduct, and you regard your character, no difficulty will be experienced on this score. Lastly the infringement of your engagement respecting infanticide will be fully investigated. It was the hope of the British Government that your rank and station in this country would have impelled you to be foremost in showing a good example as well as in the strict performance of your public obligations as in the renouncing a practice hostile to humanity and contrary to the tenets of the sacred Shashtra. On this point I shall expect particular satisfaction from you, and the instances of misconduct to the Gaikwad Government will be made known to you by the orders of the Maharaja Fatsing.

In order to discuss these several points I beg you will send with dispatch mukhtiar vakils to this camp.

1811 *Bombay, 27th November, 1811 (1811, P. D. 380)*

Bombay resolutions.

Conciliation With regard to the Raja of Navanagar, although the Governor-in-Council is fully determined to enforce, should it be necessary, the adjustment of his present differences with the Government of Bhuj, the Governor-in-Council is nevertheless extremely desirous of avoiding an extreme which shall call for the measure of drawing troops into the field, and therefore enjoins the Resident to be cautious of accelerating it by his conduct towards the Raja, and endeavouring to accomplish the objects in view without having recourse to hostility.

1811 *Navanagar, 30th November, 1811 (1811, P. D. 381)*

Jam Jasaji to James R. Carnac.

Grievance Your letter arrived, and its contents were understood. You wrote at length on some points; but Colonel Walker settled this country peaceably for 10 years, gave the Company's bhandari, and protected the population of the country.

The people under the faith of the Company's bhandary agreed to pay lakhs more than they were able in jamabandi; and in this country as yet no act contrary to the pleasure (of the sarkar) has been committed. The sarkar is great. Therefore they ought to consider on everything. If the country remains populous, it is to the advantage of the sarkar. Write me letters on any business in this quarter.

1811 *Sarafdard, 1st December, 1811 (1811, P. D. 381)*

James Carnac to Jam Jasaji.

Ultimatum Antecedent to my departure from Baroda I dispatched a letter to you, the contents of which were doubtless understood. You cannot now be ignorant of the reasons of the approach of His Highness Fatsing and myself. Twenty days have expired since we arrived in the vicinity of your territory, and ten have elapsed since we encamped at Sarafdard subject to your authority.

You have not replied to the letters addressed to you by the Gaikwad Government and myself, nor have you sent any person to account for this silence; but, as the Company's and Gaikwad's

Governments are anxious to settle amicably, I again represent to you (for the last time) that you should agree to an equitable adjustment of the points in dispute.

If you should still be blind to the necessity of a proper line of conduct, I shall be compelled to march from hence and obey such orders as I may receive from my Government. I had in contemplation to annul the bhandari granted to you by Colonel Walker, but willing to hope that you will still listen to the dictates of reason, I have deferred until I hear further from you.

Sarajdar, 1st December, 1811 (1811, P. D. 381)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Since my dispatch bearing date the 24th ultimo I am concerned to report for the information of Government that I have witnessed no indication, on which it was proper to place any confidence, of the intention of the Chieftain of Navanagar to enter upon negotiation of the several points stated in my letter to his address under the 21st November, but that his proceedings in the intermediate time have been marked by the same spirit of opposition, demonstrated ever since my departure from Baroda, and an apparent determination (deduced from his studied silence and an aversion to admit of any discussion through the medium of vakils) to brave extremity to concession. *Jasaji obstinate*

Letters from Mandvi state that the Jam is attempting to obtain and actually deriving considerable bodies of troops from Cutch, and information has been received of the Kathis, Naju Khaecher and Curpurra Chubba, having joined him with 300 horse during the last week, at the same time it is certain that emissaries have been dispatched to distant quarters for the purpose of entertaining men for the defence of the Nagar territories.

Under these undisguised proceedings, and taking into consideration that a period of three weeks has now passed away since my arrival in the vicinity of the Navanagar limits, without a single attempt direct from Jam Jassaji to accommodation, [it] leaves me no longer room to hesitate on recommending to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the expediency of directing a body of Europeans to Porbandar, eventually to join the battalion from that station and Paliyad, which, under the authority conveyed by your dispatch dated 30th September, I have requested may be immediately equipped for field service.

By forbearing any longer to evince to the Chieftain of Navanagar that the British Government will coeree their just demands, I am fully impressed with the belief that the consequent procrastination will be experienced without any ultimate good effects, and time afforded to organise a resistance; though eventually unavailing, it may not be unattended with difficulty and loss.

Our interposition hitherto had been conducted with every desire and external appearance for reconciliation; and the consequences produced in Cutch and in many parts of this country from the course yet adopted have proved important; it has furnished undoubted evidence of our pacific intentions, and removed in a great degree the injurious impressions, excited by the agents of Jam Jasaji, of the

secret intention of the British Government to possess itself of Navanagar and its dependencies with a view to projects of further ambition and aggrandisement. To persevere however in the present measures, which can now scarcely be susceptible of any benefit, would neither become the dignity of the Company's Government nor appear respectable to the country at large.

Decided indication of the hostile tendency of Jam Jasaji's proceedings, the resolution he has shown to admit of no communication, and the false pretext he has preferred for our interference, in order to form a systematic combination both in this country and Cutch (where ties of consanguinity naturally gave a bid in his favour among the jhareja bhayad) will, I respectfully conceive, decide the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that my negotiations, unaaccompanied by a respectable force in the neighbourhood, in lieu of producing the issue contemplated, may encourage the arrogance and presumption already manifested by that Chieftain of Navanagar.

The appearance of our troops will perhaps induce Jam Jasaji to proceedings of more prudence and propriety; and the persuasion from present appearances that no other cause can effect this alteration prompts me without further delay to suggest its immediate adoption.

In the meantime as a last attempt, from which I have little reason to expect success, I have again addressed the Navanagar Chief, warning him of the consequences of his present behaviour, and beg leave to submit a copy of this letter for the information of the Hon'ble Board. To give every effect to this communication and publicity to our solieitude to pursue our amicable course of proceeding, the letter has been conveyed by the principal servant of the Gondal Chieftain (the counter security for Navanagar in the decennial arrangements concluded by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker in 1807), to whom the nature of my demands on Jam Jasaji and my earnest desire to receive satisfaction, conformable with strict justice to that person, has also been fully explained.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will be pleased to learn that in consequence of a communication under my directions to Dosaji of Malia, who had engaged himself in the Navanagar service, he has offered to come into camp on receiving my cowl, which I have granted, considering the importance of detaching a person of Dosaji's influence and character from the interest of Jam Jasaji.

The objections, which militated against my movement towards Murpur, being removed by the circumstances reported in this dispatch, I have to apprise the Hon'ble the Governor-in Council of my intention to march on the 4th instant to the neighbourhood of Jodhpur, situated about 6 kos north of Murpur, and 16 from Porbandar, a position that appears desirable on many considerations and particularly with a view to any operations against Murpur, which Government may be pleased to authorise.

1811 *Navanagar, 4th December, 1811 (1811, P. D., 381)*

Jam Jasaji to James R. Carnac.

Useless letter Your former letter by the harkarah reached me and was replied to in an explanatory style. It will have arrived. Your letter just

brought me by Vasonji Mchta has also been fully understood. The country is not contrary to the wishes of the Hon'ble Company. The people reside in it under the faith of the Company's bhandari for 10 years and pay a jamabandi beyond the means of the country, but they reside contented with the Government. Under all these circumstances therefore the sarkar ought to be particularly careful of the country. Write me frequently letters.

Sarafdar, 4th December, 1811 (1811, P. D. 381)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

After the conclusion of my dispatch bearing the date 1st instant, the answer of Jam Jasaji to my letter of the 21st November was received, which I have accordingly to request you will have the goodness to hand up for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. *Military action advised*

The evasive tenor of the communication will abundantly supply any doubts of the disposition of the Navanagar Chief. The total silence which he has observed on the subjects discussed in my address, and his having neither noticed nor taken any steps to send his agent to this camp, must, I respectfully conceive, decide the Hon'ble Board to carry into execution the measure suggested in my letter of the 1st instant, as affording the only prospect of obtaining the objects of our interposition and the respect which is due to the British Government.

In addition to the evidence acquired from the letter of Jam Jasaji, it may be proper, as descriptive of his present conduct, to submit the deposition of the kasid, to whose charge my letter was committed, in which it will be observed that the reference made to the troops in Navanagar was obviously intended as an indirect communication of his present hostile intentions.

From these indications, added to the many corresponding acts already made known to the Hon'ble Board, the hope, which had been anxiously entertained of effecting an understanding with the Chief of Navanagar without resorting to the employment of a body of our troops, must, I fear, unavoidably be relinquished; and with a view of impressing Government with the conviction that no endeavours have been omitted to induce Jam Jasaji to attend to reason and to afford him a full and unequivocal acquaintance with the objects of the British Government, I beg leave to bring the following instances to the knowledge of the Hon'ble Board.

During the month of September two persons denominating themselves vakils to the Gaikwad Government (charged however with no specific communication) having arrived at Baroda, I took that opportunity of requesting the Administration and my own principal native agent to state the motives of my proposed mission to this country Junagarh; which I am assured of having been executed. In the terms of my address to Jam Jasaji, since my arrival at this encampment, a similar notification was also made to the agent of Raghunath Diwan of Kutiana (now in Nagar), who had proposed to become a mediator in the subsisting differences between the Government of Bhuj and Navanagar, and to other persons in attendance on Vithoba Diwanji, so *Jasaji warned*

early as the period of my reaching Ahmadabad. Subsequent to my arrival within the limits of the tributary Chieftains of his province, I have in person and by other channels distinctly avowed the intentions of the Company's Government being foreign to any desire of entering in hostility with the Chief of Navanagar or other petty Powers, except the measures became justified and unavoidable by a contempt of their authority; and on these several occasions the demands on Navanagar were particularly recapitulated.

Under the impression also of Jam Jasaji being disposed to negotiate more readily in the outset through the means of Vithoba Diwanji from his previous habits of intercourse with that officer, that medium was also resorted to; but on the entire failure of every communication with various persons from Navanagar (though in no authorised capacities) the Diwanji communicated to me his conscientious belief after mature reflection that the arrogance of Jam Jasaji would only abate according to the means which I had at command to restrain it.

Use of force It was after these reiterated and unavailing attempts that I felt it my incumbent duty to recommend the formation of a force at Porbandar. Such was the universal sentiment, supported powerfully by the commission of acts insubordinate and contemptuous, and [by] the rapid levy of troops, that delaying to adopt this expedient must in the sequel produce consequences of increased difficulty and embarrassment.

In this recapitulation of the assiduous exertions which have been made to avoid the extremity of calling on a force to support my negotiations, it is only my wish to make it appear conclusive to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the conduct and proceedings of Jam Jasaji left no other alternative, without relinquishing an interposition at the sacrifice of the rights, honour, and dignity of the Company's Government.

Carnac's views Presuming that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may resolve on the equipment of a force under the imperious circumstances of the case, and reflecting on the probability that an example may also prove indispensable, I am induced with every deference to the supreme judgment of the Hon'ble Board to offer some observations connected with considerations of policy on the course which appears to my apprehension most advisable in the event of hostilities becoming unavoidable.

The primary object of the Company's Government consists in the realisation of the just dues of the Government of Cutch on the Chieftain of Navanagar; the next immediate importance is the acquirement of reparation for the gross and wanton insult offered to the British Government at Murpur.

Dangers Although the first object, abstractedly considered, might justify our advance immediately to the capital of Jam Jasaji's, such a proceeding seems inexpedient, not only from being at variance with the avowed principle of abstaining from quarrels with the petty Chieftains of the country, but from the impressions of our views and policy which would thence be excited. The possibility of exciting the jealousy, if not rousing the confederation of neighbouring States

to oppose the impending extinction of a powerful Rajput State, in whose existence all have an interest from ancient connection and established prejudices, and the policy of showing the justice of the proceedings, by the gradual progress of events, previous to the decided step of advancing to Navanagar, are worthy of deliberation.

Such a measure is not called for by any present necessity for the attainment of our objects; but, in lieu of that desirable issue by means as conformable to our original intentions as circumstances can now admit of, the deep tenacity with which the Rajput Chiefs admit of approach to their towns of defence and particularly to the seat of their Government, and the idea which the predominating characteristics of imprudence and presumption of Jam Jasaji might deduce from a precipitate advance to his capital (when even my present appearance with a body guard occasions distrust) would perhaps hurl the Company's Government into more extended operations than present objects could justify, at least without a previous trial of the effect of example more suitable and less susceptible of general bad consequences.

With these sentiments I have respectfully to notice my opinion *Murpur* that, should it unfortunately become necessary to resort to an act of coercion after the troops may reach this province, it would eligibly be exercised at Murpur, the scene of the barbarity and insult which the Hon'ble Board have so distinctly reprehended and resolved to vindicate.

While the signal punishment of the offenders in Murpur would be in pursuance of denial of our peremptory demands for reparation, the exaction of satisfaction on the spot must doubtlessly produce a useful effect; and this instance of punishment, accompanied by my consequent intercourse with Jam Jasaji of the consequences of further opposition, would at all events afford a fair chance of bringing him to a sense of his interest and duty.

By the adoption also of this line of proceeding, it will be obvious to the Chief of Navanagar that the equipment of a force of Europeans could not merely be directed to the reduction of the fort of Murpur, but that an ulterior object was contemplated, not until one example had given him full warning of the consequence of misconduct.

To engage at once an operation against Navanagar would certainly be susceptible of the advantage of saving the task of reducing Murpur. The latter plan might be as efficacious in that point of view by limiting also the extent of our operations, and moreover from the probability of obtaining the ends of Government in a manner more conformable to our wishes and avowed principles.

I take this occasion to submit for the notice of the Hon'ble the *Jasaji's* Governor-in-Council a statement of the force at Navanagar and its *resources* subordinate places of defence with other useful particulars, accompanied by a map of that place, furnished by a native, requesting you to communicate my belief of the exaggeration of the numbers, which perhaps may fairly be estimated from 7,000 to 8,000 men of every description, which is liable to augmentation from the levies going forward.

It is worthy of remark that no person of any rank or distinction has engaged himself hitherto in the cause of Jam Jasaji, the only zamindar being Dosaji of Malia, who, I have reason to suppose, will accept of my cowl to come to camp, and whose character would prompt him to join in any scenes of agitation or tumult.

The command of money to a considerable amount enables the Navanagar Chief to entertain many followers, though it cannot stand to reason that men who are employed can either be cordial to their new master or very effective to his strength.

The probability (daily increasing) for the employment of the troops at Paliyad and Porbandar has induced me to direct Sunderji to procure cattle and carriage for the latter station; and to facilitate this object His Highness Fatesing has given orders on different talukas and horsemen to see them carried into effect under the instructions of Sunderji. The Gaikwad Government are also collecting cattle, etc. in the vicinity of Paliyad according to a statement of the number necessary as furnished to me by the officer commanding. For the present I have deemed it proper merely to adopt these preparatory steps (which will equip the two corps for field-service at the shortest period of time), hoping that they will meet the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

1811 *Baroda, 6th December, 1811 (P. D. No. 381-1811)*

Extract from a private letter from Captain Carnac.

Jasaji's obstinacy. Vasonji, the Gondal karbari, who was sent with a letter to the Jam, returned this morning and declares the following to be the purport of his proceedings.

On being told that it was not the wish of the Governments to injure him, provided he should listen to a reasonable and just accommodation, the Jam replied to Vasonji in the following terms. "With respect to the cash due to Rao Rayadhan, the sarkar have no right to interfere; the Rao and I are of one family, and we will settle the business ourselves; the Jamadar Fatch Muhammad has twice attempted to force it and failed. With respect to Murpur, I neither can nor will give up the men whom the sarkar demanded. I have two thousand Arabs in my fort, and I cannot displease them. With respect to infanticide, I never entered into engagements; the vakils may have done it, but not by authority. At all events, it does not become me, who have no children, to transact any deed of this nature."

On being spoken to by Vasonji on the deed of zamani, executed in his favour by the Gondal Chieftain, the Jam replied: "Bring your zamini, here and act like Rajputs; it is a common cause and Nagar's fall will be Gondal's ruin." With respect to sending vakils to camp Jam says that he has no people whom he can depend on, that there is no necessity to send vakils, where there is nothing to be done; he is a Gaikwad zamindar and has never acted in a manner improper as such, and that he will answer everything himself and not trust to vakils. He has however sent Bhuda patel in that capacity, but with no power,

On being asked why he should then oppose the wishes of the Gaikwad Government without entering into some explanation, he says: "The sarkar is powerful; and if they are inclined to kill me, they may do so at my gate, I am a Rajput of 45 years of age, and those who arrive at greater years gain no addition to their respectability. I am therefore easy."

Bombay, 7th December, 1811 (1811, P. D. 381)

1811

Resolution.

However anxiously the Governor-in-Council contemplated the accomplishment of the indispensable interposition of the British authority towards the adjustment of the claims of Fateh Muhammad on Jam Jasaji of Navanagar without the application of force for that purpose, yet the unjustifiable measures of resistance which that Chieftain appears determined to oppose to the exercise of our influence in the settlement of demands, on the pleas of which the Jamadar has so repeatedly invaded the territories of that tributary to the Gaikwad State, could not warrant a longer delay on our part in the equipment of a detachment for the attainment of an object so essential to the future tranquillity of the western peninsula of Gujarat.

By the second article of the agreement with Fateh Muhammad dated the 20th of October, 1809, which has for object the security of the tranquillity of Kathiawar, the mediation of the Company was pledged for the settlement of certain claims to be possessed by the Raja of Bhuj on Navanagar, with the view of giving effect to the preceding or 1st article, which provided against the advance from Cutch of any troops to the eastward or opposite side of the Gulf and Rann lying between Cutch and Gujarat. Upon the performance of that stipulation the interest of the Chieftain of Navanagar is involved equally with that of the Gaikwad, whilst the disinterested views of the British Government on this occasion cannot be doubted.

We are therefore equally with the Resident at Baroda entirely at a loss to discover any rational grounds for preparations of so hostile a description as those now in progress at Navanagar; and they constitute in the unanimous and deliberate opinion of this Government an indispensable necessity for resorting to the application of force as the only means of ensuring the fulfilment of an agreement, to the performance of which the faith of the British Government has been so long pledged, and in the execution of which its agent has advanced within the limits of the possessions of Jam Jasaji in a manner the most unexceptionable, being without any military array further than what was necessary as an honorary for the support of the dignity and representative character of the Resident. Independently of these facts, the presence of Fatesing with the Resident at Baroda was the best guarantee we could afford of the genuine objects of the deputation; whilst the notorious and beneficial principles, upon which the two former expeditions into Kathiawar under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker were conducted and concluded, as having in view to ascertain, to desire and to secure the just and relative rights of the Sovereign Authority and its dependent tributaries in the

province in question, to the future exclusion of the harassing and oppressive system by which the claims of the former were accustomed to be levied from the latter, should have left no room to doubt our intentions on the present occasion; and least of all should it have led to a premature determination in the Jam to oppose them; since the salutary effects of our influence that Chieftain has had the fullest means of appreciating; whilst the security which he has enjoyed under the operation of the agreement with Fatch Muhammad ought to have impressed him with a just sense of the value of the British alliance, instead of obstinately and insultingly urging him to assume a posture of resistance, which it would ill become the character of the British Government to tolerate, particularly in a quarter where it is of the first importance to the consolidation and permanency of the arrangements, which we have effected at so much trouble and expense, that an undiminished respect for the reputation of our power and influence should be maintained.

Independently of these considerations, which would be alone sufficient to justify us in coercing Jam Jasaji under the disposition which he manifests to oppose our interference, the contumacious and insulting manner in which he evaded a compliance with our requisition for justice, in the instance of the barbarous and wanton attack upon two British officers, constitutes an additional ground for our requiring and, if necessary, compelling that Chieftain to inflict the most signal and exemplary punishments upon the perpetrators of that inhuman attack; in respect to which he seems so ill-disposed to afford us any satisfaction.

Under these impressions we consider the indications contained, in the document before us, sufficient to have warranted Captain Carnac to have authorised the force at Porbandar and Paliyad to advance and to have required a detachment of Europeans from the Presidency to join him. As however his local experience has induced him to await the result of his letter to Jam Jasaji, we deem it our duty to be prepared to meet his application for a European force at the shortest notice; the circumstance of the 65th being already in possession of their tent-purchase money, to be introduced as a reason for our having the less hesitation in adopting the precautionary measure of preparing the force. It is accordingly resolved to direct His Majesty's 65th Regiment and the flank companies of the 47th to be held in readiness for field-service with a detail of artillery consisting of one captain, one lieutenant and forty privates; which with the native battalions and artillery at Porbandar and Paliyad will make the force destined to join the Resident at Baroda as follows:—

65th Regiment	..	..	350	
47th flank companies	..	..	130	480
Artillery from Bombay	..	..	1,140	
Porbandar	..	..	120	
Paliyad	..	..	8	1,268
1st Battalion 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry	..	..	850	
2nd Battalion 4th Regiment of Native Infantry	..	..	850	1,700
				Total .. 2,248

Bombay resolution.

1811

In respect to the line of conduct which Captain Carnac deems it *Orders* advisable to pursue, in the event of hostilities becoming unavoidable, the Governor-in-Council is of opinion that the course of our operations should be in the first instance confined to the pecuniary object of the Company's interference, which consists in the realisation of the acknowledged dues of the Government of Cutch on the Chieftain of Navanagar, and should not be previously directed to the secondary consideration of obtaining reparations for the gross and wanton insult offered to the British Government.

Bombay, 14th December, 1811 (1811, P. D. 381)

1811

George Brown to Gilbert Lord Minto.

However anxiously we contemplated the accomplishment of the *Navanagar* indispensable interposition of the British authority towards the *trouble* adjustment of those claims (the nature of which will be found particularly described in the documents that accompanied our Chief Secretary's dispatch dated the 22nd of February, 1809) without the application of force for that purpose, yet the unjustifiable measures of resistance, which that Chieftain appears determined to oppose to the exercise of our influence in the settlement of those demands, on the plea of which it is known to Your Lordship that the Jamadar has so repeatedly invaded the territories tributary to the Gaikwad State, would not warrant a longer delay on our part in the equipment of a detachment for the attainment of this object, which is so essential to the future tranquillity of the western peninsula of Gujarat.

We are equally with the Resident at Baroda entirely at a loss to *Jamjasaji* discover any rational grounds for preparations of so hostile a descrip- *unreason-* tion as those now in progress at Navanagar, and they constitute in our unanimous and deliberate opinion unavoidable grounds for our resorting to the application of force as the only means of ensuring the fulfilment of an agreement, to the performance of which the faith of the British Government has been so long pledged, and in the execution of which its agent has advanced within the limits of the possessions of Jam Jasaji in a manner the most unexceptionable, being without any military array beyond what was necessary for the support of the dignity and official respectability of the Resident.

Independently of these considerations, the presence of Fatesing with the Resident at Baroda was the best guarantee we could afford of the genuine objects of the deputation, whilst the beneficial and disinterested principles upon which the two former expeditions into Kathiawar under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker were conducted and concluded, as having in view to ascertain, to define and to secure the just and relative rights of the sovereign authority and its dependent tributaries, to the future exclusion of that harassing and oppressive system by which the claims of the former were accustomed to be levied from the latter, should have left no room to doubt our intentions on the present occasion and, least of all, should it have led to a premature determination in the Jam to oppose them; since the

salutary effect of our influence the Chieftain has had the fullest means of appreciating, whilst the security that he has enjoyed subsequently to the conclusion of the agreement with Fateh Muhammad, ought to have impressed him with a due sense of the value of the British alliance, instead of leading him to assume a posture of resistance that may be justly considered as a breach of his allegiance to the Gaikwad, which we are bound to subdue. Nor do we imagine that Your Lordship will disapprove of our having adopted the most effectual measures for that purpose without having hazarded the serious consequence of the delay that must have ensued by a previous reference for Your Lordship's instructions for the regulation of our conduct on so critical an occasion, particularly in a quarter where it is of the first importance to the consolidation and permanency of the arrangements, which we have matured at so much trouble and expense, that an undiminished respect for the reputation of our power and influence should be maintained.

In addition to these considerations which would be alone sufficient, we respectfully submit to Your Lordship's judgment, to justify us in coercing Jam Jasaji under the disposition that he manifests to oppose our interference, the continuous and insulting manner in which he has evaded a compliance with our requisition for justice in the instance of a barbarous and wanton attack upon two British Officers, constitutes a powerful motive of our requiring and, if necessary, compelling that Chieftain to inflict the most single and exemplary punishment upon the perpetrators of that inhuman attack; in respect to which however he seems too ill-disposed to afford us any satisfaction.

Your Lordship will observe from the tenor of our Chief Secretary's letter to Captain Carnac, dated the 27th of August, that we did not anticipate the difficulties apprehended by that officer in his negotiations with the Chieftain of Navanagar for the reasons stated in that communication. On the receipt however of Captain Carnac's despatch of the 24th of November, we deemed it our duty to direct the force to be held in readiness for the purpose of supporting Captain Carnac if necessary in conjunction with the battalion of Native Infantry cantoned at Paliyad and another at Porbandar, which has received orders to be prepared to advance upon the requisition from Captain Carnac.

Having adopted these precautionary measures, of the expediency of which we trust that Your Lordship will see no reason to entertain a doubt, we were prepared, on the receipt of Captain Carnac's dispatch of the 4th of this month, to issue immediate orders for the embarkation of H. M.'s 65th Regiment for Porbandar under an expectation that the rumour of its arrival at that place and of its advance to join Captain Carnac may still operate a change in the determination of Jam Jasaji; at the same time that so respectable a force will place beyond the hazard of failure any more active measure which we may be compelled to pursue against that Chieftain, whose conduct, it is satisfactory to observe, does not appear to be encouraged or supported by any other of the tributary States in Kathiawar; and we entertain a confident hope that the success of this

equipment and its effects will prove as creditable to the British character and as salutary towards the maintenance of the future tranquillity of the territory of our ally the Gaikwad as resulted from the former interposition of our authority in the province of Kathiawar.

Jallia, 15th December, 1811 (1811, P. D. 381)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour herewith to forward the answer of Jam Jasaji *Carnac's* to my letter by the Gondal karbari, and it appears superfluous to *policy* remark on the evasive tendency of this communication; it is accompanied by the deposition of Vasonji Mehta, stating the answers which the Navanagar Chief verbally made to the demands of the Company's Government, as communicated in my first address to Jam Jasaji.

The Hon'ble Board will learn from this deposition that our mediation for the settlement of the claims of Government of Cutch on Navanagar is denied, that the engagements concluded by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker for the abolition of the barbarous practice of infanticide are also disavowed, and that a false plea is given for refusing to deliver up the persons who perpetrated the wanton act at Murpur, in contradiction of every former representation from Jam Jasaji of these persons having been punished by discharge from the service on account of their misconduct.

After this premeditated and audacious declaration it would appear almost useless to attempt any further intercourse with Navanagar until the arrival of our troops. Though impressed with this idea, I have deemed it necessary to communicate again through the medium of respectable persons, explaining to them in the same distinct manner as narrated to the karbari of Gondal the object of my mission and the anxious desire of the Hon'ble Governor-in-Council to require its fulfilment by amicable negotiations.

I am not sanguine in deriving advantage from any change which the respectability or influence of these persons might effect in the present policy of Navanagar; but the object consisted in showing to the petty States in this province and generally to the surrounding Powers, how much the Company's Government were interested in making an amicable adjustment, and that their views were just and moderate.

That the object will be attained by the deputation above-mentioned, and that it will also produce the conviction of Jam Jasaji having courted hostility by his own obstinacy and arrogance, and will prevent respectable people from assisting his cause, will, I trust, be fully apparent and dissipate any conclusions of concession to a Chieftain on our part beyond strict propriety after the demonstrations of his hostile sentiments.

It is now my duty to bring before the Hon'ble Board an *Fresh crime* aggravated instance of misconduct by the Navanagar Chieftain, exemplified in the person of an Arab Jamadar, named Naji, whose faithful services on former occasions have not saved him from

salutary effect of our influence the Chieftain has had the fullest means of appreciating, whilst the security that he has enjoyed subsequently to the conclusion of the agreement with Fateh Muhammad, ought to have impressed him with a due sense of the value of the British alliance, instead of leading him to assume a posture of resistance that may be justly considered as a breach of his allegiance to the Gaikwad, which we are bound to subdue. Nor do we imagine that Your Lordship will disapprove of our having adopted the most effectual measures for that purpose without having hazarded the serious consequence of the delay that must have ensued by a previous reference for Your Lordship's instructions for the regulation of our conduct on so critical an occasion, particularly in a quarter where it is of the first importance to the consolidation and permanency of the arrangements, which we have matured at so much trouble and expense, that an undiminished respect for the reputation of our power and influence should be maintained.

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equipment and its effects will prove as creditable to the British character and as salutary towards the maintenance of the future tranquillity of the territory of our ally the Gaikwad as resulted from the former interposition of our authority in the province of Kathiawar.

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After this premeditated and audacious declaration it would appear almost useless to attempt any further intercourse with Navanagar until the arrival of our troops. Though impressed with this idea, I have deemed it necessary to communicate again through the medium of respectable persons, explaining to them in the same distinct manner as narrated to the karbari of Gondal the object of my mission and the anxious desire of the Hon'ble Governor-in-Council to require its fulfilment by amicable negotiations.

I am not sanguine in deriving advantage from any change which the respectability or influence of these persons might effect in the present policy of Navanagar; but the object consisted in showing to the petty States in this province and generally to the surrounding Powers, how much the Company's Government were interested in making an amicable adjustment, and that their views were just and moderate.

That the object will be attained by the deputation above-mentioned, and that it will also produce the conviction of Jam Jasaji having courted hostility by his own obstinacy and arrogance, and will prevent respectable people from assisting his cause, will, I trust, be fully apparent and dissipate any conclusions of concession to a Chieftain on our part beyond strict propriety after the demonstrations of his hostile sentiments.

It is now my duty to bring before the Hon'ble Board an *Fresh crime* aggravated instance of misconduct by the Navanagar Chieftain, exemplified in the person of an Arab Jamadar, named Naji, whose faithful services on former occasions have not saved him from

imminent destruction at the present period, arising from his incidental and innocent communication with the Company's Government during Lieutenant-Colonel Walker circuit in 1807.

In submitting the enclosed memorandum, with which I have been furnished regarding Naji, jamadar, it will be perceived that from his influence he was solicited in writing at that time by Jam Jasaji to guarantee to the Charan and Bhat his faithful adherence to the stipulations for which they stood security in the engagement executed to Lieutenant-Colonel Walker both with regard to the payment of a fixed jamabandi for 10 years and the abolition of infanticide.

With a view of absolving himself from these engagements with the securities, (and consequently those he has made to the Gaikwad Government under the bhandari of the Hon'ble Company), whose influence is supported by Naji, jamadar, in virtue of his guarantee, Jam Jasaji has repeatedly endeavoured by violent and other means to induce the jamadar to restore the written request; and it will appear from the enclosed copy and translate of the jamadar's letter to Vithoba Diwanji that an attack is threatened as the only alternative to continued refusal. This act, while it betrays a want of faith, is worthy of remark from its obvious connection with the hostile sentiments prevailing at Navanagar and the intention to disclaim the authority of the engagement formerly contracted. It will afford a full display of a systematic resistance to our wishes having from the first been meditated; and it must be evident that, unless the Company's Government undertake to reform the conduct of the Navanagar Chief, either by a mild or a decisive course of action as the case may hereafter appear to require, the example of evasion with impunity in the person of the most powerful tributary Chief must naturally relax obedience and respect to engagements in others, and progressively lead to the nullity of those benefits which have been derived from the arrangements made in this country at considerable trouble and expense.

No. 1. Letter from Naji to Vithalrao Diwanji.

Naji's plight You made me security about 4 years ago, in the course of which time much mischief has been attempted, and I have been in numerous troubles; but through your favour and firmness towards me I have stood thus long. I have lost money; but, as long as you are my protector, I have no fears.

Until now I have been on terms of friendship with all the Arabs, but at present appearances threaten dispute between your sarkar and this; which has induced all the Arabs to apply to me in the following terms: "The army threatens the Jam; and he is suspicious of you on account of what you say respecting the bhandari; you ought not to insist in this manner." The whole of the Arabs addressed me in this terms, but I did not pay any attention. All the Arab jamadars were induced by presents to unite and were disposed to ruin me, still I was firm. When things went to this length, Raghunathji Diwan mediated, in consequence of which I asked 4 days' leave, and now anxiously expect your answer.

When you settle matters here in a fresh manner, the bhandari must also be arranged anew. You know all about me and will establish me firmly.

If you desire it I will, as at present, act a deceptive part. I am now up to the neck in water; therefore I will be compelled to agree to something; you will act as my master. Write me a speedy answer, and I will be guided by it.

Vithalrao Diwanji's report respecting Naji.

In 1807 Colonel Walker took Kandorna from the Jam, who had taken it from Rana Sultanji. This was followed by Naji, jamadar, and Jagjivan Mehta coming to camp with full powers under the signature of the Jam. *Naji's flight*

In the consequent arrangements of fill-zamini, etc. according to the custom of the country Naji became bhandari for the satisfaction of the other securities, and received one of the gates of Nagar for his own security. After Colonel Walker left the country, the Jam displaced Jagjivan from his office, and confided the management of affairs to Jasraj Pursotam. Naji and another jamadar, (a Said) had become security. The Jam bribed the Said and procured a release from his zamini. He also asked the same of Naji; but he would not consent, as it would not be consistent with his character.

The Jam collected Sindhis and other soldiers, and erected batteries against the gate which was in Naji's possession and against his dwelling house. Thus stood matters for a month; and his distress becoming great, Naji wrote to the jamadars in camp and at Junagarh, saying that the Jam was trying to ruin him, that the Said had acted contrary to the Arab character and taken a bribe, but that he would sooner die than give the Jam the release, which would ruin him in the eyes of the Gaikwad and other Governments.

Balli, amir, and Bhadar, jamadar, sent two khas to Nagar with messages to the Arabs there, advising them to support Naji, as it was the intention of all the Arabs in the country to do so to the utmost.

This produced a kind of agreement, but confidence never afterwards existed; and now that the two armies have entered the country to settle with the Jam, he has renewed his demand upon Naji for his release from the zamini, and also requires the gate to be delivered up.

Naji replied that if the Government wished to make any improper demands, the Company who were bhandari, ought to be called upon. But the original settlement had never been infringed by Government; and why should he give up his deed of security?

The Jam however has paid no attention to this and has erected batteries against the gate inside and out. Raghunath Diwan has attempted to interfere and support the demand of the release and the gates. In this state, without food or drink, is Naji situated, and has written the letter received yesterday.

1811 *Porbandar, 22nd December, 1811 (1811, P. D. 383).*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Carnac's policy With reference to my dispatch the 19th instant, I request you will intimate to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the vakils, said to have been deputed by Jam Jasaji, had not reached camp on my quitting it yesterday morning. I had waited several days in the expectation of their arrival, and on the 20th I received a communication from them through the medium of Bhau Handia, a respectable person in the Gaikwad service, begging that I would defer my departure to Porbandar until the evening, pledging themselves, provided I granted a peon [a harkara], to make their appearance in a few hours. I did not hesitate to comply with their wishes, or even to prolong my stay in camp 12 hours beyond the time requested by the vakils; but my having received no answer from them yesterday morning nor any account of their approach, I conceived it improper to delay my departure.

Adverting to the 3rd para of your dispatch of the 7th instant, I have respectfully to represent to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the measure of addressing the Chief of Navanagar in the terms pointed out appeared to my apprehension unadvisable in the conviction, deduced from the habits of the people of the country, that the demand would have encouraged Jam Jasaji to have misappreciated the intentions of the Company's Government by attributing different motives for our requiring a discontinuance of his hostile preparations. I was moreover confirmed in my belief of the expediency of this course from the experience of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker having on no occasion adopted it, I presume on the same grounds which have influenced me. It will however be satisfactory to the Hon'ble Board to discover by my subsequent communications that warnings of the nature alluded to have been repeatedly given to Jam Jasaji through the medium of native agents, and also in an indirect manner in my second address to the Chief by Vasanji Mehta, the karbari of Gondal.

Infanticide I take this occasion also to state to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the reasons which prompted me to make the infringement of the engagement of infanticide a component part of my letter to the Nagar Chief under date the 21st of November. The abolishment of this inhuman practice in this country could not be accomplished until Lieutenant-Colonel Walker became enabled to obtain the assent of Jam Jasaji, whose example was declared indispensable by the other Jhareja Chiefs for their concurrence. On these grounds it appeared to me of some importance that the earliest notice should be taken of the acts of the Nagar Chief in violation of his engagement. It was consistent with the prompt measures adopted by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker with the Gondal Chief in 1809; but the designation of this deviation in the instance of the Jam, was not required, exclusively as it affected the act itself, but principally to deter others of imitating it, either from the belief that we had deserted an object so strongly supported by every consideration of common humanity, or that we were unwilling to insist on the fulfilment of the stipulations with the most powerful Chief in the country.

It also occurred to me that the introduction of any subject for discussion, at a more advanced period of my negotiation, might create distrust in the mind of Jam Jasaji (notoriously suspicious in his disposition) as to the limits of our demands. In submitting however this explanation I am aware that the subsequent exposition of the hostility of Jam Jasaji to each of the demands contained in my address to him of the 21st November renders it superfluous, except in justification of my measures.

Bombay, 17th January, 1812 (1812, P. D. 383)

1812

George Brown to the Jam of Navanagar.

Having recently received a letter from Islamnagar, which, though *Warning* neither authenticated by your seal or signature, may yet prove to *Jasaji* be a genuine document, I consider it my duty to acknowledge its presentation in order to testify to you, in common with all others living under its protection, that the British Government is ready to receive appeals to its authority from whatever quarter they may proceed. But it is equally incumbent upon me to notice the irregular channel through which the representation in question has been introduced, particularly as you cannot be ignorant that, as the respectable Captain Carnae is charged with the superintendence of the public interests in that quarter, the letter now acknowledged should have been forwarded through that officer, whom you are to consider as the accredited representative of this Government and address your communications to him accordingly.

It is, I trust, unnecessary for me to advert to the just views of the British Government and of its ally, the Gaikwad, on the present occasion; the reasonable objects, which both have in view, having indeed been fully made known to you through various channels. I have only now to impress upon you the necessity of conforming to the requisitions of the Baroda Administration, and to warn you of the consequences of resistance, which may eventually involve the long established authority of the Jam in disgrace and ruin.

Letter from Jam Jasaji, dated 19th December.

A long period has elapsed since you have honoured me with your kind correspondence or by committing to me such duties as I am suited to the performance of. I trust you will now make reparation for the past by rendering me happy, and I shall then consider myself as most fortunate.

I now beg leave to advert to the object of this address. On a former occasion Major Alexander Walker, accompanied both the Hon'ble Company's troops and the forces of the Gaikwad, passed into this country, and made the following arrangements of the territory of Sorath. Having settled the jamabandi he took nishan chaloo¹ for ten years from everyone under the guarantee and security for the Company's chaloo for the period above specified.

Relying on this promise and security, all the zamindars, having cultivated the country, pay the amount stipulated conformably to

1 Are the words used in the original, the meaning of which I have been unable to ascertain. [*Marginal note in the Diary.*]

the papers of agreement, and have on no occasion had recourse to either excuses or evasion; notwithstanding this, the Gaikwad force, accompanied by Captain Carnac as officer of the Company's Government, has entered my territories, that is to say the pargana of Navanagar, and has distressed the inhabitants beyond measure. There has also been a scarcity of rain this year, and the troops of both Governments (the Company's and Gaikwad's) having visited this quarter, the cultivation of the villages is entirely destroyed.

I hear moreover that Captain Carnac, at the instigation of interested persons, is planning the destruction of one or two forts in Navanagar. What the reason of this is, I cannot imagine, and it is the more surprising that the sovereign of a country should himself desire to destroy it.

I have therefore addressed these just lines to you by way of complaint, and it is certainly incumbent on you to afford your deliberate attention both to me and to the other districts. You will therefore in your favour transmit as early as possible your injunctions to Captain Carnac to refrain from molesting either me or my territories. To delay in doing this will be to consent to the more complete ruin of the country of Navanagar. To write more would be presumption.

Your wisdom is most penetrating. You must therefore give your attention to this affair. May your shadow be extended. If you see any fault or transgression in me, you will forgive it. Rest assured that I have solely in view to consult the wishes and goodwill of the English Government.

1812 *Porbandar*, 7th January, 1812 (1812, P. D. 383)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Carnac's animosity 1. Having understood that I had taken my departure for *Porbandar*, these vakils (of the Chief of Navanagar) no longer hesitated in coming forward, and actually reached this place on the evening of the day on which I arrived.

2. The intervention of inauspicious days was given in excuse for avoiding a meeting with me until the 27th following (27th December.) In the interim however their communications to my principal native agent betrayed an alteration in the sentiments of Jam Jasaji, effected no doubt by the determined course with it was now evident the Hon'ble Board would pursue.

3. On paying their visits, it was the wish of the parties that it should be considered complimentary; but finding that they were charged with no letter from the Jam, nor provided with any power beyond passive discussion of the litigated points, with ultimate reference to him, I was at a loss to derive any reasonable grounds for delay. Nor did I feel disposed to show any extraordinary consideration to the agents of a Chief, whose misconduct has been so notoriously unbecoming. The real object was perhaps to await the arrival of the troops from the Residency, and according to the extent of our means of coercion Jam Jasaji would prove himself submissive.

4. Under such impressions therefore I declined a visit for the purpose they had stated, and demanded the nature and object of their mission. In reply it was only in my power to obtain general assurances of the attachment and respect of their Master to the Government of the Gaikwad and the Hon'ble the Company, and his desire to concede to any demand commensurate with his ability. In recapitulating to these vakils the just and moderate claims which had been preferred, forming a striking contrast to the madness and folly of their Master, I required to be informed whether they were vested with powers to admit of immediate accession to the demands I had through various channels made known to their Chief; adding to this pointed interrogation the resolution of my Government to enforce obedience by the troops assembling in the field, provided their Chief persisted in his unjustifiable resistance.

5. I discovered that no definitive power had been granted to these persons. They made known to me the embarrassment of their situation and the peril which attended their employment, if the result was not conformable to the Jam's expectations. Their desire was expressed to see the present misunderstanding brought to an amicable termination, with which view they solicited that two of the three, deputed as vakils, might be allowed to return to Navanagar, in which case no exertion of influence should be wanting to induce their Master to follow a course more consistent with his interests and fealty to the Gaikwad Government.

6. To this proposal I felt myself unable to make any objection without an imputation of having abandoned the temperate course which I had professed throughout my intercourse with Jam Jasaji. The two persons therefore proceeded to Navanagar the same evening.

7. It may be useful in this place to offer a few observations, on the motives which could have induced the deputation of these vakils, possessed of no authority and even incapacitated from giving a satisfactory explanation on any subject which called for our interference.

8. It may appear questionable whether any sincerity existed of coming to an accommodation until called for by necessity, and that this necessity would be measured by the force which might arrive to support my negotiations.

9. The intention of sending vakils is asserted in the enclosure to my dispatch of the 19th ultimo; and taking into consideration the avowed incapacity of these persons to enter into any adjustment, the evasive view, imputed to the Jam, seems confirmed; and that their appearance at Porbandar was directed to the object exclusively of ascertaining the extent of equipment now going forward. If such a conclusion therefore can be fairly admitted by inference from appearances, the conduct in this instance of Jam Jasaji adds to the catalogue of his offences and establishes the necessity of reducing him to a condition of more respect and obedience.

10. The return yesterday of the two persons abovementioned from Navanagar has enabled me to ascertain through the medium of my native agent that the natural timidity of the character of the Jam has already begun to operate; that, instead of the determined and

boasting demeanour which he has exhibited for some time past, we must be prepared to witness his concurrence to our demands, dictated by no retrieving principle of rectitude, but from apprehensions of the consequences of further opposition.

Plan 11. These indications may justly lead me to hold out some expectations to the Hon'ble Board that the object of my mission to this country will now probably be obtained short of hostility, although the well known want of faith and systematic prevarication of Jam Jasaji will urge me to place no confidence in his asseverations, until the troops have reached a position in his neighbourhood, which will enable me promptly to chastise the remotest inclination to depart from his word.

12. Impressed however with the importance attending the complete humiliation of the Chief of Navanagar from the experience which the Hon'ble Board has recently received of his defiance of the power of his Superior Government, and judging after a calm and deliberate reflection that omitting to render a proper example on the present favourable opportunity may tend to increase the arrogance and presumption of Jam Jasaji, I deem it a principle of my public duty respectfully to offer my suggestions, leaving it to the wisdom of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to decide on the expediency and justice of their adoption. It would almost be superfluous to advert to the conduct which this Chief has testified since my mission to this country, unless it was to prove that his respect for the power of the Company's Government has been denied in the most unequivocal language. Without dwelling on particular instances it may only be necessary to point out his disavowal of all the engagements contracted with the Company's Government by the agency of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, his unjustifiable cruelty and persecution to those persons who were a party to these engagements, and his extensive hostile preparations not only directed to resist our intervention, on the most disinterested grounds for the payments of the pecuniary demands of Cutch, but to support his general resistance to authority.

13. Added to these examples of insubordination, it is also proper to notice the false colour given to our interference, (the necessity of which was openly disclaimed), and the means he has taken in the surrounding country for a regular and methodical opposition on the plausible foundation that the British Government meditated schemes of conquest and ambition.

14. The insults which have been showered down on the Gaikwad are no less influenced from the same causes that have prompted Jam Jasaji to venture on disrespect to the Company's Government.

15. The agents of our ally have been driven out of the Navanagar country, loaded with obloquy; their servants have been seized by force and carried away; and without the existence of any reasonable cause, the Jam laid waste his country with a view of molesting our progress, though conducted without any act of offence or hostility.

16. In relating in these brief terms the irregularity of this tributary of the Gaikwad Government, I have confined myself to those

of the greatest enormity, so as to relieve Government from the trouble of recapitulation, in this place, of the examples which have been given in my recent dispatch.

17. That these evidences of insubordination will constitute strong grounds for reducing the means of Jam Jasaji to conditions becoming his situation as a tributary Chief, I trust, will appear conclusive to the mind of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council; but considerations of policy, and the future tranquillity of this country may imperiously demand the exertion of authority under the favourable circumstances afforded by the present respectable force commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, which it may not prove in our power at all times to command with convenience.

18. The Chief of Navanagar has compelled the Company's Government to use force for the attainment of the objects, which are in no proportion to the reputation he will derive in bringing us to that extremity. The example he has shown, will induce others to follow a similar course, and no object however insignificant will at length be obtained without the intervention of a body of troops; a signal instance of the impunity of resistance, in my humble apprehension, will be displayed, added to the inconvenience above noticed, if the Hon'ble Board at this crisis feel satisfied with the accession of Jam Jasaji merely to the demands originally preferred.

19. The power of the Gaikwad may be involved in the increased arrogance of the Chieftain of Navanagar and the general influence among the Chieftains in the Kathiawar, while our secession, without any permanent punishment being inflicted for acts of decided disobedience and contumacy, will also become prejudicial to the interest of our ally and the tranquillity of the country.

20. These important considerations prompt me therefore to submit with every deference to the Hon'ble Board whether expediency and justice do not require limitation to the power of the Chief of Navanagar being now imposed under the commanding force assembled in the country, and the substitution on the part of the Gaikwad Government of a wholesome control and superintendence to obviate the evils we have experienced in our present intercourse with its tributary State.

21. To what extent this limitation should be carried to ensure the objects in view, the Hon'ble Board will no doubt determine; but it becomes at the same time my duty to observe that the measure, if executed, with the certainty of permanent advantage will not in every probability be accomplished without involving hostility, and might eventually lead to the subjugation of Navanagar, consequences which perhaps will ever be inseparable from any attempt to curb a Chieftain, whose disposition has betrayed too fully that his hostility to his Superior Government would be renewed on any favourable occasion afforded in times of greater difficulty and moment.

Bombay, 16th January, 1812 (1812, P. D. 383)
Minutes.

1812

In proceeding to determine upon the important suggestions, offered in the preceding dispatch from the Resident of Baroda, it seems material that we should advert to the course of policy that has

Bombay terms to Jasaji

regulated the interference of this Government in the settlement of Kathiawar, and to the character and conduct of the Chief who has now compelled us to equip a force for the accomplishment of a measure not more conducive to the general welfare of the country than intended for his own individual interest.

The prominent features of our policy in our connection with the Gaikwad State, as far as relates to our interference in ameliorating the disorderd state of Kathiawar, appear to have been to impose restraint upon the tyrannical and unprincipled habits of its classes, to protect the weak from being wronged and oppressed by the strong, and to establish such an impression of the disinterestedness and integrity of the intentions of the British Government in those respects as should supersede the necessity of our having recourse to chargeable military expeditions in the attainment of any reasonable measures that may be deemed indispensable to the general prosperity to the country; to the equipment of which the Sovereign Authority has been so repeatedly compelled to resort from the false and criminal sense of honour of a contumacious Chieftain whose arrogance, if not seasonably and efficiently curbed, would only tend to perpetuate those evils and disorders of which the late Administration has commenced the reformation with such beneficial effect.

We have already afforded to the State of Kathiawar the most decisive proofs of the firm determination of the British Government, as the ally of the Gaikwad, to establish and to maintain the principles of subordination and obedience to legitimate authority; and it is obviously indispensable to the permanency of those salutary impressions, which this Government has so successfully introduced, not to tolerate in any Chieftain an unprovoked and insulting defiance to our authority, and a threatened resistance to just interposition of our mediation, least of all to that which we were pledged to afford as having the general prosperity of the country exclusively for its object, and in the prosecution of which we had studiously and anxiously endeavoured to demonstrate the pacific and entirely disinterested nature of our views. The manifestation of a passive or temporising line of conduct under such provocations would not only confirm the arrogant in insubordination, but also encourage the more moderate and obedient to similar acts of disloyalty.

At the earliest period of our entering upon the amelioration of Kathiawar, it was a predetermined course of the policy of the Government to enforce the final object of the introduction of a permanent system of good order and government in that distracted country by carrying on hostilities against the Chieftain whose conduct might provoke a resort to so extreme an alternative.

In reviewing the former course of this Government's proceedings, the Chief of Navanagar will be found to have proved the only material obstacle to the success of those arrangements which the Hon'ble Company in conjunction with the Gaikwad had undertaken to introduce into the peninsula of Gujarat; and Colonel Walker's despatches, dated the 20th and 28th November, 1807, and the 25th January and 15th of March, 1808, develop in a forcible point of view

the unprincipled character of this Chieftain, possessed of no right of title whatever to the territories over which he tyrannises, to which he had advanced contrary to every principle that regulates the line of succession among the Jhareja Chiefs, he has yet, notwithstanding the illegitimacy of his dynasty, which ought to have induced some degree of moderation in his acts, been distinguished by those acts of cruelty and oppression, by a spirit of encroachment on his neighbours, that have kept the country in a state of inquietude and alarm, and rendered them all inimical to his authority. He would appear to be at enmity and at open hostility with almost of his bhayad who are fugitives from the country, including his brother, who has been long indebted to the liberality of the Gaikwad Government for his maintenance and support; all of whom preferred repeated and earnest applications to Colonel Walker, when in Kathiawar in 1807, for permission to join his detachment with a numerous body of armed men for the purpose of being led against Navanagar, which they proposed to reduce. These offers were however declined by Colonel Walker, whose policy seems to have been dictated by the wise precautions of introducing reforms gradually, at the commencement of our interposition, leaving it to a fitter opportunity to accomplish objects connected with the restraint or chastisement of any Chieftain whose character or conduct might challenge any exemplary mark of our displeasure. With these preliminary observations the Board proceed to review the recent conduct of Jam Jasaji of Navanagar.

The objects with which the Resident at Baroda in conjunction with the Gaikwad Authority has recently entered Kathiawar are fully described in our dispatch to the Supreme Government dated the 6th of November, having principally in view the consolidation of the interests of Jam Jasaji by the equitable adjustment of claims; on the plea of which Fateh Muhammad of Cutch had so repeatedly invaded the territories of Kathiawar. These disinterested intentions have been opposed by Jam Jasaji by an unjustifiable resort to measures of hostility, that has compelled this Government to equip a force for the purpose of coercing the Chieftain in question into a just sense of his duty and allegiance.

Independently of these offensive preparations and of the instances of culpable irregularity and contumacy chargeable to Jam Jasaji, the hostile attitude of opposition in which he now stands, and the language of defiance which he has on every late occasion used, rendered it in the deliberate opinion of this Government obligatory upon it to depart from the concessions which constituted the original object of our interposition for the purpose of requiring in addition to his acquiescence in such an arrangement as shall deprive him of the means of disturbing in future the general tranquillity of Kathiawar, and afford at the same time to the other Chieftains of the peninsula an impressive and salutary proof of our determination to uphold those principles of subordination and obedience which have constituted the sole and legitimate object of our connection with the Gaikwad State. We have advanced too far and too successfully in the great, the salutary and beneficent work of reform to justify the manifestation, at the present crisis, of any relaxation in that vigorous system of

control which has hitherto characterised our interposition in organising that rude and uncivilized country.

It is justly observed by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker that the stability of the arrangements, which the Hon'ble Company and the Gaikwad Government are desirous of establishing in Kathiawar, must at all times in a great measure depend on the care taken to afford protection against violence and oppression, and especially to oblige the Chiefs to respect those customs or laws which are in favour of public order or private security. If this is neglected at any time, the country must be expected to relapse into a state anarchy, and exhibit a scene of devastation.

Under the fullest conviction of the truth of that remark, and under the influence of an equally firm persuasion that the adoption of any temporising measures towards Jam Jasaji, under the disposition which he has evinced and the disreputable sentiments which he has expressed and endeavoured to disseminate against the British Government, would inevitably lead to the evils predicted by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, the Government feels itself called upon to avail itself of the efficient and respectable force at its immediate command and of the general state of tranquillity that pervades the British dominions, to deprive the Chieftain in question of all power to gratify his contumacious and insubordinate disposition at any future period, when we may not probably have an opportunity in all respects so eligible and convenient to interpose our authority for this purpose.

Impressed therefore with a persuasion of the policy and expediency of reducing Jam Jasaji to a condition more becoming his situation as a tributary Chief, the Governor-in-Council has no hesitation in authorising the Resident at Baroda to require from the Chief of Navanagar, under the acquiescence of the Gaikwad Government, the following concessions, *viz.*

That he will implicitly abide by the result of the arbitration of the claims of Fatch Muhammad.

That he will disband the foreign levies in his service after discharging any arrears of pay that may be due to them, and engage to depend in future upon the Gaikwad State for protection and security; the extension of which on all just occasions, will be guaranteed by the British Government.

That he will defray the expenses of the forces which the British and Gaikwad Governments have been compelled by his unjustifiable conduct reluctantly to equip, and whatever other pecuniary demands the Gaikwad may possess against him, subject to the arbitration of the Resident at Baroda.

That he will restore to the Dhrol family the taluka of Sarafdar, which he wrested from them about ten years ago.

That he will relieve the Gaikwad Government from the future charge of maintaining his brother Sataji by making an adequate provision for that purpose, and lastly that he will inflict a signal and exemplary punishment on the authors of the cruel attack on Lieutenant Knight and Assistant Surgeon James Orton,

There may be some minor arrangements which Captain Carnac's local experience may probably suggest as advisable to be adopted, and it would however be gratifying to Government to be informed of the protection and maintenance enjoyed by the principal bhayads, who were bharwattias against the Jam when Colonel Walker's detachment entered the division of Halar in the year 1808, namely the Chiefs of Jalia, of Mokana, of Kesria, of Kerone, of Amran, and of others of less importance, and of the Chief of Jalia whom the Jam had deprived of the villages granted for their support by his forefathers. Among these the Chief of Jalia merits primary consideration for the services he rendered as a guide to the British detachment on its marches in that country. For these services it is not improbable but that the Chief of Jalia may have continued to experience the resentment of the Jam. Should he be on that account labouring under the oppression of the Jam, or a fugitive from his country, it is but an act of common justice that he in particular should be restored to his rights, and his security guaranteed for the future. A similar protection should be required for Naji, jamadar, whose exemplary conduct is described in your dispatch dated the 15th of December against the cruel resentment of Jam Jasaji. In preferring the pecuniary demands prescribed in these instructions, the Governor-in-Council, is not aware that they will exceed the ability of Jam Jasaji to comply with them. His parsimonious habits have enabled him to accumulate treasure sufficient probably for the purpose, particularly when a reasonable period of time is allowed for the discharge of these expenses by periodical instalments, which, as should be pressed upon his consideration, will increase the longer he withholds his acquiescence.

The protection to be required in favour of the bharwattia Chieftains, who are obnoxious to the Jam alone, and who, as far as the Governor-in-Council is informed, are not chargeable with any act that can justify the exercise of a tyranny so oppressive, and who would therefore seem to be just objects of consideration with the Sovereign State, must exhibit an undoubted proof of the dependence that may be placed on the guardianship of the British influence; at the same time that their reinstatement in their rights will establish a powerful confederacy in the peninsula, upon whose support we may at all times reasonably rely, whilst in respect to the cession of Sarafdar it may be remarked that the family of Dhrol is next in rank and priority of establishment to Navanagar; but it has lost most of its possessions by the encroachments of the Jam, and the remainder has only been secured by the interference of the Gaikwad Government. The restoration of this unjust usurpation therefore to its legitimate ruler cannot fail to be universally recognised as an act of common justice to the Dhrol family.

The Governor-in-Council is also extremely solicitous to persevere in the efforts already made for the attainment of the humane and beneficent object of extirpating the horrid practice of female infanticide from Kathiawar. The disavowal of Jam Jasaji of his engagements for that and for the other purposes for which he had afforded security, is an indisputable indication of the unprincipled character of that Chieftain,

It should also be borne in mind that, as described in the following emphatic terms by Colonel Walker, "The character of this Chief exhibits an extraordinary contrast of great arrogance and extreme submission, of insolence and timidity; and the treachery and cruelty of the Jam are only restrained by the cowardice of his disposition."

The prejudices and sentiments of the country have stamped the efficacy of the fill-zamini security in a very remarkable degree by attaching to it the necessity of the most scrupulous observance; and any flagrant breach of that obligation is calculated to deprive the party so transgressing of every confidence and to justify a resort to every measure of severity. Captain Carnac remonstrances against Jam's disregard of the obligations of such a security cannot therefore be too strongly nor too publicly urged, nor his breach of faith in that respect too widely promulgated.

It is fortunate that this degree of veneration for the fill-zamini should obtain among so uncivilized and untractable a race of men, as inhabit in Kathiawar and the adjoining territory of Okhamandal. The suppression of piracy and the subjugation of the insubordinate and disorderly habits of the Chieftains of Kathiawar have all been maintained by the force of that simple obligation; and it is therefore more essential that the sacred regard, with which it is viewed, should be upheld by the British Government; since, if it tolerates the breach of an engagement so universally esteemed in a Chief of such rank and power as Jam Jasaji, the whole chain of the security that has been established, will be dissolved, and an opinion created of the invalidity of an instrument that happily operates so powerfully upon the minds of those rude classes of men; the evil consequences of which cannot be anticipated. Faithful to its own engagements, it is peculiarly incumbent on the British Government to maintain the validity of an obligation of this description.

For the attainment of these several objects the Resident at Baroda is fully empowered to apply the forces at his command. He will not however resort to hostility until every effort at negotiation shall have entirely failed. When he shall have made known these demands to Jam Jasaji, Captain Carnac will explain in the most candid and explicit manner to the Chieftains or their vakils, who may be in his camp, the extent of our expectations and the motives by which they have been dictated. Should any of them be deemed unreasonable and of a nature utterly beyond the power of Jam Jasaji to concede by any Chieftain whose opinion may be entitled to respect and deference, the Resident at Baroda will modify their purport or extent. Such an appeal to the sentiments of the leading Chiefs of the country cannot fail to prove gratifying to themselves, and to promote a conviction of the sincerity and integrity of our views.

The Governor-in-Council is persuaded that to secure the permanency of our reforms in Kathiawar, to supersede the necessity of detaching expensive and destructive armaments into the peninsula of Gujarat, and to introduce habits of industry and a general amelioration into the country, which must all arise out of a system of more local and perfect control, it will be essential to establish a force in some central and commanding position in Kathiawar.

It might be satisfactorily shown to the Gaikwad Government that the maintenance of such a force would not exceed the expense the Government incurs by the occasional advances into the country, which no measure but that in contemplation will entirely supersede. Such an arrangement would prove economical to the Gaikwad State by enabling it to reduce a portion of its military establishment, which must be otherwise maintained on a scale corresponding with these contingent calls upon its military resources. These suggestions are recommended to the consideration of the Resident at Baroda, and at no period could they be urged with better effect than at a time when we have to congratulate our ally, the Gaikwad, upon His Highness's near liquidation of his debt to the East India Company. The punctuality and honour with which it has been gradually discharged reflects the highest credit upon the character of that State and is the best proof that could be afforded of the improved state of its resources, of its vigour and efficiency, and of the consequent value of the British alliance.

Bombay, 16th January, 1812 (1812, P. D. 383)

1812

George Brown to Gilbert Lord Minto.

We have now the honour to forward a copy of a dispatch from the Resident at Baroda of the 15th of December, containing other indications of the arrogant and unprincipled conduct of that Chieftain, which will fully establish, we trust, the necessity of the preparations we had entered upon, on the first appearance of an indisposition to our mediation on the part of Jam Jasaji.

On the arrival however and the concentration of our force at Porbandar, whither also the Resident at Baroda had deemed it prudent to retire, the natural timidity of the Jam's character displayed itself; and his vakils in camp will appear to have evinced every disposition to compromise the offensive proceedings of their Master by a ready submission to our demands. In communicating that change in the disposition of Jam Jasaji, and which may be attributed to the cause of a failure in all his attempts to raise a confederacy against our interposition, and not to any sincerity of contrition for his misconduct, Captain Carnac, Your Lordship will observe, submitted to our consideration the expediency and necessity of availing ourselves of the sufficient means at our command to impose upon the arrogance of that Chieftain such restraints as the full experience we had of his restless and unprincipled habits, justifies; and we beg leave respectfully to refer Your Lordship to the consequent instructions, which, after a mature and comprehensive deliberation upon the suggestions that pressed upon our adoption, we deem it an indispensable obligation of our duty to furnish to Captain Carnac.

After having compelled us to incur the expense and inconvenience of equipping a force, in all respects efficient to the vindication of our insulted authority, it would in our opinion have betrayed a degree of irresolution and a disregard to the maintenance of our established reputation in Kathiawar, to have remained satisfied with these overtures to a compromise, of which neither the justness of our cause, nor the circumstances of our situation, nor the forfeiture of the

Jam of all claims upon our forbearance would have warranted the manifestation, particularly at the late period at which that Chieftain had found it convenient to express a willingness to yield and acquiesce in the original objects of our interposition.

Under these impressions have the instructions to Captain Carnac been dictated. We need not however assure Your Lordship that the existing Administration would have gladly seized any favourable opportunity that might have afforded, to have avoided the incurrence of the expense of equipping a force for offensive operations; and it would have been gratifying to us to have obtained the sentiments of Your Lordship-in-Council previously to the adoption of that alternative. But, where the course of policy appeared to our judgment to be so clearly defined by the former measures of this Government, and where the dangers of the delay of a reference to the Supreme Government were so imminent, we feel confident, upon a full review of the proceedings and data upon which the instructions to Captain Carnac have been founded, that we should have incurred a greater responsibility, had we, from any motives of personal exoneration in that respect, pursued measures of a temporising description, that would have enabled Jam Jasaji to consolidate his plans and to increase the difficulties of an ultimate accommodation, which the decisive measures we have resolved upon, will, we hope successfully accelerate.

1812 *Camp at Cope, 31st January, 1812 (1812, P. D. 383)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Negotiations

1. In continuation of the subject of my communication with the Vakils from Navanagar, I have the honour to acquaint you for information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that immediately on the arrival of the principal part of the detachment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, the agents of Jam Jasaji expressed an earnest desire of conferring with me; to which I did not at that time deem it advisable to consent, but concurred in their meeting Lieutenant McMurdo, attached to the Residency, and my principal native agent, Gangadhar Shastri, for the purpose of receiving their proposals, under additional stipulation to those previously made by me that the expenses, to which the British and Gaikwad Government had been exposed by the equipment of their respective forces, should be defrayed by the Chieftain of Navanagar on whose account they had taken place.

2. The result of Lieutenant McMurdo's interview with the vakils, will be found in the accompanying paper drawn out by that Gentleman; and it did not surprise me that every concession was offered on the part of Jam Jasaji to the demands, which had now been presented, although I was fully prepared for the observation from the vakils that their consent could not be considered definitive without further appeal to their Master.

3. My distrust of Jam Jasaji, founded on experience during my present mission and a previous acquaintance with his character by no means encouraged me to hope for sincerity until the approach of the detachment to the neighbourhood of Navanagar would exact it.

4. The conduct of this person subsequently justified this belief, as my intelligence advised me of the advance of his troops to Murpur and dependent situations, and that he had detached a party of horse with a view of intercepting a convoy of ammunition belonging to the Gaikwad Government on its road from Amreli to camp; which did not succeed in its object from the praiseworthy conduct of the Chieftain of Gondal who had prohibited their passage through his possession. The persecution of Naji, jamadar, was also carried on with accumulated weight, according to the interest which the Jam perceived me to take in the man's unfortunate condition.

5. These contradictions to the asseverations of the vakils were communicated to them; and as it was impossible to confute acts, meditated without concealment, they acknowledged their inability to control the actions of the Jam, affording decisive evidence that no dependence could be placed on their recent assertions to Lieutenant McMurdo.

6. Although I had determined on advancing previous to these events, the expediency of admitting of no relaxation now became more imperious: and Lieutenant Smith accordingly moved with his detachment from Porbandar on the morning of the 17th instant, the exertions of the Gaikwad Government having enabled that officer to equip the force for the field. At the same time I deemed it necessary, in pursuance of the notification made in the concluding paragraph of my letter dated the 1st instant, to direct the Hon'ble Company's cruiser, at my disposal at Porbandar, to proceed immediately to blockade the port of Navanagar and the adjoining bandar of Salaya, in order to frustrate the strenuous exertions which Jam Jasaji had long been making to obtain assistance from the Jhareja Chiefs in Cutch, in which object he had already partially succeeded with the Jhareja of Badrasi. On despatching Lieutenant Hardy, the senior officer of the Company's vessels, I furnished him with instructions for his guidance, as per accompanying copy, which I respectfully submit for the notice and approbation of the Hon'ble Board.

7. Shortly after the advance of the troops from Porbandar Vithalrao Diwanji, the sarsubah in Kathiawar, and Gangadhar Shastri received letters from the Chief of Navanagar, expressed in terms of submission. I have the honour herewith to enclose copies and translations of these letters; and have only to remark that Jam Jasaji rejects the payments of the sums in reimbursement of the expenses of the British detachment and, it is presumed, disapproves of the admission of his vakils to this indispensable demand.

8. This circumstance, in addition to those before stated, will, I trust, fully justify the advance of the troops from Porbandar. It seems suspicious that Jam Jasaji had in contemplation to amuse me with false promises in the hope of gaining time to increase his levies; and if such an intention existed, the measure adopted by the movement of the detachment to this position and the blockade of the ports on the cost of Halar appear calculated to defeat it.

9. The detachment halted at Dcura on the borders of the Nagar territory, from the 19th to the 27th inclusive, rendered necessary, to

admit of the junction of His Highness Fatesing and the corps from Paliyad, which had continued with the Gaikwad army in place of joining Lieutenant-Colonel Smith at Porbandar, and to afford time for the receipt of instructions from the Hon'ble Board on the question, submitted in my dispatch of the 7th instant, of limiting the power of the Nagar Chief.

10. I had the honour to receive your dispatch of 16th instant on the 27th and in consequence lost no time in making a movement with an intention of halting at Lalpur, from whence I proposed to commence my negotiations on the extended scale authorised in your letter adverted to.

11. At the solicitation however of the Nagar vakils I have consented to remain at this encampment for the present, under the impression that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is desirous that every demonstration of his wish to conciliate the differences with Jam Jasaji should be given, and no opportunity lost for obtaining satisfaction from that Chief by amicable negotiation.

12. Conformably with the instructions of the Hon'ble Board I have presented to the vakils, with the sanction of the Gaikwad Government, a translation of the accompanying articles, which contain the deputations authorised in your letter of the 16th instant, and other demands of minor importance. I have addressed Jam Jasaji in the terms of the accompanying copy of a letter, and have explained at length to his principal vakil, Guju Jhalla the spirit of the orders of Government, with a distinct expression of our desire to avoid hostility. The Gaikwad Administration have also followed a similar course of proceeding; and the vakils departed this morning under the promise of returning with an answer from their Master in the period of eight days.

13. Before I conclude this letter, it may be necessary to explain the Hon'ble Board that the provision, required for Naji, jamadar, is considered by the Gaikwad Government consistent with very principle of justice and the merits of this person.

14. Since my communication to you under date the 15th December, I have received, in common with the Administration, two verbal representations by trustworthy servants of the Jamadar, depicting the difficulty and distress of his situation, and his determination to suffer any privation sooner than concede to the demands of the Jam without the permission of the Gaikwad and British Governments.

15. At my recommendation and the desire of the Administration Naji, jamadar, has relinquished the service of the Jam, and lately departed from Navanagar to Dhrol, accompanied by 300 Arabs, without obtaining from his Master the payment of his legal dues. Under such circumstances, our honour becomes pledged for his future maintenance, and confiding in the generosity of the allied Governments for reparation in the serious detriment he has sustained by adhering to his engagements with us, Naji, jamadar, has not only withdrawn his troops, but his influence and character have induced others of his nation to follow the example.

16. It would be premature to offer at this crisis any opinion as to the result of the offers now made to the Chief of Navanagar. Forming a judgment from the attitude he has assumed since the period of my entering this country, it would be natural to expect an unqualified refusal to a proposition of our present demands. On the other hand the proverbial timidity of Jam Jasaji, when his energy is called into action, may still give a different result.

17. Supposing the latter case the Hon'ble the Board cannot calculate on any sincere reform in the sentiments of a man, whose animosity has been notoriously proclaimed by his actions and misrepresentations.

18. The concessions now required, although they must for the present reduce his power, will not deprive him of the means to resort at a future period to hostility more premeditated and extensive than those now assumed, and circumstances may not at such period admit of similar exertion from ourselves.

19. The dismissal of the foreign levies, indispensably necessary for the peace and security of the country, is a measure of temporary precaution and effect, unless established beyond the possibility of troops of such description being hereafter entertained.

20. Sufficient evidence has already been given that no common engagement can possibly restrain a Chief, whose moral character has been corrupt in every relation of life, his public faith notoriously implicated, and his infidelity has even extended to the individual (Naji, jamadar), who was the direct instrument of his accession to his power and possessions. To recur therefore to former usage, is adopting a system hitherto replete with disappointment, while it leaves Jam Jasaji restrained only by those forms which he has treated with neglect and contempt.

21. To avoid therefore these evils, which may excrete an importance at a period of greater moment, the introduction of a permanent control on the part of the Sovereign Authority of the country may be considered a remedy unobjectionable on every principle of self-security and expediency.

22. The 10th article purposely leaves it open to the option of the Gaikwad Government to exact security, without specification of its nature or extent. A territorial cession either for a term of years or in perpetuity embraces every object which the insubordinate conduct and character of Jam Jasaji requires. Many important advantages will result to the interest of the Company and Gaikwad. It will enable the latter Government to have a constant and vigilant supervision over his actions and designs, and it will be a salutary lesson to the country at large that a disregard of the usual securities must be followed by a more active system of control, and it will not only curtail the present extensive means of this Chief to excite disturbance or rebellion, but the principle of cession of a moiety of his possessions is adopted under the imperious circumstance of no other restraint being permanently efficacious.

I beg therefore to submit this important question to the decision of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council; and in noticing the concurrence of the Gaikwad Government to an arrangement of this nature I beg to solicit his early commands for my guidance.

No. 1. *Memorandum of conversation with the vakils of Navanagar.*

*Squeezing
Jasaji*

The conversation was prefaced by our observing that it was with much difficulty we had persuaded Captain Carnac to permit us to meet them, and it had been Mr. Carnac's design not to listen at that time to anything they had to say.

They first were asked what the Jam Saheb had said to them, and they replied that the Jam had full confidence in the Company's guarantee. We desired them to give an explicit answer, first respecting the Cutch Koris. They replied that the money should be paid. On being asked to what extent they spoke of, they replied: whatever you choose. Their acquiescence was demanded to the amount, offered through various persons lately at Bhuj, and lastly through Mahadu Ojah. They said that it was not their former intentions to pay it, but they agreed now to do so.

They were then asked what they had to say respecting the Murpur sepoys. They said that the men who committed the act, were not now in their possession. But they were in search of them; and if found it was well, otherwise their jamadar who was in Murpur at the time should be given up.

The vakils were then asked respecting the infanticide, and replied that neither the Jam nor any of his respectable Rajputs had daughters; but that they would give good security in future; and as for the insults offered to the Gaikwad Mehtas, it should not occur again. They appeared to expect to be fined on this head and spoke as if they would agree to it.

On the subject of the Jam's brother, Sataji, they said they would give him whatever was just.

On the subject of the Charan, who had committed traga as your security, they said that they were given approved security in his room.

As to the nazranah to Fatesing, they would give as much as they were able.

The minor articles being regular and things of course, no objections was offered to them.

The vakils on being spoken to about the expense which Government has incurred, [said] that they had before desired us not to go to this expense. We told them in reply that it was impossible to prevent the expense of boats and men, which had actually sailed from Bombay; that the freight, their batta, provisions, etc. amounted to a sum which must be defrayed; and that would not be less than 5 lakhs of Rupees. The vakils asked if it was intended that they should alone discharge this sum; and on being answered in the affirmative, they consented to defray it according to accounts which might be kept. They were told that they might take it as a certainty it would amount to 5 lakhs at least. They then agreed to this, but said they would once more send Inderji to Nagar.

After this intercourse the vakils remarked that the Jam had perfect confidence in the British Government. But they were told that matters were now changed, and that the views of Government were considerably altered; that, had the Jam given the Shastri power to act at Sarafdar, something might have been done, but now it was unavailing. They answered that it was their misfortune, and could not be helped. Bhada Patel asked who denied the Shastri at Sarafdar. The Shastri replied that he had sent for Vasanji Melita and Walla Charan, who were aware of the circumstance.

The vakils then asked if the Jam could by any means be saved. We said we did not think it possible, considering matters had gone so far, at least the only way was to humble themselves to the English Government.

The vakils complained that the Jodiya people did not pay them $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of Koris, as they ought annually, and proposed articles containing grievances of the Jam. We replied that nothing of that nature could be listened to, until every demand of Government should be complied with; that they were guilty in the eyes of the sarkar; and what they had to say could not be attended to.

The vakils requested that the army might not encamp in the Nagar taluka, as it was deserted, and the grain had been destroyed by locusts. We replied that they had of their own accord laid waste their country; and that so far from [*being caused*] by the presence of the troops, it had in some cases been prevented.

No. 2. Letter from James R. Carnae to Lieutenant Hardy.

It is my wish during the pending operations that you blockade the ports of Navanagar and Salaya and strictly to interdict any communications with them by vessels. Your particular attention should be directed in preventing the resort of armed people from the country of Cutch, from whence it is not impossible that the Chieftain of Navanagar will endeavour to obtain assistance; in like manner you will provide against assistance being given from other quarters. *Orders*

You will be careful to avoid any act of hostility, unless compelled in defence, or in the event of your demands for vessels having no intercourse with territories of Jam Jasaji being neglected; taking every pacific measure in your power to induce such vessels to return to the ports from whence they sailed until the existing disputes with the Chieftain of Navanagar are terminated.

No. 3. Letter from Jam Jasaji to Vithalrao Diwanji.

I have not for long time heard from you; and though I have frequently written you, yet you follow the times and have never replied. The two people, who are with you from hence, do not appear to be attended to by you; which occasions the protraction of the settlement; and from the circumstance, nothing has been left undone in the way of expense to my purse or ruin to my country. It is the fate of the district. The Gaikwad sarkar had never such a mutasaddi as Banaji Appaji, and such a wise person in office as you; nor will they ever have again. By every means in your power reflect and settle my business quickly, and dismiss my people. *Jasaji pleads*

You are well aware of the state of my country, my tribute to Government, and annoyance from Cutel. You have been 10 years with the army and are ignorant of nothing, and the good and ill arising from his business with respect to the country or otherwise will all attach to you.

If Babaji Appaji had been alive in Baroda, I could have addressed him; but you are now the only person I can look to. You may probably think that any additional demand upon me may be to your benefit. It is true in this world we all look to our private advantage; but at such a time as you ought to think of the country, because it rests solely with you. At present Shrimant Fatesingrao is arrived in person, and you are his karbari. I thought that much good would arise from our Master visiting the country, but it is the very contrary. You have hitherto on various occasions interceded with the Government in my favour, but on this occasion you appear to be the obstacle. I have never broken through the sarkar's pleasure, and cannot conceive the meaning of this delay, which injures me much. You know the reason, I dare say; but when my business appears to you proper to be settled, then there will be no delay.

As long as you do not wish to settle, no good will arise from your people's visits; when you are inclined, terminate every thing and send Jhalla Gujusingji to Nagar. The country's advantage or otherwise is yours.

No. 4. Jam Jasaji to Gungadhar Shastri.

*Jasaji
pleads*

You have never written me accounts of your health. Therefore do so now. I have been informed of your friendship and kindness from the letters of Guju Jhalla, and verbally by Kursun Said. I have had from the first the utmost reliance on you, and you have not been deficient in my business. It is proper, such is the friendship of the wise. The Hon'ble Company's sarkar is Lord of the country at present; and what else but good can arise from such a master and such a karbari. As yet no person has been injured. I am certain that no harm will accrue to me, when there is such a mukhtiar karbari. Under this impression, and fully depending upon your offices, I am satisfied.

I have no idea of the smallest difference between myself, and sarkar, and your wishes. Therefore why should I be alarmed for my country? In this age there is no justice equal to that of the English Company.

When the Gaikwad Government formerly settled this country, the people considered themselves secure under the protection of the Company Bahadur. Whenever this is afforded, there is no occasion for alarm; but, when they have such a karbari, even errors may be forgiven; and if they look up to you, what but good can be expected?

I have originally depended on you, and you may act as you think proper. The country is without money from the established tribute, and I see nothing to be done respecting lakhs. Your exertions will be successful. What more can I write?

No. 5. Letter from Jam Jasaji to Gangadhar Shastri.

*Jasaji
pleads*

The news of this quarter are good; we have not heard yours; therefore write them. The business is this. I sent men to Baroda

for the purpose of explaining things to you; and after your arrival in this country I was not wanting in sending people to you. But the sarkar is great; and as they have never given an answer to what my men may have said, it may not have been approved of. This cannot be attributed to me; but, if the sarkar chooses to accuse me, what is to be done?

I have until this moment never acted contrary to the sarkar's wishes. If such a kamdar as you can see no way of settling matters, the country will be destroyed. The duty of my people was to say a few words in a private way to you; but, if you cannot settle matters, and will not endeavour to preserve the country, I am helpless. When you are so determined against me, there is no road to escape, I have given up all wishes for the country, because you are very severe and will not settle my affairs in any way.

All the Rajputs are deprived of an asylum; therefore they will assemble and sit before you, when you may act as you think best. My duty is to represent my affairs before my Master; and if he should not wish to keep my character, I place confidence in God Almighty. You ought to preserve the character of the place by every means in your power. This is not the time for other people to wish our character to be saved. I therefore rely upon God, who will bring about what he chooses.

No. 6. Carnac's terms to Jam Jasaji.

Fateh Muhammad possesses certain claims upon Navanagar on *Terms* the part of His Highness Rao Rayadhan, whose armics have repeatedly invaded the country for the purpose of realising these dues, to the detriment of the country. The Hon'ble Company, desirous to obviate this evil, call upon you to agree to an equitable adjustment of the Rao's demands.

With respect to the insult and unjustifiable attack upon the British officers at Murpur, I have repeatedly made known to you the sentiments of my Government; you are therefore called upon to carry them into effect.

You entered into certain engagements with Colonel Walker not to commit infanticide; but, when a Mehta of the Gaikwad Government went for the purpose of making inquiries on the subject, you did not permit him even to enter your city and insulted the letter of Government. Satisfaction will be required by both Governments that such conduct will never occur in future, and a fine will be required for the past.

Sarafdar, which you unlawfully wrested from its owner, must be restored, and you must never again prefer any claims upon it.

The janar or gras of any of your Bhayad or others, which you may have seized upon since the year 1864 Samvat or 1807 A. D., must be restored.

You are required to restore to Kumar Sataji his jewa consisting of 11 villages; and the amount, which may have been realized by you from these villages since the period of Sataji's residence under the protection of the Gaikwad Government, must be refunded, as also the property of his mother or himself, which you must have seized.

Bhuwattias from Porbandar, Junagarh, Gondal, etc. dwell under your protection, and have committed repeated injury to the country of the allied Governments. What they have already taken or shall in future take, must be returned, and ample security must be afforded to the sarkars that you will never in future harbour such people.

His Highness Fatsingrao being in person in the field, the usual nazranah is requisite.

The armies of the allied Governments having been compelled to take the field in consequence of your misconduct, you must pay the expense which they have incurred, and what they may still incur until you accept of their condition.

Such efficient mal-zamini and fill-zamini will be required from you as will fully satisfy the Gaikwad sarkar that you will never have it in your power to conduct yourself as you have done.

The Hon'ble Company will be security that nothing unjust or improper be demanded of you by the Gaikwad; but, as you insulted and wounded officers at the time you possessed the Company's bhandari, they will require the utmost satisfaction for your future conduct, before they will extend it to you again.

Naji, jamadar, and Jagjivan Mehta were sent by you with full powers to Colonel Walker, and they settled your affairs with Government. These people had a written authority under your hand, which induced the jamadar to afford his adzamini and seal to Vallabhram. The allied army is at hand, and you have compelled the jamadar to grant an acquittance and dismissed him. It therefore becomes the duty of Government to see the jamadar in possession of his rights. You are desired accordingly to pay his arrears and secure to him the continuance forever of his annual allowance.

It was Arab soldiers who committed the unjustifiable attack at Murpur, and it would be advisable that you should have no such troublesome people in your employ. You are therefore required to discharge the whole of this caste of people together with the Sindhis, Makranis and other foreign troops from your service, having previously paid their legal demands.

Until you consent to the above articles, you must expect to be charged with all the expenses and evils attendant on the delay.

No. 7. Letter from James R. Carnac to Jam Jasaji.

Since the period of my arriving in this country I have communicated to you through various channels the disinterested objects which impelled the British Government to afford its countenance to an equitable arbitration of the pecuniary demands of the Government of Cutch on your State. In this measure you could not fail to be entirely sensible that the purest motives of disinterestedness and a regard for your own welfare instigated this interposition; nor could your penetration have been deficient in observing that the stipulation contained in the treaty with His Highness Rao Rayadhan with reference to his claims on you, originated in the desire of obviating the serious injury which the country sustained on the repeated invasions of Fateh Muhammad, in the last of which the troops of your Superior

Governments the Gaikwad and its ally, the Hon'ble the Company, by advancing to your assistance seasonably saved you from great distress.

For these decided proofs of the protection you have experienced, the world has now witnessed no return of gratitude and attachment but an unequivocal demonstration of your intention to resist an interference so clearly founded on a sincere desire of promoting your own advantage and security.

Not exclusively on this occasion alone have you evinced an unbecoming line of conduct, but you have greatly aggravated your criminality by evading to give a reasonable reparation for an outrage committed on two British officers by your servants at the fort of Murpur. The Hon'ble Company's Government implicitly relied on your strenuous exertions to detect and punish the perpetrators of an act culpable under any circumstances, but highly flagitious and cruel when unprovoked. Instead however of such an act exciting your indignation from its involving your character and reputation, I was deeply concerned to find that you evaded a compliance with my reasonable demand, and moreover attributed the origin to this disgraceful and unmanly conduct of your servants to a cause that added insult to the offence.

The pacific course, which my Government wished to follow, even after the indications of insubordination manifested by you, would not have been misunderstood after my reiterated attempts to induce you to recognise your own interest and honour. These attempts were made by letter through the medium of your dependants, who had come to my camp and by two deputations of the principal servants of several Chiefs in this country. A studied disregard was shown to all these endeavours; and the persons, who ventured to comply with my wishes to proceed to Navanagar from their well-wishing to yourself, in place of meeting with the ordinary civilities due to their individual rank, and the attention which they had a right to expect as connected with me, were treated with neglect and derision. It would almost be needless to recapitulate in this letter the multiplied instances of your misconduct. Nor do I now feel it necessary to do so in respect to minor events; but I cannot refrain from remarking on the posture you had assumed by assembling a large force, though you were aware from external appearances of my visiting this country, attended only by a guard of honour, that the British Government did not contemplate a thought of hostility. In this reprehensible proceedings you were busy in circulating in Cutch and this country gross and unjustifiable columnies against the British Government in the hope of exciting a resistance under these false representations, and your applications to the neighbouring States to join your standard were preferred at the time I was solicitous in wishing you to comprehend the justness and reason of my demands.

The persecution of Naji, jamadar, because he was a party to your engagements with my Governments, at your own request, and his recent discharge without the payment of his dues have completed the catalogue of your misdeeds,

I have entered in these general measures on the instances of your misbehaviour with a view of impressing on your mind that the British Government were willing to forbear from coercion until you had rendered it imperious in vindication of their authority.

You have been informed of a powerful force having arrived, which I am empowered to employ in obtaining such concessions as may prevent in future the systematic insubordination you have lately exhibited; at the same time it is not my wish to proceed to any extremity of coercion, but to pursue the same pacific course I have hitherto observed.

Your wakil, Gujju Jhalla, has been fully informed of the expectations of the allied Governments, and my detailed sentiments (particularly affecting my anxious hope of effecting an adjustment by amicable negotiation) have also been communicated to him for your information.

Your good sense will, I trust, prompt you to concede to what has become indispensable for the honour and interests of your Superior Government; and it would be improper in me to give you any hopes of a modification in these terms to which your unqualified submission is necessary.

By subscribing to the demands forwarded with your vakils you may be persuaded of the consequent protection of the Gaikwad Government, guaranteed on all just occasions by the Government of the Hon'ble Company. A continued resistance from you will be attended with fatal consequences, with the consolation however to my mind that to your own indiscretion such a result must solely be attributed.

Seriously therefore reflect on the warning which this letter affords, and return me a speedy answer by Gujju Jhalla, at whose request I have consented to halt at this place, contrary to me original instructions.

Bombay, 8th February, 1812 (1812, P. D. 383)
Minutes.

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In acknowledging the receipt of the above recorded dispatch the approbation of Government to be conveyed of the tenor of the Resident's communication to the Chieftain of Navanagar.

The Governor-in-Council is not prepared to yield the acquiescence of the British Government to a demand being preferred on the part of the Gaikwad for a cession of a moiety of the territories in the possession of Jam Jasaji, unless he should by an obstinate resistance and refusal of the concessions, presented by the orders of the 16th January, compel us to have recourse to hostility and in so doing oblige us to deviate from the present arrangement grounded upon these principles of moderation which we have throughout evinced to influence our interposition in the present occasion. A measure therefore, which would so strongly manifest a spirit of aggrandisement on the part of the Gaikwad Government, ought to be avoided as tending to create doubts and suspicions in respect to the sincerity of our views in the well-disposed, that happily do not at present appear to be

entertained. The Resident at Baroda will therefore proceed to give effect to the instructions dated the 16th of last month.

The Governor-in-Council would however be happy to receive more specific information in regard to the nature and extent of the arrangement for introducing a permanent control on the part of the Sovereign Authority of the country, to which the Gaikwad Government has acceded, as alluded to in the last paragraph of the Resident's dispatch.

Navanagar, 27th February, 1812 (1812 P. D. 383)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

1. I have the honour to detail my proceedings with the Chieftain of Navanagar, antecedent to the measure of advancing against that fort with this detachment, as reported in my address of yesterday's date, and in the sequel of the dispatch, to specify the terms on which I have been induced to consent to a settlement with Jam Jasaji without resorting to the last extremity of an assault on this capital. *Summary of events*

2. Conformably with the notification, in my letter of 31st ultimo, of the period granted to the vakil of Navanagar to return with the answer of his Master to the demands of Government. I received from his person a letter with a separate paper, styled 'the replies of his to the proposals in question.'

3. In transmitting copies and translates of these papers, I have only to remark that the equivocation of Jam Jasaji in his answer to many of the demands preferred against him, and his total evasion of those of greater moment, determined me to lose no time in requesting Lieutenant-Colonel Smith to advance, previously desiring the vakil, Sujju Jhalla, to return and apprise his Chief of my resolution to coerce the objects of the British and Gaikwad Governments, provided every other course failed of success.

4. I should here observe that a melancholy and fatal accident had befallen Lieutenant Phelan¹ of the 47th Regiment while shooting in the neighbourhood of the British camp; which gave me no favourable opinion of the Jam's inclination to submit, although it did not conform to common reasoning that an attack would have been authorised by this Chieftain on an individual. The act, as it appeared to me at that period, would not have been committed, if likely to be followed by an immediate exertion of his authority. Under that impression I addressed the Jam on the terms of the enclosure and subsequently ascertained that the perpetrators actually belonged to Murpur; adding another instance of aggravated enormity from that garrison.

5. The detachment reached Nandoli, 1 kos from the kasbah of Lallpur, on the 8th instant, where I received an earnest application from Walla Charan to halt a day, with the promise that some means would be devised of inducing the Jam to depute vakils with powers to meet my demands.

¹ In the *Baroda Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 509, the Phelan incident is given an importance not warranted by the documents. See 31st paragraph of this letter, Carnac's letter of 2nd August, and its accompaniment, i.e., McMurdo's letter of 12th July.

6. To this request I had no hesitation to consent, though my concurrence to the Charan was given with great apparent reluctance, in the hope that it might operate to advantage at Navanagar. In this hope however I became disappointed, the Charan having returned with renewed promises only; and the force again advanced early on the 10th.

7. On the 12th Lieutenant-Colonel Smith took up a position, distant, at my own request, about 3 miles from Navanagar, and the only circumstance of any note was the appearance of large bodies of horse in the front, who showed however no inclination to commit any act of hostility.

8. In consequence of messages having passed between the Gaikwad Administration and the fort during the night, I deemed it proper again to address the Jam, and shortly I received his answer, couched in admmissive terms. This correspondence I beg also to forward for the information of Government. The motive of reminding the Chief of Navanagar of the peril of procrastinating satisfaction to the allied Governments originated from some information I had received in writing from Vasonji Mehta, the karbari of the Gondal Chieftain, that it was in agitation to send vakils, and it was my earnest wish to establish the Jam in this prudent measure.

9. Two vakils, Gujju Jhalla and Samataji Sora, accordingly arrived on the following day, and were directly followed by Raghunathji Mehta and the chief kamdar of Jam Jasaji, named Jusraj. Their affirmations were promising; but on reference to their Chief, I discovered that considerable remissions were expected, inconsistent with the orders which I had received. They accordingly returned on the 15th to acquire the sentiments of the Jam and full powers to acknowledge the demands sent from Gope by Gujju Jhalla, stipulating at the same time to return in the evening.

10. I experienced however considerable mortification in finding that the Jam was still following a system of deceit and evasion; and the persons before-mentioned having failed to come back, means were concerted with Lieutenant-Colonel Smith to advance. On the morning of the 18th the troops were under arms, and had actually proceeded some hundred paces, when the vakils made their appearance, and anxiously entreated me to postpone from any movement, assuring me in the most solemn manner that all my demands would immediately be admitted.

11. With the perfect confidence that the Jam could not now meditate further delusion, and being unable to reconcile my mind to any sound motive for his doing so, I conceived it still to be my duty to proceed with caution and to give this misguided Chief every opportunity of reflecting on the consequence of resistance.

12. It would be fatiguing to the Hon'ble Board to describe the severe disappointment which attended my negotiations from the 16th to the evening of the 20th, when I abandoned every hope of effecting an understanding, without coercive means, by the direct and otherwise indecorous declaration by letter from Jam Jasaji himself to Samataji Sora that he would not abide by any arbitration of the Cutch pecuniary

demands, or provide the necessary securities for the discharge of his foreign levies; both of which stipulations his vakils had several times admitted in common with the articles. In this letter the Jam observed that he had deputed agents from an application on my part to that effect, and among other insinuations wished to infer that it was myself alone who was interested in concluding an amicable adjustment.

13. On dismissing the vakils, on this explanation of the Jam's real sentiments, I lamented the imprudence of their Master and still offered him until three the following morning for reflection. They left under an idea however that this latitude would be extended, though warned to the contrary. The period stated having expired, the detachment accordingly marched.

14. Fortunately the impression on the minds of the vakils that my forbearance would still continue, produced a similar sentiment on the Jam himself, whereby the troops arrived nearly within musket shot of the fort without its being suspected. Considering the position which Lieutenant-Colonel Smith subsequently took up to prosecute his operations, which rendered it necessary for the detachment to march round three faces of the fort, the want of preparation has probably saved some lives. I had requested the Lieutenant-Colonel to abstain from committing the first act of hostility, in the remote hope that the Jam would not have implicated himself by doing so, and that the immediate vicinage of the troops might still obtain the objects in view.

15. On passing however round the south-western angle of the fort a body of infantry, apparently Arabs, commenced firing on the line, and [*it was*] decided that no language but that of hostility could now be availing.

16 The report of the commanding officer of the detachment subsequently is already before the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, and I proceed to detail my communications with Jam Jasaji during these operations.

17. After the ground had been occupied for the batteries, I received a verbal message from the Jam through a Gosain, requesting that Sunderji Sivaji might be immediately sent to him. It is needless to say that the manner of making the request determined me to deny compliance; adding that if he (the Jam) felt interested in communicating with Sunderji or other persons belonging to my service, I should have no objection, on a proper application in writing to admit of his attending him for that purpose.

18. The answer produced in a few hours a letter from the Jam to the effect of his message, and Sunderji accordingly proceeded with a draft of the articles, which were considered by the Gaikwad Government and myself indispensable from the extreme contumacy of the Jam. A translation of these conditions is herewith enclosed; and it will be perceived that four additional concessions to those formerly required, were included, *viz.* an augmentation of tribute to His Highness the Gaikwad, the cession of Salayabandar to the same Power, a pecuniary payment for the commencement of hostility, and the destruction of the fort of Murpur. The forward state of

preparation for an assault of the town was made known to me by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith on the evening of the 23rd; and wishing in every stage to conform to the spirit of moderation, which had pervaded under the orders of Government the whole course of my communication, I addressed the Jam for the last time to apprise him of his danger. This measure and the information, which I caused to be sent to Sunderji, of my resolution to proceed to the last extremity, unless Jam Jasaji gave an unqualified assent to all the demands preferred by his agency, I have every reason to believe produced the most desirable effects.

19. The articles were subscribed to without any reservation, and Sunderji attended at my tents at one in the morning of the 24th with Raghunathji Mehta and Jusraji. These persons having given themselves as security for the performance of all stipulations, the arrangements for assault in the morning were countermanded, and in the course of the day our batteries were withdrawn.

20. I should observe here that these two vakils pledged themselves for the execution generally of all terms; but from the want of local influence in Nagar it had been settled that two jamadars of this country, of great respectability, who were in possession of some gates of the fort, were to become security for the payment of the Cutch claims, when determined by arbitration or by myself, and for the dismissal of the foreign levies in the Jam's service.

21. This security appeared in every respect more advisable than any other which we could obtain. The jamadars, named Kurimsha and Fakir Muhammad, accordingly arrived in camp on the morning of the 24th, and will continue with me until the final arrangements have taken place on the points affecting their guarantee.

22. In the course of negotiation with the vakils abovementioned, some modification in two of the articles, prescribed by the instructions of the 31st ultimo, appeared founded so much on justice that I anticipated the approval of the Hon'ble Board in admitting them.

The first affects the restoration of the taluka of Sarafdar to the Dhrol family. To this Jam Jasaji consented, but impressively urged that the bhandari of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker in 1807 had virtually authorised the usurpation for 10 years, five of which had already elapsed.

23. Under such circumstances it seemed eligible, on considerations which will occur to the mind of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that the bhandari formerly granted should remain in force until the expiration of the period of 10 years, and as the Dhrol agent seemed perfectly satisfied in the resumption of Sarafdar at that time, I respectfully presume that the arrangement will be approved.

24. The other remission related to his foreign levies. In this description were necessarily included slaves of chelas, amounting to 300, who had been purchased when young, and formed a guard over the dwelling of Jam Jasaji. The discharge of people so situated would have been a severe measure, not only to the Chief himself, but to the slaves, who would with difficulty find a maintenance elsewhere;

they were connected in Navanagar, and their home was fixed with their masters. Such a limited number also did not appear of importance, when balanced with these considerations; and as time would not admit of a reference to the Hon'ble the Board, I trust that the exercise of my own discretion in this instance will prove congenial to their sentiments.

25. I now beg leave to submit for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council copies and translations of the several deeds which have followed a settlement with Navanagar, and to proceed to offer such remarks as may tend to elucidate the motives which influenced me in affording my acquiescence to the demands preferred against the Chieftain of Navanagar beyond those detailed in my instructions for Government of the 31st ultimo.

26. It will, it is hoped, be perfectly apparent that no endeavour was omitted to prevail on Jam Jasaji to accept an amicable accommodation, and that to his own resistance and folly he has to attribute the consequences which have ensued, among other instances of his misconduct the commencement of hostilities on his own part is to be numbered; and it was reasonable and expedient that the terms, which were offered previous to his hostility, should not be admitted under the posture he assumed.

27. It therefore remained to be determined in what manner the concessions, which our interest and honour required, could be reconciled with the principles of our interference in this country.

28. The orders of Government in reply to my reference of the 31st ultimo were only subsequently received, and the alienation of territory in security was consequently abandoned.

29. It was necessary however that all the tributaries should be convinced that opposition in a Chief, even of the rank and power of Jam Jasaji, could not pass with impunity. The method therefore, most conformable to the customs of the country, of increasing the tribute, (in the annual amount of one lakh of Rupees) appeared the least objectionable. It could be susceptible of no other than the real meaning from the clause in the engagement that this exaction would be remitted according to the subordination which the Chieftain of Navanagar might hereafter observe.

30. The occupation of the bandar of Salaya, which it is calculated yields a revenue of 10,000 Rupees (to be included in the augmented tribute of one lakh), while it affords many obvious advantages, cannot be construed into any spirit of encroachment from its possessing no profit beyond the payment for a small garrison. This measure, as it appertains to Jam Jasaji himself, it is natural to expect, will have a powerful influence on his actions. Its vicinity to Khambhalla, a large commercial area, and also to Navanagar, from which it is situated about 15 kos will enable the British and Gaikwad Governments at once to enter the heart of the Navanagar territories. Salaya is also eligibly situated as a station to control the piratical States, (to which object my attention has been drawn by Government), and with reference to any eventual contingency to the westward, the position of this port in the hands of the Sovereign Power of the country will no doubt be considered worthy of attention.

31. The destruction of the fort of Murpur, from whence insults had been showered down both on the Gaikwad and British Governments, and the surrender of the persons who wounded Lieutenant Phelan of the 47th were imperiously necessary for the sake of public example, and the execution of the essential points will, it is hoped, meet the approbation of Government: but I should however observe in this place that the Chief of Navanagar asserts Lieutenant Phelan to have been the aggressor in the affray that cost that officer his life; a declaration which will make it necessary to institute an investigation, previous to the disposal of the men in question.

32. Before I conclude, I feel it necessary to offer a few observations in explanation of the protracted negotiation which has taken place since the advance of the detachment from Porbandar.

33. It was an object of great utility that the country at large should be persuaded that the British Government in the measures it was adopting, were actuated only by the desire of fulfilling a public engagement to this desirable end. Next to the moderation and justice of our claims, nothing appeared better calculated than that our progress should give abundant time for reflection.

34. I was solicitous on other considerations to avoid precipitation, when supported by no existing emergency. A state of hostility at an early stage might have led to the assault of Navanagar and the reduction of the power of its Chieftain; the former would not have been necessary for our views, and the effects would have been dreadful to humanity from the multitude of inhabitants who had resorted to the place, and the custom of the Rajputs in such an issue to massacre and exterminate their women, and children and servants.

35. The consequences also, which might attend such an event, were worthy of serious consideration; a country desolate and liable to be disturbed by the partisans of its Chief, the probable task of reducing afterwards other strongholds, and being drawn into operations extensive and inconvenient, the absence of all revenue or present means of satisfying the claims now obtained for the British and Cutch Governments and, lastly, the impolicy of the measure powerfully stamped on my mind the necessity of not overlooking any opportunity, whether favourable in a remote or immediate degree, to escape events of such magnitude. I cannot refrain under such impression from congratulating the Hon'ble Board on the issue which has now been attained; presuming its having combined both the honour and interests of the coalesced Governments.

Letter from James R. Carnac to Jam Jasaji, dated 3rd February.

Warning. At the request of your principal wakil, Gujju Jhalla, you have been apprised of my having consented to halt at this place. This measure arose from my wish that a settlement might ensue without proceeding to disagreeable extremities.

The same desire still influences me. Nothing could afford me more happiness than to witness your acquiescence to the demands of the British and Gaikwad Governments; for in so doing you will

consult your own interests and save the lives of many of your fellow-creatures. With such sentiments it was with the utmost surprise I have learnt that you are inviting at this moment and have actually obtained Jharejas, etc. from Cutch and Vagher to join your standard. For instance a body of men by caste Mullik have recently entered your service. This is not becoming; and such conduct, if true, affects your good faith. I hope that my information may prove incorrect. Should it however be confirmed, you are hereby distinctly informed that I will immediately advance without waiting for the expiration of the period stipulated with GnjjuJhalla and communicated to you.

Vasonji Mehta and Murarji, the relation of Raghunathji Umerji Diwan of Junagarh, (who is now with you) are sent to acquaint you of an occurrence in this quarter; an abhorrence of the crime committed¹ will doubtless secure your speedy and successful exertion.

Navanagar, 29th February, 1812 (1812, P. D. 384)

1812

Navanagar settlement.

No. 1. *Letter from Anandrao Gaikwad to Jam Jasaji.*

You behaved in an unbecoming manner, which caused the khas *Fine* army and a large force on the part of the Hon'ble Company Bahadur to enter your country. An endeavour was made to effect an accommodation; but that having failed, in order to keep you in remembrance (of the past) your jamabandi has been increased by 1 lakh of Rupces annually (inclusive of the produce of the port of Salaya) in the year 1869, A. D. 1812. Should however your future conduct be such as is approved by the allied Governments, after a period of 10 years they may be induced to reduce in some proportion this increased demand.

No. 2. *Decd executed by the sarkar of Anandrao Gaikwad in favour of Jam Jasaji.*

The sarkar have taken the port of Salaya² in the Nagar taluka, *Port* entire and free from all other demands, in consequence of your *confiscated* unbecoming conduct. In this manner you have been given it in writing.

No trouble will be offered to your taluka by the garrison of the sarkar in that port, such as orders, horsemen, footmen, mohsuls, travellers to and fro, etc., except in the articles of grass and wood. Our garrison will not listen to any complaint made by your raj, and to trouble offered by the thana; our garrison will not protect any of your criminals.

Merchants, belonging to Khambhalia, carrying goods from Salaya to the former place, shall pay you the usual taxes; and the same with respect to the Salaya merchants, sending goods in Khambhalia. Merchants of Salaya carrying goods from Salaya past vicinity of Khambhalia, will pay you the usual petty road-tax. Robbers, etc. of your taluka shall not trouble the bandar and its merchants; nor shall the passage of goods through this country be in any way obstructed.

1 An allusion to Phelan's being wounded.

2 Salaya is the port of Khambhalia, from which town it lies about eight or nine miles to the northward (Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VIII, Kathiawar, p. 645).

Should any merchant be robbed of his property, which has paid Khambhalia road-tax in your territory, you shall cause restitution; and if the road belongs to another district, you shall point out the place to which it belongs.

The sarkar may populate and otherwise increase the bandar; no obstacles are to be presented to this.

The sarkar affords cowl, for which written above; and the bhandari of Captain J. R. Carnac, Resident, on the part of the Hon'ble Company is annexed.

No. 3. Translation of a letter from Jam Sri Jasaji to the Mehta of Khambhalia.

Salaya Give the people of the Gaikwad possession of Salaya port, and deliver it up.

Translation of a letter from Jam Sri Jasaji to Jamadar Abdulla Muhammad of Murpur.

Murpur Proceed with your beraks to Bhanvad, and permit the fort of Murpur to be destroyed.

No. 4. Deed executed by Jamadar Kurm Shah and Fakir Muhammad Makrani of the Navanagar sibandi in favour of the Sarkar of Shrimant Rao.

Sibandi Jam Jasaji of the district of Navanagar has hitherto entertained a numerous Arab foreign sibandi and in consequence quarrelled with both sarkars. Therefore Jam Sri agrees to retain 300 chela Arabs, etc. for his own guard, and to dismiss from his service all Arabs, foreigners, and any sibandi unnecessary for the common duties of the country.

We two will be responsible for the discharge of these sibandi in 4 months; and if Jam Jasaji does not, we will be answerable in our persons to the sarkar.

No. 5. Deed executed by Gadivala Khem Kerria.

Bond In the year 1812 the army of the sarkar attacked Navanagar, and the amount of 5 lakhs and one Rupee was settled to cover its expenses. I agree to become security for the payment of this, agreeable to the following kists, at one day's notice, in the currency of Petlad and by bills on Baroda; and I also agree to pay 1 per cent. per month for the period any kist may become due without payment.

1st kist: 1,25,000 Rs. payable August 1812.

2nd kist: 1,25,000 Rs. payable January 1813.

3rd kist: 1,25,000 Rs. payable June 1813.

4th kist: 1,25,000 Rs. payable November 1813.

In this manner I will pay the 5 lakhs and 1 Rupee. What is written is true.

No. 6. Deed executed by Gadivala Khem Kerria.

Fine In the year 1807 A.D. it was agreed that no Jharejas should kill their female infants. I agree to pay 5,000 Rupees, the amount of fine imposed on Jam Jasaji.

No. 7. Deed executed by Jam Jasaji.

It has been a practice among the Jharejas of my caste not to *Promise* permit any female infant to live. The two sarkars have pointed out to me that religion declares it to be a horrid crime, and that killing an infant is the same as a Brahman, and also that the murder of a woman is equal to that of 100 Brahmans.

In this case both the murder of an infant and woman occurred; for which crime the perpetrator will receive as many punishments as there are hairs on the woman's body, and will be born a decrepit leper in the next transmigration. The sarkar in the year 1864 (1807) having explained this to me, I agreed not to commit this crime nor to allow it in my bhayad, and passed a writing to that effect.

I did not give proper information to the sarkar's Metha, who came to inquire into this business, on which account I again engage to Government that neither myself, descendants, or bhayads will commit this act; and if we should, we are guilty before the sarkar. If I know of any of my caste of having committed this act, I will turn him out of the caste and answer to Government as they may choose.

No. 8. Deed executed by Jam Jasaji.

I took the pargana of Sarafdar from Jhareja Bhopatsing of Dhrol, *Sarafdar* and settled with the sarkar under the Company's bhandari in the year 1807 for that place for 10 years. These years the pargana will remain in my hands; after which, in the year 1817, I shall deliver it up to the Dhrol man through the medium of the sarkar. In this there shall be no difficulty.

No. 9. Deed executed by Gadivala Kerria.

In this year 1812 A. D. His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad entered *Nazrana* the Navanagar territory. I agree to pay 25,000 Rupees the amount as nazrana. In the event of any delay, I agree to pay 1% per month after they become due.

No. 10. Deed of fil-zamini by Bharot Meru Mehta and Ramdas Mutu.

We do of our own free will and pleasure become permanent fil-zamini for Jam Jasaji of Navanagar, as follows:

He shall not enter into internal disputes nor afford refuge to any *Fil-zamini* bharwuttias, kathi or Rajputs. He shall not encourage quarrels or encroach upon others' boundaries, but shall permit them to remain as they may have been from ancient times. Should any of the bhayads offer his land or village, he shall not accept of it in any way. He shall not offer any injury on account of former quarrels. He shall harbour no robbers, else he must do so with proper securities. No robberies are to be committed in talukas or in the roads. Should any person offer his land or village for sale, it is not to be purchased or sold without permission of the sarkar.

He should not unite with any enemies of the Gaikwad or Company's Governments. He shall permit no robberies, attacks or plundering parties in the mahals of the Government of Shrimant Pant Pradhan, the Gaikwad, and the Hon'ble Company. He shall allow of no injury being offered to merchants or travellers, to whom

he is to give guides and escorts through his own districts. Any loss suffered by merchants, etc. shall be answered for by the village-people in whose land it occurred, and the talukdar shall answer for the conduct of his villages or shall trace the robbers.

If he has possessed himself of any land or village of an inferior zamindar, it shall be returned, and a just accommodation take place, and the dispute cease.

In the year 1812 he engaged with the sarkar not to be entertain more than 300 chelas foreign sibandi. Should he require more, he shall ask the permission of Government; and if it is denied, he is not to retain others.

No. 11. Deed executed by Gadriwala Khem Kerria.

I, Gadriwala Khem Kerria, inhabitant of the village of Besenia, Bond do engage to the sarkar of Shrimant Rao Sri;

In the year 1812, A. B. the army of the sarkar attacked Navanagar, and the expense, incurred in battle, being settled at 1 lakh and 1 Rupee, I engage to pay the amount to the sarkar.

1812 *Bombay, 9th March, 1812 (1812, P. D. 384)*

No. 12. Resolutions.

The Governor-in-Council having already expressed his favourable sentiments of the ability with which the military operations against *Approval* Navanagar have been conducted, it is only necessary to add, in reference to the remark of the Resident upon the fortunate issue of the expedition [that] their important results in every point of view but, above all, in the effects that have flowed from the moderation of our army—the preservation of the lives of so many of its innocent inhabitants—are fully appreciated by the Government, which has contemplated moreover with a considerable degree of confidence and satisfaction the prudence, perseverance and judgment which Captain Carnac has from the first displayed in the immediate control of the measures that have led to so desirable an issue.

1812 *Bombay, 9th March, 1812 (1812, P. D. 384)*

Bombay orders.

Salaya Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that we are desirous of receiving a sketch of Salayabandar and of the coast in its vicinity, to be made by one of the marine officers at present under the orders of the Resident. It is also desirable that the customs, payable on all goods that may be imported at that place, should be defined, and their rates communicated to this Government, inclusive of the inland taxes payable on goods conveyed from Salaya to Khambhalia, and also of those payable on their transit past the vicinity of Khambhalia. An account of the trade of that town and of the articles, likely to meet with a vend, would be also acceptable; and the desire to Government to encourage the merchants of Salaya and Khambhalia, and of Kathiawar generally to resort to the port of Bombay is to be promulgated as extensively as possible under assurances of receiving every degree of encouragement and protection.

The Resident at Baroda will further obtain the orders of the Gaikwad Government for the Company's cruisers being permitted to have free ingress and egress to the bandar of Salaya, and all their wants supplied, the amount of which will be duly paid by the British Government.

Porbandar, 10th April, 1812 (1812, P. D. 385).

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

5. I proceed to offer to the notice of the Hon'ble the Governor-*Place-*in-Council such observations on the eligibility of Salaya as a military *picking* station, which a review of our political objects in this country has produced to my mind.

6. The situation of Salaya appears well adapted for the establishment of a force, both as it relates to the tributary States of the Gaikwad and the country of Cutch.

7. By such a disposition of our force in Kathiawar those tributaries of the Gaikwad whose power is the most extended, and whose disposition is questionable, must be effectually awed by the vicinage of a regular force. It will be calculated to restrain the Chieftain of Navanagar from prosecuting any intrigues or combination, to which he has in a recent instance shown so decided a propensity; and whatever interest we possess in the State of Porbandar will also be abundantly preserved and protected by the arrangement in contemplation.

8. It is not necessary in this place to discard on the value of the possession of Salaya in the event, at any future period, of the attention of the British Government being directed to the westward, but the facility with which troops can be conveyed to that port from the Presidency, and the secure state of vessels in the creek, at a very advanced period of the season, or during the violence of the monsoon, are advantages of considerable importance.

9. The occupation of Salaya, as it affects Cutch, must be useful from its probable effects of deterring the Jamadar Fateh Muhammad from attempting the subjugation of Mandvi. The Supreme Government has already expressed its sentiments on the necessity of preventing such an accession to the power and resources of the Jamadar by every amicable remonstrance.

10. Contemplating the prospect of a conciliation with the Government of Cutch, the neighbourhood of our troops must be susceptible of many advantages, and the general effects, it may produce by suppressing the internal dissensions which have prevailed in that country, may also be numbered among the probable consequences of our establishment at Salaya.

Navanagar, 15th May, 1812 (1812, P. D. 386).

James R. Carnac to Jam Jasaji.

You will have been advised through the medium of your vakils with *Promiscand* the decision which I have passed in reference to the dues by you to the *threat* Government of His Highness Rao Rayadhan. This business being completed according to justice, I am now on my return to Baroda, but

deem it an act of friendship, before I take my departure to write you a few words of advice.

Although your late oppositions to your superiors may lead you to entertain doubts of their goodwill towards you, I conceive it in the first place necessary to assure you in the most explicit terms that, as long as you may attend to the dictates of your duty and scrupulously perform the engagements you have passed to the Hon'ble Bahadur and the Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur, you will not fail to receive tokens of the friendly regard of these powerful Governments, whose protection will always be extended to you when justice demands it.

On the other hand, actuated by a sincere desire to see you and your Government prosper, it is incumbent on me to acquaint you that any deviation from these engagements will be viewed with great displeasure. You will therefore see the necessity, if you are solicitous for the preservation of your interest and reputation, of abiding by the letter and spirit of all your engagements, a course which will be replete with more advantages than I can describe in a communication of this nature.

I shall at all times be happy to hear of your health and happiness and I request you will unreservedly give me your correspondence.

1812 *Thaungodul*, 16th May, 1812 (1812, P. D. 386).

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

*Jasaji
obedient*

I have the honour to submit for the information of Government the accompanying translation of a yad, specifying the payments which Jam Jasaji has made to the Gaikwad Government in pursuance of his engagements, followed by a particular list of the number of sibandi he has recently discharged from his service. I understand that these people have quietly dispersed to various quarters, and that the Jam has made known his determination only to maintain those Sidis or all who have been brought up in his house and by members of his family.

In consequence of the peaceable conduct of the discharged sibandi there appears no further necessity for the 2nd Battalion 4th Regiment Native Infantry to continue in the field. That corps, I beg leave to state, has accordingly at my request returned to its station at Paliyad, and I have the honour to forward copy of my letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes apprising that officer of the circumstance.

*Carnac to
Baroda*

From the adherence hitherto of Jam Jasaji to his stipulations, and all the objects [which required my attention in this country having terminated, you will be good enough to acquaint the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I have left the Gaikwad camp on my return to Baroda, where I shall arrive by the end of the present, or early in the ensuing month.

Advice

Previous to my departure I addressed Jam Jasaji a short letter of advice, copy of which is herewith submitted for the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

No. 1. Memorandum of cash received by the Gaikwad Government from Jam Jasaji.

Total Rs. 1,31,500.

No. 2. Sibandi discharged by Jam Jasaji.

Total of men discharged 8,040.

Baroda, 17th May, 1812 (1812 P.D. 386) 1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

In compliance with the commands of the Hon'ble the Governor-*Cutch claims*
in-Council for the settlement of the pecuniary claims of the Darbar of His Highness the Rao of Cutch upon Jam Jasaji of Navanagar as expressed in your letter under date the 9th of March, I have now the honour to report for his information the final arrangement of those concerns.

In my letter bearing date the 5th ultimo I had the honour to transmit translations of the letters brought by the vakil Jagjivan Veniram from His Highness Rao Rayadhan and Jamadar Fateh Muhammad, acquainting me that he was possessed of full powers to arbitrate and decide upon the claims in question on the part of the Cutch Darbar.

This vakil reached my camp at Lallwar on the 7th ultimo; and the agent of Jam Jasaji being also present, I lost no time in instituting an investigation into the merits of the demands; and for that purpose a person was named by each of the parties concerned; who together with two disinterested and respectable people, chosen respectively by the Gaikwad Government and myself, were employed in an arbitration until the 10th of the same month.

Previous to my departure from Lallwar to Porbandar the arbitrators expressed their conviction that the claims would never be satisfactorily adjusted by these, where interests were so openly at variance; and at Jagjivan's suggestion I consented to his writing to Bhuj for authority to grant me the power of deciding on the amount of the dues on the part of that State.

On my return to the camp at Ganod I was presented by Jagjivan with the accompanying paper in the name of the Rao through Fateh Muhammad, communicating his wish that the equity and final amount of his demand should be entirely left to my judgment and discretion, at the same time remarking upon the implicit reliance which he placed in the uniform impartiality of the British character.

Under the orders of Government, which I possessed for my guidance to bring these contested claims to the conclusion, I was unwilling to adopt the measure of personally deciding on a subject of such importance (though voluntarily invited by both parties) without once more having recourse to arbitration. Raghunathji Mehta, Jagjivan and Rahoba Appa, were the persons nominated on this occasion, whose endeavour, I am concerned to state, proved quite as unavailing as the attempts of those formerly convened.

The conviction at length that my personal interference was unavoidable for the purpose of effecting an accommodation, which might be agreeable to both parties concerned and prove consistent with

justice, induced me to enter on the subject, and I proceed to submit the consequent decision with the several documents connected with it.

It appears that the Darbar of Bhuj had claims of a very ancient date upon Navanagar for his services granted by the former to the ancestors of Jam Jasaji; and at subsequent and different periods during the administration of the Nagar affairs by Meru Khawas Jam Jasaji had made frequent attempts to release himself from the state of bondage, to which his minister had reduced him; and with that view invited Fatch Muhammad to cross the Rann with the Rao's army, offering to pay the expense, which he might incur, in addition to the ancient demands against his family.

In the close of the year 1799 the Cutch troops entered Halar and attempted to storm the fort of Navanagar. The attempt proved unsuccessful to the full extent, and terminated by Fatch Muhammad receiving five lakhs of Koris in cash and a note for a similar amount (copy and translate of which is enclosed), executed by Jam Jasaji and Meru Khawas, his minister, in favour of Rao Rayadhan. Early in 1810 the Jam by the assistance of his sibandi was released from his confinement and the forts of Balambha, Jodiya, and Amran were secured to the family of Meru Khawas by the Rao's Chambers.

Enclosure No. 3, is a copy and transaction of a letter from Jam Jasaji to Fatch Muhammad, acknowledging the justice of his claims for five lakhs of Koris, promising to pay it when due, and soliciting the bhanderry of His Highness to the deed in favour of the family of Meru Bhandari.

The tenor of the original bond, it will be observed, stipulated for 12 per cent. interest, from the period of the kist coming due until they should be paid; and in consequence of the Jam's failure in this arrangement, the interest has accumulated to the amount of 760,000 Koris in 12 years making a total of 12,60,000 Koris. Further demands for expenses incurred in endeavouring to realise these dues by force of arms were preferred to a very considerable amount, and debts of ancient and modern dates were brought in evidence by Jagjivan Mehta, entitling the Cutch Government to sums upon the different parganas of Jam Jasaji, amounting in all to six lakhs of Koris.

To obviate the difficulty which would have attended the arbitration of these multiplied demands, the justice of which might probably be questionable, I deemed it advisable, in a view to the injury sustained by Navanagar, to fix a sum in lieu of the claims of every description by the Cutch Government upon the Chief of Navanagar or his subjects. This sum was named at 40,000 Koris, added to the amount above mentioned, increased the debt payable to Cutch to 13,00,000 Koris or about 4,33,333-1-50 Rupees.

The copies and translations of the note passed by Jam Jasaji at His Highness Rao Rayadan, rendering the cash payable by kists in five years, together with a receipt in full of the latter person, which will be given to the Jam, as well as his original bond, when his seal and signature is attached to the note for the present amount, are submitted for the information of Government.

On the occasion of the final adjustment of this transaction I addressed a letter to His Highness the Rao, a copy of which I have also the honour to enclose, informing him in general terms of the manner in which it has been concluded and referring him to the vakil for particulars. This letter will be delivered when the result arrives from Bhuj executed in form.

I am happy to have it in my power to state that the mode in which these dues have been terminated, has been gratifying to the vakil of Fatch Muhammad, and my hopes also of Jam Jasaji's satisfaction are as sanguine as the circumstances of the case and his decided hostility to the discharge of the demand can allow me to entertain.

I was aware at the time of this arrangement that the authority of Jodiya had been considered by my predecessor, Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, as responsible for a share of the claim upon Navanagar; but under the opinion which I have formed of the case, I consider it my duty to submit the circumstance for the decision of the Hon'ble Board, before I preferred any such demand, whilst Jam Jasaji being held responsible in the meantime for the whole amount can be attended with no inconvenience.

It will be noticed that in enclosing it, the whole sum is made payable distinctly by the Navanagar taluk; and although the party of Meru Khawas were no doubt the authors of this deed, and probably introduced that expression for the purpose of removing all claims from their persons and the places, which they had in view to obtain, previous to the release of Jam Jasaji, still this sum ought probably to be considered as the purchase of that Chieftain's freedom and establishment in a government, which by the exertions and good management of Meru was placed in the most flourishing condition.

It would perhaps have been an act of security to have compelled the Khawas to pay half the demand in question; and the only means, by which I could yet feel authorised to allow a proportion, would have been by calculating the respective revenues of Navanagar and Jodiya. By following this plan the amount payable by the latter would have been comparatively trifling, which together with the tenor of the deed actuated me in settling the Koris as above reported.

•At the same time under all circumstances of the case it may be proper that the Chief of Jodiya should be made liable to a part of the burthen of the Cutch demands. The revenues of that taluka and its dependencies may be estimated at 1,05,000 Rupees per annum, and with the information now and previously laid before Government, the sum fairly chargeable to Jodiya will probably become best determined by the Hon'ble Board. Its appropriation, I humbly conceive should depend on the conduct which the Chieftain of Navanagar may observe and his adherence to the spirit of his engagements to the Gaikwad Government.

On dismissing the vakils of Jam Jasaji they expressed their acknowledgment for the indulgence granted in the protracted period for the payment of the amount determined to be due to the Cutch Government, and I trust that the general arrangement of this long contested demand will meet with the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

No. 1. Translation of a paper presented by Jagjivan Mehta, vakil of Fateh Muhammad, Jamadar of Bhuj, in the name of Rao Rayadhan, to Captain Carnac, Resident at Baroda.

Carnac's power As at present you are anxious according to agreement to settle the pecuniary claims of my Government upon Jam Jasaji of Navanagar. I therefore write through the medium of Muhammad Jamadar, Fateh Muhammad Notiar that I agree to, and shall abide by, your decision with regard to this money.

No. 2. Creditor, Maharaja Rao Rayadhanji and Maharaja Kumar Shri Prithiraj of Bhuj, demands from debtor, Jam Shri Jasaji Wuludi, Lakhaji and Khawas Mahadmuni Ajani.

Cutch claim The debt in full amount to 5 lakhs of Kori payable in kists as follows.

1856 (1799) Phalgun Sudh 2nd; 2,50,000, two lakhs and fifty thousand Koris.

1857 (1800) Phalgun Sudh 2nd: 2,50,000 two lakhs and fifty thousand Koris.

Agreeable to the above kist 5 lakhs of Koris shall be paid when they become due; and if they pass over, 12 per cent. per annum shall be given. The 5 lakhs of Koris are payable from the Nagar Taluka. The above writing is correct.

No. 3. Letter from Jam Shri Jasaji to Fateh Muhammad, Jamadar.

Debt damitted Learn that your letter arrived, and was understood. The two kists for 5 lakhs of Koris, which the Rao claims from the hands of Meru Anjani, I will send, agreeably to the stated periods; so Hansraj will tell you all about it; understand it from him; be not in the least uneasy about the Koris. I have given to the children of Khawas Meru Anjani and Bhowan Anjani, 3 forts, viz. Balambha, Jodiya and Amram, and 34 villages dependent.

No. 4. Translation of a bond given by the debtor, Jam Shri Jasaji Wulud Lakhaji of Navanagar, in favour of His Highness Rao Rayadhan of Bhuj and Maharaj Kumar Shri Ladhupa, creditors, dated 12th May, 1812.

Bond The settlement of your old claims against me, up to the present day, including the notes or written acknowledgment of my karbari, Meru Khawas Anjani, and others, and ryots village Grassias, patels, & ca., has been made by the sarkar Shrimant Gaikwad Senakeshkel Samsher Bahadur and that of the Hon'ble Bahadur is at 13,00,000 Koris payable to the following kists.

10th July, 1812	..	Koris	2,00,000
7th October, 1812	..	..	1,00,000
October, 1813	..	..	2,50,000
October, 1814	..	..	2,50,000
October, 1815	..	..	2,50,000
October, 1816	..	..	2,50,000
			<hr/>
Koris			13,00,000

I will pay in Koris; and should the kists become due, 12 per cent. interest should be given, until they are paid. The sarkar or Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur will see these terms fulfilled, and the bhandaris given are Jamadar Karsondas and Fakir Muhammad Mekrana. The money shall be regularly paid per kist; and on the payment of the last kist, I shall receive back this note.

No. 5. Translation of a deed executed by His Highness Rao Rayadhan Maharaj Kumar Shri Ladhupa in favour of Jam Jasaji.

My ancient demands through Jamadar Fateh Muhammad upon *Deed* you, your karbari Meru Khawas Anjani and others, soukars, ryots, village, Grassias, patels, and including written deeds as well as any nisha notes from former times until this day, on every account have been settled to my perfect satisfaction and with my free will by the sarkars: Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur and the Hon'ble Company Bahadur.

For the balance of Koris now due a new note has been given, dated Vaisakh Sudh 2nd, Samvat 1868 [1869] (12 May, 1812); besides this, we have no demands against you up to this day, and all claims are cleared.

Should however any of your notes of hand or acknowledgments, or those of your karbharis, or those of your country, etc. appear they are invalid, we have given you the receipt in full under date Vaisakh Sudh 2nd, 1868 [1869], 12th May, 1812.

No. 6. Draft of a letter from Captain James Rivett Carnac to His Highness Maharao Mirza Rayadhanji and Ladhupa of Cutch.

Your friendly communication by the hands of your respectable *Terms of* and trusty vakil of your Government, Mehta Jagjivan, arrived in due *settlement* course. He communicated besides several verbal messages, which gave me real pleasure and afforded additional warmth to the friendship which exists.

What you wrote respecting your faith (in me) on dispatching the above Mehta for the settlement of the Navanagar affair, I perfectly understood.

• My friend, the Hon'ble Company agreed to settle the demands of your Government upon Jam Jasaji of Navanagar according to justice. With that view the Company's Government and that of Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur became mediators, and have terminated the pecuniary demands, justly through the administration of the affairs of your sarkar Jamadar Fateh Muhammad. The amount of 13 lakhs, including every demand up to the present day, has been made payable by Jam Jasaji by kists specified in a note given for the amount. You may rest perfectly assured that the money in question shall be regularly paid, and that the stipulation between us, it will still be the object of Government to see it fulfilled. Continue to favour me with your letters.

Bombay, 22nd June, 1812 (1811, P. D. 386)
Minutes.

Previously to the extension of our approval, of the proceeding of *Excessive* the Resident at Baroda in the settlement of the claims of the Cutch *demands*

Government on the Chieftain of Navanagar at the sum of Koris 13,00,000 or Rupees 4,33,333-1-50, it is necessary to request some explanations from Captain Carnac, founded upon the former proceedings of Government connected with that subject, to which probably the Resident had not the opportunity of referring.

The original amount of the claim being taken at five lakhs of Koris seems correct, and is fully acknowledged by the tenor of the 2nd article of the heads of adjustment, effected by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker with Jodiya, as reported in his letter of the 27th September, 1809, as due to the Government of Cutch; but it is to be recollected that in that amount the sum of 1,25,000 Koris is stated to have been previously paid by Jodiya as would also appear to have been 50,000 by the Jam himself.

The debt is more explicitly defined in the 7th paragraph of Lieutenant Colonel Walker's report of the 31st of October, 1809, as follows.

Original demand..	..	..	Koris 5,00,000
Paid by Khawas..	....	....	„ 1,25,000
To be paid by Khawas under the supposition of its already being paid by the Jam	..	..	50,000

That sum was to be paid by Sagaram Khawas; that is 3,75,000 to the Cutch Government and 50,000 Koris to the Jam Chieftain; in addition to which the Jam declared his willingness to pay 1,50,000 Koris, which sum of 5,75,000 Koris Colonel Walker expressed a hope "would be considered amply sufficient to satisfy the demands of the Cutch Government, as they may be ultimately settled by an arbitration." The settlement of the award therefore at 13,00,000 of Koris considerably exceeds the expectation by Colonel Walker on the occasion, since the additional sum of 1,50,000 was probably intended as an advance in compromise of interest on the original claim.

Reduction

However that may be, our admitting that the interest, as stipulated for in the original bond is justly chargeable, the Governor-in-Council concludes that the sum of 1,25,000 Koris, as paid by Khawas, and the further sum of 50,000 Koris as supposed to have been paid by the Jam, with interest at 12 per cent. per annum (being the rate chargeable by the Cutch Government on the original amount of the debt) is to be deducted from the 13,00,000, Koris awarded to be due to the Cutch Government. If the adjustment is not to be made on these principles, the Resident at Baroda will explain the grounds on which credit has been admitted to be allowed to the Jam Chieftain for the payments above specified.

Jagjivan

In reference to the question, which the Resident has submitted regarding the portions of the debt to be borne by Vagher and Jodiya respectively, it is to be remarked that the Governor-in-Council finds it distinctly stated in Colonel Walker's report under date 27th September and 31st October, 1809, that the residue of the principal of the debt, after deducting 1,25,000 Koris already paid in part of it, and 50,000 Koris supposed to have paid by Jam, was to be liquidated by Jagjivan Khawas, who upon the occasion seems to have come under a specific engagement to that effect, partly on account of the share which Meru

Khawas may have been deemed to have had in the original responsibility for this debt, and partly as a sort of commutation for the territories which that family had usurped from Jam Jasaji.

From the same letters it seems equally apparent that the Jam himself was accounted by Colonel Walker to be responsible for the interest of the debt at whatever amount it might be compromised under the proposed adjustment, since it was stipulated that Sagaram Khawas should repay to him 50,000 Koris, which it was understood the Jam had defrayed on account of the principal; and this sum added to 1,50,000 Koris to be provided by Jam Jasaji, Colonel Walker expresses his expectation, would (as already noticed) be sufficient to satisfy the demands of the Cutch Government. The Governor-in-Council is not therefore aware of any reasons which should prevent this adjustment being adopted as the principle for apportioning the payment to be made by Jodiya and Navanagar respectively; the principal for the debt being payable by the former, and the interest by the latter, and for which indeed, as far as respects Navanagar, a reason of some weight may be assigned in the circumstance of accumulation of the interest having been solely occasioned by the neglect of Jam Jasaji to liquidate the debt for which his engagements had been pledged.

Baroda, 20th June, 1812 (1832 P. D. 386)

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the return of His Highness Fatesingrao Gaikwad to Baroda on the 17th instant, on which occasion His Highness was received by the British troops with every mark of respect and attention due to his elevated rank and situation.

Baroda, 8th July, 1812 (1812, P. D. 387)

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to reply to your dispatch dated the 22nd ultimo on the subject of the recent adjustment of the demands of the Government of Cutch on the Chieftain of Navanagar as reported in my letter of the 17th May last.

In the prosecution of my researches to substantiate the justice of the claims of Rao Rayadhan on Jam Jasaji I was not unaware of the sentiments which had been delivered by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker with reference to the principles on which they might be compromised and the abatements, he conceived, would be admitted in consequence of payments having already been made on account of the demand in question.

It cannot detract from the accuracy of my predecessor's reports on this important subject, when it is observed that they were professedly statements *ex-parte*, without an investigation into the deeds constituting the claims, according to the representation of the Jodiya and Navanagar parties, by which Colonel Walker was probably guided. But his observations can merely be considered partial under the circumstances of his information, and intended rather to afford an elucidation of the merits of the case, as far as fell within his own knowledge, than to decide the full operation of the litigated claims.

With these preliminary observations you will have the goodness to explain to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that, when I called the assembly of the 17th May, the items, specified in your letter now replied to, were recommended to their deliberate consideration.

In an investigation of this delicate and intricate nature it became essential that the validity of demands or claims on former payments should rest on the authority of written deeds and discharges of acknowledgment. To have entered on the adjustment on other principles must obviously have sanctioned pretensions to demands, of which it would be impossible either to defy the latitude or to ascertain how far they were founded in justice.

In pursuance therefore of this principle both the vakils of Mr. Jam and Jodiya were called on to produce evidence of their having made the payments in question, on which abatement would of course be admitted. It was neither in their power however to bring forward a receipt of such money being paid to Fateh Muhammad, nor could the party of Jodiya declare that any amount had been given on their behalf to the Cutch Government as *bona fide* in part discharge of the long established demand of the Chief of Navanagar.

The declaration however that money has actually been paid (whether on account of Navanagar or other causes, it does not appear essential immediately to decide) induced me not to rest satisfied without calling on Jagjivan Mehta to declare if the representations of this effect made to Colonel Walker were founded in fact.

This person did not deny that a sum of money, equal to the amount stated by the Jodiya party had been paid to Fateh Muhammad, but partially asserted that the payment had no relation whatsoever with the claims on Jam Jasaji, it arose out of the connection which subsisted between Jodiya and Bhuj, to which the former entirely owed its independence of Navanagar. Being in the light of payment on account of protection, no acknowledgement of receiving it was granted; and Jagjivan adduced this circumstance as conclusive testimony of the transaction being distinct and separate; as a discharge of any part of an amount, supported by deeds, must be acknowledged, or the claim, founded on such deeds, would always stand at its original amount.

With reference to the sum of 5,000 Koris said to have been paid by Jam Jasaji, it does not appear that this Chief made any such discharge on his own part, but the transaction has certainly taken place.

A merchant, who was engaged in commerce both in Bhuj and Navanagar, found it his interest to intercede for compromise of the dispute between the Chiefs of these places, and spontaneously offered to mediate on the pledge faith of Jam Jasaji, recognising and abiding by the settlement he would accomplish.

This person accordingly entered into a written agreement with Fateh Muhammad to pay him 5,000 Koris on the spot, and the sum of 1,75,000 Koris within the period of one month, in failure of which agreement, the first mentioned sum was to be forfeited.

The merchant, persuaded that the honour, if not the interests of Jam Jasaji would instantaneously ratify that unfavourable arrangement with Fateh Muhammad, communicated his success to Navanagar; and to his mortification the Jam decidedly refused his sanction to the negotiation; the stipulated period having elapsed, the merchant was accordingly compelled to submit to the sacrifice prescribed on his agreement with the authorities at Bhuj.

It should however be observed that the payment from the Khawas of Jodiya and the loss of the merchant were unattended by any deeds from Fateh Muhammad, and that the correct elucidation of these transactions is to be attributed to the candour of Jagjivan Mehta. At the same time it is important to state that neither the Jam nor the Chief of Jodiya deny the veracity of the statement given by Jagjivan in reference to the merchant. The merits of the case are very clear from the agreement he passed, and produced by Jagjivan Mehta, while the intimate degree of connection which subsists between Jodiya and Bhuj renders its highly probable that the payment of the sum of 1,25,000 Koris was unreservedly for the object already explained. Abstracted from the grounds or pretences on which these respective sums were made good to Fateh Muhammad (the correctness of which can scarcely be questioned), I trust it will appear to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the principle on which I had resolved to make the settlement of the pecuniary dues of Bhuj on Navanagar could not be abandoned without this peril of indefinite claims being preferred on evidence which it would be impracticable to admit with equity; on the present occasion, the necessity of departing from the principle seemed superceded, from the exposition given by Jagjivan and the parties making no remonstrance against its accuracy.

It cannot however be denied that Fateh Muhammad has acquired from his connection with the tributaries of the Gaikwad a remuneration more considerable than his original expectation could have warranted, but he owes it to his good fortune, as much as to the bad faith and obstinacy of Jam Jasaji¹ as to the internal dissensions which have prevailed in the Government of that Chieftain.

With reference to the concluding paragraph of your letter I have also to request you will explain to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that my hesitation in fixing the portion to be paid by Khawas of Jodiya of the amount awarded to Bhuj in the arrangement, originated in the knowledge that Lieutenant-Colonel Walker has not seen the deed on which the claims of Bhuj in Navanagar were founded; and from my consequent apprehension that the money claimed was to be derived from the 'Navanagar taluka' would not perhaps justify the appropriation suggested by that officer. This circumstance I respectfully submit to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Bombay resolution.

The explanation, afforded by the Resident at Baroda on the *Approval* doubts entertained by the Government of the accuracy of the principles

¹ A new principle in determining the strict amount a creditor has a right to,

on which the adjustment of the claims of Bhuj on Navanagar was effected, in as far as related to my omission of the partial payments supposed to have been previously made by Jam Jasaji on that account, is satisfactory to the Governor-in-Council, who confirms the adjustment accordingly.

Khavas Upon the question as to whether the family of Khawas is to be made responsible for the payment of a portion of this award, ordered that Captain Carnae be informed that the Governor-in-Council, before passing a decision on that subject, is desirous of knowing if the Jam Chieftain has ever brought the claims forward and, if not, upon what grounds he has brought the question into discussion.

1812 *Baroda, 2nd August, 1812 (1812 P. D. 387)*

James R. Carnae to Francis Warden.

Jasaji's disposition I have the honour to forward for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a copy of a letter with its enclosures, from Captain McMurdo, specifying the performance of some further conditions by the Chief of Navanagar in pursuance of his engagements.

The adherence hitherto of the Jam to the engagements he has incurred, is satisfactory, both as it regards the good faith evinced and the promise which it affords of his following up a system so conducive to his good.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will however perceive that the Sindhi, who wounded the late Captain Phelan (there is reason to believe from accident) has not yet been delivered up to justice. The particulars of the escape of this man are related by the agent; nor have I any additional remarks to offer to those advanced by Captain McMurdo, except with reference to the assurance, received from Vithoba Diwanji, that the Sindhi's flight was not meditated by the party which escorted him or in connivance with the wishes of the Nagar Chieftain.

It is not probable however that the supposed culprit will be reapprehended, or that he has taken protection within the limits of the Gaikwad territory. In such a case, Jam Jasaji may be made liable to a penalty, provided the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council should entertain doubts of his having acted with deceit on the occasion in question.

I deem it my duty to forward with this dispatch the accompanying copy of a deposition of a respectable officer in the Gaikwad service, who lately visited Khambhaliā. It is worthy of being laid before the Hon'ble the Board, as elucidatory of the actions of the Jam, subsequent to my departure from Kathiawar, and of the unfounded apprehensions he is said to entertain of our intentions.

This want of confidence, the effect of a circumscribed intercourse with the British Government, and of ignorance of the upright principles which govern it, has induced Jam Jasaji to throw up some works at that part of his fort, where a breach was effected.

The extents of these works do not appear great, nor of much utility in point of defence. If the fears of Jam Jasaji are founded on the causes ascribed, time and due consideration to him, when his conduct

merits it will, I trust, soon produce sentiments of a tendency more suited to the character of the Government with which he has the good fortune to deal.

Letter from James McMurdo to James Rivett Carnac, dated Amreli, 1812 12th July.

I have the honour to report for your information the departure of Dosi Jusraj, the kamdar of Jam Jasaji, to Navanagar, where his presence is necessary for the adjustment of some of the minor articles of the kalambandi agreed to by that Chieftain, and for the purpose of arranging the accounts of the discharged sibandi. *Jasaji's kamdar*

Previous to his leaving this place, he delivered to Vithalrao Diwanji a deed, signed by his Master (copy and translate of which I beg leave to enclose) granting two villages of the Bhanwar taluka to Kumar Sataji, in addition to the Ranpur pargana, making in all 12 villages, the number specified in the original engagement; and at the same time a deed of similar nature was presented for the two villages of Naju, the Arab jamadar.

The article of the kalambandi, which stipulates the indemnity for the plundered property of both armies, as far as it regards the Gaikwad, has been satisfactorily complied with; and a considerable part of the losses, sustained by the followers of the British camp (according to a memorandum given under the authority of the Commissary) was made good by the kamdar before the separation of the troops. Jusraj however expresses himself ready to answer any further demands, the justice of which may be substantiated on oath by the claimant. At the same time he observed that the article from the peculiar nature was exposed to abuses, and he trusted therefore the general acknowledgment might be granted with as little delay as possible.

The chief object of the present visit to Navanagar is to recover the person of the Sindhi, who perpetrated the deed of violence upon the late Captain Phelan of H. M's 47th Regiment. The state of the wound, which the Sindhi is said to have received from the deceased, was in the first instance advanced as the reason for his non-appearance; and some time since information was given by the kamdar of the criminal having made his escape, when within a few miles of this place, and that all search and proved unavailing. *Phelan incident*

This declaration was followed by an offer on the part of the vakil to deliver up the friends of the Sindhi; which was however rejected as being quite unsatisfactory; and the kamdar was distinctly informed that the unconditional surrender of the Sindhi in question was the only alternative that could be accepted by the British and Gaikwad Governments.

Although the declaration of Jusraj with regard to this transaction may appear in a dubious point of view, still in justice to the Chieftain of Navanagar, I think it proper to acquaint you that the result of the inquiries, which I deemed it my duty to institute on the subject, states in a positive manner the arrival of the Sindhi under a guard at the village of Arjunsuk, 7 kos distant from this place; that he made

his escape from thence, also appears certain; but whether or not the authority of Navanagar was accessory to his flight, remains yet to be ascertained.

When it is considered that this Sindhi was not a regular sepoy in the pay of Jam Jasaji, but a Bhanwar inhabitant of the country, by whose surrender to justice the character of the Chieftain could not be implicated in the opinion of the world, it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the Jam, after a scrupulous adherence hitherto to the other parts of his engagements, would voluntarily incur the displeasure of both Governments by conniving at the escape of a person, whom he uniformly avowed to have acted in self-defence, and of whose safety he felt assured from the acknowledged justice and moderation of the British Government.

In expressing a hope that the return of the kamdar Jusraj to Navanagar will meet with your approbation I beg leave to state that in granting him permission I was actuated not only by the firm conviction that the object in view could not be effected by his continuance at Amreli, but also by the hope that his advice might create a change in the conduct of Jam Jasaji, if acting with duplicity on this occasion; and at all events that his presence might induce that Chieftain to observe the same disposition to abide by the decision of his Superior Governments, which he has hitherto evinced.

As Dosaji Jusraj is held a hostage for the due performance of the whole of the kalambandi, I have considered it necessary to take security for his appearance until the pleasure of the Government is known. The hazir-zamini on his occasion is Walla Khem Kesria, a Charan of respectability in the country.

Bombay Minutes, 20th August.

The punctuality, with which the Chief of Navanagar has hitherto performed the stipulations of his engagement, is entirely satisfactory to the Government and equally creditable to that Chieftain.

Orders The escape of the Sindhi, who wounded the late Captain Phelan, is to be regretted; and though Captain McMurdo permitting of the return of the kamdar Jusraj to Navanagar is approved, still it is essential to manifest to the authorities in Kathiawar the resolution of the British Government not to lose sight of the object of securing and bringing the offender to justice; and Captain Carnac is therefore to be instructed to apprise the Chieftain of Navanagar that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council expects he will not relax in his exertions to effect the seizure of the Sindhi; that Government must receive more decisive proof that his escape was purely accidental, and not favoured by the connivance of Jam Jasaji, and be satisfied also with the sincerity of his endeavours to reapprehend the party before security can be entirely relinquished.

Upon the concluding paragraph of Captain Carnac's letter the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has only to remark that a change in the disposition and opinions of the Nagar Chieftain, more favourable to the British character than he would appear to entertain at present, must be left to the operation of events that may afford him

the opportunity of a more intimate intercourse with the Government than he has hitherto experienced; and to express a confident hope that Captain Carnac in all his transactions with the Government, to which he has been accredited, and persons connected with it, will continue to regulate his conduct in such a manner as may tend to remove any doubt, which may now be entertained of the justice and equity which have uniformly marked the character of the British nation.

Baroda, 19th August, 1812 (1812, P. D. 388)

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

In my address dated the 3rd instant the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council was apprised through you of the proceedings of Jam Jasaji, subsequent to my departure from Kathiawar; and as the Hon'ble Board may be anxious to ascertain every particular regarding the Chief, which bears affinity to his stipulations with the British Government, I have now the honour to state that information, has been received of his having confined the principal managers of his affairs for the purpose of exacting certain sums of money avowedly with a view of satisfying the demands consequent to his recent resistance. At the same time I am apprised of his delaying to perform his original intention of resigning all the gates of the fort of Khambhalia to the two jamadars, who pledged themselves as securities for the performance of his engagements, in virtue of which office they required the occupation of the place in question.

The Jam's doings

In bringing these circumstances to the notice of Government, the object consists principally in a desire to submit every intelligence regarding Jam Jasaji than to convey any idea that the nature of such intelligence either authorises or admits of a deduction that this Chief betrays a disposition to contumacious conduct. His innate inclination to suspect the fidelity of his servants and the commanding situation in which the jamadars are placed, may qualify the hesitation he evinces entirely to relinquish the charge of Khambhalia.

The restraint, which he has placed on his managers for pecuniary penalty may also be traced to the avaricious tendency, which composed a prominent feature in the character of the present Chieftain of Navanagar.

Bombay Minutes, 23rd August.

The Board approve of the Resident having communicated the information of Jam Jasaji's having placed the principal managers of his affairs into confinement for the purpose of extorting money from them, and of his having hesitated in resigning the gates of the fort of Khambhalia to the two jamadars who became his securities.

Approval

Baroda, 26th August, 1812 (1812, P. D. 389).

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch dated the 29th ultimo, and to acquaint you, in reference to the concluding paragraph, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that the participation of the family of Khawas in the payment of the award was not brought forward by the Chieftain of Navanagar; but, as Government has in every discussion

Khawas

on the subject of the claims of the State of Cutch on Jam Jasaji considered the possessors of Amran, Jodiya and Balamba to be implicated in a final settlement of such claims, I deemed it my duty to investigate and report on any matter having an affinity to the primary object of our interposition.

1812 *Bombay, 18th November, 1812 (1812 P. D. 389)*

Resolutions.

Jodiya's share As the Resident at Baroda has referred the question, in respect to the authority to which the original amount of the Cutch claims should be chargeable, for the decision of this Government, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has had reference to the former correspondence connected with the subject upon which the following preliminary observations occur.

Captain Carnae in the 19th para of his dispatch of the 17th of May observes that "under all the circumstances of the case it may be proper that the Chief of Jodiya should be made liable to a part of the burthen of the Cutch demand." But in the concluding paragraph of his subsequent dispatch dated the 26th of August last he explains that "his hesitation in fixing the portion to be paid by Khawas of Jodiya of the amount, awarded to Bhuj in the late arrangement, originated in the knowledge that Lieutenant-Colonel Walker had not seen the deed in which the claims of Bhuj on Navanagar were founded; and from his (Captain Carnae's) consequent apprehension that the expression in the conclusion of the deed that the money claimed was to be derived from the Navanagar taluka, would not perhaps justify the appropriation suggested by that officer.

It will however appear from the 9th paragraph of Captain Carnae's dispatch of the 17th May that the deed in question was executed at the close of the year 1799; whilst the forts of Balamba, Jodiya and Arman were not made over the Meru Khawas until 'early in 1810'; and it therefore follows that at the time the deed was executed the Navanagar taluka was complete, and the territory which the minister compelled Jam Jasaji to make over to him, as the price of his release, formed an integral part of that Chieftain's possessions. Under these circumstances the Governor-in-Council is of opinion that little weight ought to attach to that expression quoted in the deed; as the sum could not be made chargeable on the possessions of Meru Khawas, because, at the period of its execution, that Minister had not acquired the territory in question. The taluka of Navanagar thence naturally became as guarantee for the payment of the amount.

Under these impressions, combined with the explicit engagements which Colonel Walker contracted in 1809 that Jodiya was to become "responsible for the payment of five lakhs of Koris, the original amount due to the Government of Cutch whenever this sum may be called for," the Governor-in-Council cannot yield its acquiescence to the amount being wholly borne by Jam Jasaji, the more particularly as Colonel Walker accepted of those terms as a commutation for the territories, acquired unquestionably through compulsory means by Meru Khawas, of which that officer manifested every disposition to require the restoration, as an act of justice to its original proprietor.

The Governor-in-Council is not however desirous to originate the discussion of this question, nor to direct that the former should be called upon to make the payment, should the latter not require its being done, unless the Resident at Baroda should be of opinion that, on the ground of the general superintendence and control which the British Government has so long exercised and continued to exercise over the affairs of the Gaikwad State, it ought to be felt as an obligation on the part of this Government to require the fulfilment of the engagement concluded by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker with Sagaram Khawas on the 27th of September, 1809, notwithstanding the silence which the Jam Chieftain has observed upon the subject.

It would be acceptable to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, and indeed it appears to be due to the Native Government at Baroda that its wishes in regard to the interference of our own authority in calling upon the Jodiya Chieftain to make this payment should be consulted. Should Captain Carnac therefore see no objection to the measure, he will submit the case for the consideration and opinion of that Administration.

Navanagar, November, 1812 (1813, P. D. 391)

1812

An Arzi from Jam Jasaji to Vithalrao Diwanji and James McMurdo.

The famine, which this year prevails in the country has ruined its resources, and much of last year's revenues has never been received in consequence of the losses of the ryots occasioned by the army. The scarcity of the present year, Government are acquainted with. Notwithstanding these obstacles, I have by every means in my power endeavoured to fulfil my engagements [to] and acquire the confidence of Government, I have accordingly paid.

Battle expenses	...	...	Rs. 1,00,000
Nazranah on the visit of His	...	...
Highness Fatesing	...	...	Rs. 25,000
Kumar Sataji's expenses	...	...	Rs. 8,000
Infanticide fine	...	...	Rs. 5,000
Jama for 1868	..	...	Rs. 1,10,000
1 kist of the 5 lakh	...	...	Rs. 1,25,000
2 kist of Rao Shah	...	...	Rs. 1,20,000
		Rupees	<u>4,93,000</u>

In this manner have I paid 5 lakhs of Rupees independently of interest and manuti.

Much injury is sustained from the quarter of Fatch Muhammad Jamadar. He sent a party of horsemen and plundered Bhadra, Ballacheri and Ranpur of their property and grain, and carried away individuals. Mandvi vessels detain my merchants' boats, disembark their cargoes, and seize them; nor do they let the goods proceed to my quarter; obstructions are offered.

There is an increase in the jama agreed to for 1869; and it is a year of famine, therefore let the increase be pardoned, and let me pay the usual jama according to the custom of the country.

I am desirous of meeting you; but I am under great alarm at the expense in a season of such distress. To come to Amreli is a great distance; therefore be so kind as to explain to my man some mode by which it may be effected, and we will consult accordingly.

Of the original agreement much has been settled. There are however three or four things still remaining unadjusted; let them be arranged and my deeds returned.

I seized and sent the murderer of the Hon'ble Company's officer, but he escaped from the guard at the village of Arjunsak. I have made much search, but he has not been taken, and it appears that he has left the country. He has escaped and I am helpless; but I will not be deficient in my continued inquiry; and should he be seized, I will deliver him up.

On the settlement with the sarkar it was agreed that all my Arab and foreign sibandi should be discharged, excepting 300 for my diwani. The greatest part have been discharged, but there still remain 20 beraks, in each of which there are 10 or 12 Arabs; the rest are Desis and Hindustanis. I humbly represent that I have many forts and villages to protect, and the people of this quarter are only to be kept in awe by foreigners. I have Oka plunderers on one side, and on the other the Vagher horsemen commit depredation; therefore I solicit the permission of Government to retain the above number of beraks, and I will entertain no more.

Bombay resolution, dated 20th January, 1813.

Request granted Independently of the ground on which the Resident at Baroda has recommended the object contained in the petition from the Jam Chieftain to our favourable consideration, founded upon the salutary change which has taken place in his character and disposition, the distress, under which the province of Kathiawar is labouring, would alone have constituted a sufficiently powerful motive with the British Government to have relaxed in some degree from a too rigid enforcement of the terms of his engagement. The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is therefore pleased, under a reliance on the accuracy of the information contained in the reports from the Resident and from Lieutenant McMurdo, of the distresses of his country, to afford to Jam Jasaji every indulgence in a moderate prolongation of time in the payment of his instalments to the Company; at the same time it is expected that towards the Cutch Government he will observe the most scrupulous punctuality in the performance of his engagements.

On the complaint of the depredations committed in Kathiawar by the banditti who find an asylum in Vagher in Cutch, ordered the Resident at Baroda be directed to instruct Lieutenant McMurdo to represent to the Government of Bhuj the necessity of its adopting effectual measures to coerce acts of so lawless a description; otherwise we shall look to that State for reparation for the injuries that may be sustained by our ally, and be compelled moreover to take upon ourselves the chastisement of the Vagher inhabitants; but that we shall

not proceed to such extremities, except upon a failure on the part of the Government of Bhuj to curb the licentious habits of its subjects.

With the view of protecting his territories against these depredations there can be no objection to the Jam's entertaining the foreign sibandi stated in his petition under the condition that the Gaikwad Government shall be authorised to see that the troops are actually employed on that duty and dismissed when the occasion for their services shall have terminated.

Bombay, 27th October, 1813 (1813, S. D. 285)

1813

Extract of a letter from Jehoji, Thakur of Morvi, to his brother, dated 10th October, 1813.

To day news arrived from Bhuj that the Jamadar died on *T. M. dead* Wednesday, the 11th Asvin Sudh (or October, 1813). Let not my name be known in this business.

No. 6. RELATIONS WITH OTHER STATES

THE States to which reference is made in the documents are here mentioned, not according to the ascending scale of their influence and consequence, but merely in alphabetical order, and regardless of the point of issue between any of them and the Baroda Administration. They are Amliyara, Balasinor, Cambay, Daulatrao Sindia, Dhar, Dungarpur, Ghodasur, Jhabua, Palanpur, Radhanpur, Rajpipla.

The incidents, which gave rise either to peaceful negotiations or to armed intervention, are not without import, as they throw interesting sidelights on the doings of various Chieftains and the treatment meted out to their subjects. Apart from this, the documents bring out the leading part played in these transactions by the Resident at Baroda.

DOCUMENTS

I. AMLIYARA

1808 *Baroda, 30th October, 1808 (1808 S. and P. D. 251)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Settlement

Under date the 15th March last I had the honour to notify for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the bhandari and parwanah solicited by the agent of Bhataji, the Koli Chieftain of Amliyara, were on the point of being issued. I have now the honour to submit the adjustment which has taken place with this person.

Soon after the arrival of the wakil the Gaikwad Administration gave a memorandum of the conditions to which they required Bhataji's consent previous to restoring him to his rights in Amliyara.

Soon after the receipt of the memorandum the vakils of Bhataji, for some unknown cause, left Baroda privately. They were however again sent back on my invitation.

The chief difficulty that occurred in the adjustment was the desire of the Gaikwad Government to cause Bhataji to make restoration of the property to the Gaikwad troops and subjects, which had in the course of the dispute fallen into his hands, a condition however which the poverty of Bhataji rendered him wholly unable to comply with.

This circumstance with occurrences of other business in the Darbar prevented the final termination of this affair until the 21st, when the Gaikwad Administration receded from their demand, and admitted Bhataji to the repossession of Amliyara on the terms included in the accompanying paper.

This agreement is executed on the usual security of a bhat, and in it Bhataji engages to refrain from predatory acts, or exciting others to commit them; while his gras rights, as they were established by

Fatesing Gaikwad, and the ghasdana, payable to the Gaikwad Government, established by Babaji Appaji in his mulukgiri circuit of 1801, are confirmed to him.

A parwanah has accordingly been issued for Bhataji, and he will be replaced in the village of Amliyara as soon as the ar-zamini or counter-security of the Thakur of Aglod is received.

The opportunity of this settlement with Bhataji has been taken to comply with the earnest petition of the Lohar Kolis, who have for some years past been in a state of bharwuttia or outlawry, to invite them to send their agents to Baroda, when I shall endeavour, by promoting an adjustment of their difficulties with the Gaikwad Government, to ensure the final tranquillity of that part of the country.

[For further details see Secret and Political Department Diary, 1808, No. 251, p. 12871.]

II. BALASINOR

Baroda, 31st September, 1810 (1810, P. D. 362)

1810

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I request you will have the goodness to lay before the Hon'ble Governor-in-Council the accompanying copy and translate of a letter from the Nawab of Balasinor to Bucha, jamadar, in the service of His Highness the Gaikwad, stating it to be the intention of Bapuji Sindia to enter his territories on the completion of certain arrangements with the tributary State of Lunawada. *Danger of invasion*

Although I have no reason to suppose from the tenor of the intelligence acquired from Bapu Sindia's camp that any design of entering the Gaikwad limits does actually exist, I have deemed it necessary to address a letter to the above-mentioned sardar in terms of civility, an English copy of which is now respectfully submitted for the approbation of Government.

The apprehensions of the Nawab of Balasinor are not founded on positive information of the future movements of Bapu Sindia, and it is only natural that he should be solicitous to convey to this Government the slightest rumours, in order to obtain timely assistance in case of its becoming necessary.

No. 1. Letter from Jamiat Khan of Balasinor to Bucha, jamadar, dated 16th September, 1810; received 28th September.

The armies of Sindia are encamped near Lunawada; and it is reported by persons, who travel between this and that place, that the sum of 55,000 Rupees has been agreed to be given by Lunawada as the payment of its mamlat. At present they entertain the hope of crossing the Mahi. *Balasinor fears*

I beg leave to inform you that, when they do cross the Mahi, they will encamp on the territories of Shrimant Gaikwad, and from this all the villages will become waste, but first of all my parganas will suffer. Be therefore kind enough to represent this to the presence of Captain Carnac (may whose prosperity be lasting), that he may employ himself in affording me assistance. All persons here look towards the sardars of your quarter as possessing power; therefore having made a request for assistance it will be requisite to be in

readiness. I, from depending on you, am indifferent. God preserve you in health. What may fall out in affairs in this part, I will obtain an account of and write for your information. Do not fancy that there is any distance or separation between us.

No. 2. Letter addressed to Bapuji Sindia, a sardar in the service of the Maharaja Alijah Bahadur, by Captain James R. Carnac, Acting Resident at Baroda, dated 29th September, 1810.

Kindly warning It is rumoured that the army under your command purposes shortly to advance to Balasinor, belonging to the Nawab Jamiat Khan Babi. The territories of the sarkar Pant Pradhan and of the Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur being contiguous, the execution of your reputed intentions will occasion the subjects of those Governments much distress and inconvenience. Animated by the friendship I entertain for you personally, it behoves me to notice that an inseparable connexion and lasting amity now happily subsisting between the sarkars of the Hon'ble Company Bahadur, Pant Pradhan the Senakhaskhel and the Maharajah Alijah Bahadur, which is known to the whole world, the detriment from the advance of your army to this quarter can never take place, nor is it consistent with common reason that it could be so. I have therefore to request that you will be pleased to consider the subject of this letter with your accustomed deliberation, and feel every confidence that your actions will tend to the enhancement of my good opinion. The suggestions of friendship have occasioned this address, and your sagacity requires me to say no more.

No. 3. Remark in the Diary.

Bombay doubts In acknowledging the receipt of the above recorded letter and accompaniments, it is to be noticed that, whilst Governments are far from disapproving of the tenor of the Acting Resident's letter to Bapuji Sindia, in as far as respects its precautionary object, it is not discernible from the words of it whether the territory of Balasinor makes part of, or lies (as inferable from the express words of it) only in the vicinity of the territories immediately under, or tributary of, their Highnesses the Peshwa or Gaikwad; in which case it might be hardly justifiable to object to Sindia's officers marching anywhere within their Master's local limits for the purpose of levying that Prince's tribute.

For the purpose of ensuring greater certainty on such points in future the Acting Resident is directed to furnish an alphabetical list of the parganas or other denominations of districts, within the province of Gujarat, which it is incumbent on the Company to protect from foreign invasion, under the existing treaties with the Peshwa's and Gaikwad's Government.

III. CAMBAY

1808 *Baroda, 28th July, 1808 (1808 S. & P. D. 253).*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Kathipal question I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th July [relating to the claims of the Nawab of Cambay for *kathipal*]. In consequence of this communication I have closed and, by express, transmit, the answer to your letter of the 10th of last

month, which has been for some time prepared; but its transmission was delayed from a reference which the Gaikwad Government had made to the Kathiawar daftar with a view to the production of more specific information on the subject of this communication.

As any information, which this reference may produce, may be hereafter transmitted, I shall not delay any longer to forward my letter, dated the 20th instant, which I have accordingly submitted in its actual state to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Alexander Walker's letter of the 20th July, 1808.

1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter *Kathipal* of the 10th ultimo relating to the claims of the Nawab of Cambay for *suppressed* kathipal, on which I request you will have the goodness to offer the following observations to the notice of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

2. From a Marathi transcript of Sitaram's letter to the Nawab I am enabled to state that the use of the Hijra 1219 was merely in consequence of his addressing a Mussalman Prince. That year corresponds with the Mregal 1860; and it was Sitaram's intention to express that, in consequence of the arrangements effected by Babaji in that year, the revenues of the four villages for the past and present year should revert to his Government, meaning the revenue for 1860 (1803/4) and 1861 (1804/5).

3. It may be necessary to remark that this letter of Sitaram was written without any communication with me.

4. His demands for the year 1860 (1803/4), and 1861 (1804/5) were of course not acted upon, I always opposed every retrospective operation, but the villages were resumed for 1862 (1805/6), and the revenues of them for that year brought to the account of the Gaikwad Government.

5. In this receipt the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will observe that a formal and direct communication was made to His Excellency the Nawab by the chief executive officer of the Gaikwad Government, and in consequence of which the funds, assigned for the support of the Gaikwad part of the kathipal establishment were resumed.

6. With regard to Sitaram having allowed His Excellency the Nawab of Cambay the kathipal payable from the revenues of Petlad, I beg to inform you that this measure was solely owing to my representations to this Government in the Nawab's behalf. If the Gaikwad Government had a right to resume these funds in consequence of having adopted their own means to prevent the depredations of the Kathis, and therefore render the ada-bandi of the Nawab unnecessary, justice at least required that a previous intimation should be given that his kathipal arrangement should be discontinued.

7. In consequence of this intimation Lalji Jawalanath, the authorised vakil of the Nawab, at the time that he received the varat in Petlad for 1860, was informed that his Master's kathipal arrangement was no longer required, and that the funds would in future be resumed.

8. In the following year 1861, about the month of May or June, 1805, when Lalji Jawalnath again demanded the kathipal payable from Petlad from this Government, he was called to the Darbar and again informed by the Administration [that] it would not be allowed, and that it was unnecessary for his Master to keep up an expense for an establishment which had now become useless and otherwise provided for. The vakil on this occasion offered a pecuniary consideration to change the determination of the Administration without effect.

9. While however this negotiation was going on, the Nawab had in the meanwhile delayed his payment of the last kist of the Hon'ble Company's chauth, and it was not without much difficulty that the money was at length paid.

10. In the opinion of the Native Administration and the established forms of conducting business, the intimation, which was thus conveyed through the authorised agent of the Nawab, was formal and official, and in consequence of which the Nawab can have no claim on the Gaikwad; nor does the Nawab deny the intimation, but it is his object to obtain a continuation of the kathipal arrangement.

11. Such are the sentiments of this Government; and if after this explanation it should appear to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Nawab of Cambay has any just claim on the Gaikwad Government beyond the year 1860 (1803/4), this Administration are ready to yield a prompt obedience to the arbitration of the Hon'ble Company, founded on a knowledge of all the circumstances of the case.

12. In adverting to that part of the Secretary's letter, which observes on the length of time for which the Peshwa's Government has been in the habit of admitting of the deduction from the Nawab chauth, I beg to observe that the establishment of the kathipal arrangement was an act of the Peshwa's local authority, and the abolishment of the kathipal arrangement has been effected by the same authority as that which first established it. If it was the duty of the Peshwa's mamlatdar to adopt an arrangement, the object of which was to relieve and secure the districts of this Highness from the depredations of the Kathis and other robbers, it was no less the duty of the same authority to discontinue an expense which experience had amply proved to have become useless and inadequate to the purpose of its institution.

13. It is not however to be inferred that, because the Gaikwad discontinued the kathipal arrangement with the Nawab, the funds appropriated to defray the expense thereof should become a surplus profit of the farm.

14. This arrangement was rendered unnecessary from that which the Gaikwad Government had effected and maintained in Kathiwar, at an expense to this State much more than the amount which would revert to them by the resumption of the kathipal fund.

15. In submitting these observations to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council it is proper to notice the deplorable inefficiency into which the establishment of the Nawab had fallen. Many thousand head of cattle have at various times been carried off,

which have been recovered through the influence which Babaji had established in Kathiwar; and even cattle of the Nawab's districts, so far from being secured from these depredations, their restoration has actually been effected by the Gaikwad Government.

16. It may also be necessary in this place further to explain the grounds of the recommendation contained in my letter of the 21st February, 1807. The darkness and obscurity in which the whole kathipal concern was involved at that period, I trust, justified the recommendation that a fair and impartial inquiry should precede any final decision on the subject.

17. In reference to the 4th para, I have the honour to observe that the kathipal arrangements, as concluded by both Governments, generally comprised all the district to the east of the Sabarmati.

18. The funds assigned were not regulated by any reference to the districts, for the tranquillity of which they were intended to provide. The assignment of these funds was guided by local convenience, and each party made that appropriation which was most convenient or conducive to their own interests.

19. Peshwa assigned 11,000 Rupees from his share of Petlad as the fund to defray the expense; and the Gaikwad assigned 6 villages for this purpose.

20. Adverting to the 5th paragraph I respectfully beg leave to observe that the last kist of the revenues of 1861 (1804/5) and the whole of the revenues of 1862 (1805/6) and (1863/1806/7) were under Mr. Diggle's collection; but having transferred varats on me for the revenue to enable me to discharge the Commercial Resident's credit, I am enabled to state that the Nawab discharged the whole of his chauth revenues in the years to which they respectively belong, without retaining the 11,000 Rupees on account of the Petlad kathipal, as is asserted in his letter to the Governor.

21. Adverting to my letter of the 8th April last, it will be observed that the sum of 4,216 Rupees was the collection of the ghasdana villages of Napar for two years, 1860 and 1861, effected together; and under the idea that the kathipal fund of 1861 would also be allowed to the Nawab, his vakil carried the whole amount to his credit in his accounts of the mamlat.

22. Under the presumption that the report required in the 7th paragraph refers to my letter of the 8th April, and in which His Excellency submits through his vakil the copy of the letter he received from Sitaram, demanding payment of the ghasdana tribute from the Cambay territory, I beg to avail myself of this opportunity to submit to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the proceedings which have been subsequently held on that subject.

23. Shortly after the arrival of the Nawab's vakil, as is notified in my letter of the 22nd November, I took an early opportunity of requesting him to state the object of his deputation; on which occasion I caused the accompanying abstract of his verbal communication to be taken. [See accompaniment No. 1].

24. The subject of this was communicated to the Gaikwad Government, and their reply I have the honour to enclose with the

translate of the memorandum alluded to in its concluding paragraph [See *accompaniment No. 2*], to which Mirza Mogul delivered in the memoranda of which the accompanying are translates. [See *accompaniment No. 5, 6*].

25. In this state, affairs remained when Babaji's arrival at Baroda was daily expected; and I was willing to permit an affair to lay over, which promised to admit of a more early and satisfactory adjustment under his management.

26. With this view, I dismissed Mirza Mogul from Baroda, furnishing him with the memorandum of which the accompanying is a copy [See *accompaniment No. 7*], in order to direct his inquiries during his stay in Cambay, requesting that he would return with full powers from his Master to effect a settlement for his ghasdana under the mediation of the Hon'ble Company.

27. This was subsequently repeatedly urged on the attention of the Nawab, but without effect.

28. In accompanying the information which I have now the honour to submit with these remarks, which naturally arise from the subject, it will be necessary to premise that the claims of the Gaikwad are wholly distinct from any similar exaction by the Peshwa's kamavisdar of Ahmadabad, of the nature of that alluded to in Mr. Holford's letter to the Secretary of the 16th December, 1805. The Gaikwad Government claims ghasdana on their own account, although at the period of their last levy of this demand from the Nawab it is reasonable to suppose that the sum paid was intended to compensate every demand, whether the plea for it arose from the Gaikwad State individually or jointly as mamlatdars of Ahmadabad.

29. A search in Gujarat for positive right, founded on long possession or uninterrupted practice, would be nearly nugatory; even those which are best established and acknowledged, will scarcely bear a scrutiny of this nature.

30. That the Marathas however are not ignorant of the right, is drawn from precedent; and with them it is an established rule that what has been once received or exacted, may afterwards be legally demanded.

31. In the present instance it will appear that they have at least four successful precedents in their favour. These are acknowledged by the Nawab's wakil himself, and they are also stated in the 5th paragraph of Mr. Holford's letter already referred to, which, if a precedent is held to create a right, is rather in contradiction to the tenor of the preceding paragraph of that letter.

32. The ready acquiescence of the Nawab in the demand made by Babaji in 1858 (1801/2) and his rejection of Mr. Holford's interference, as stated by that Gentleman, are however by no means in his favour; and the Gaikwad Administration have not failed to draw every support to their cause from this successful instance and the parwanah which terminated it. [See *accompaniment No. 4*].

33. Having in my letter of the 22nd November, 1805, fully expressed my sentiments of the conduct of the Gaikwad Government

in sending troops to Cambay, it is not from any motive of justifying that proceeding that I advert to His Excellency's conduct upon that occasion.

34. The letter which Sitaram wrote to the Nawab received no reply, and the kasid, who conveyed it, was suffered to depart without any notice being taken of his solicitation for an answer.

35. The object of the Nawab was however obtained. The Gaikwad troops removed from his pargana; and His Excellency being hereby relieved from his alarms has not conceived it necessary to attend to any invitation to settle this business by an amicable negotiation.

36. It has always been my wish and my endeavour to render every service within my power to the affairs of the Nawab with the Gaikwad Government, that might prove consistent with propriety; but His Excellency seems anxious to avoid every discussion, the tendency of which might be to confirm a moderate sacrifice, instead of seeing his small taluka a prey to rapine and devastation.

37. Duly considering therefore all the circumstances of the case, the right, which the Gaikwad Government have acquired by precedent and by the voluntary accession of the Nawab to their demands, the moral certainty that these demands would have been enforced to extremity unless for our interference, the natural expectations which the Gaikwad Government have formed that our interference would not prejudice rights of the legality of which they have no doubt, the reasonable probability that the Nawab would readily accede to an accommodation by which these demands might be defined and ascertained, are all considerations which tend to demonstrate the expediency of accommodating this business by an amicable compromise, which may also bear as light as possible on this Nawab.

Bombay Orders.

Ordered that a letter of instructions be written to the Resident at Baroda in conformity to the above recorded resolutions, furnishing him at the same time with a copy of the one from our President to the Nawab of Cambay, and urging the latter to an amicable adjustment, *Terms of settlement* in the terms thereof, of the Mulukgiri claim on him by the Gaikwad.

The Resident is at the same time to be advised that he is, on the footing of the kathipal allowance to the Nawab of Cambay not being discontinued till the end of 1861, to allow the Gaikwad credit in further reduction of his debt to the Company for the sum of 4,000 Rupees on account of the year 1861 as the Company's contribution from their parganas of Matar, Mondah and Nadiad for the charge by Anandrao's Administration of the fords of the Vatrak.

He will then pay or transfer to the Collector of Kaira, as he has himself proposed, the deposit balance in his treasury of Rupees 6,769 on account of the collections for 1860, 1861 and 1862 of the Mewasi village of Salloles, Dewan, Guzna and Omeita, together with the 216 Rupees that remain to be refunded by the Nawab of Cambay's wakil as overpaid to him out the same collections towards and part of the Gaikwad contribution of 11,000 Rupees on account of his Master's (the Nawab's) charge for 1860 of the fords of the Sabarmati.

1808 *No. 1. Memorandum of conversation with Mirza Mogul, the vakil of the Nawab of Cambay.*

*Cambay
payments*

1. Mirza Mogul, the newly deputed vakil of the Nawab of Cambay, introduced his conversation with observing that the principal object of his deputation was to enter into some arrangement with the Gaikwad Government through Major Walker on the subject of the Gaikwad troops now encamped at Bastana.

2. He proceeded to state that the Gaikwad Government had no established demand against the Nawab.

3. On asking him to state the origin of the claim for money, which the Gaikwad troops are now ready to enforce, he observed that during the reign of Fatesing Gaikwad, when Appaji Ganesh was the sarsubah of Ahmadabad, the then Nawab of Cambay, Momin Khan, the grandfather of the present Nawab, fell into arrears for his chauth due to the Ahmedabad subah, Appaji Ganesh employed the powerful mediation of Fatesing to enforce the payment of these arrears. They both proceeded to Cambay, and the arrears, amounting to 40,000 Rupees, were paid, including some exactions in addition, such as ghasdana, the particulars of which may be ascertained in the daftar accounts.

4. The second expedition was under Hamed, jamadar, who proceeded to Ballawad for the purpose of chastising the petty Chief of this Mewasi village, who fled to Cambay; on which occasion Hamed marched to Cambay to demand the Nawab's reasons for receiving and permitting the escape of the enemy of the Gaikwad Government; and a forcible levy of 10,000 or 12,000 Rupees was accordingly made on the Nawab.

5. The third occasion occurred during the government of the present Nawab. When Shivram was proceeding on the Kathiawar mulukgiri service, he encamped on the Cambay territories, and some dispute took place, and Shivram accordingly enforced the execution of bonds on the parganas to the amount of 40,000 Rupees. Negotiation ensued at Baroda, which was conducted by Mir Nasir-ud-din on the part of the Nawab, and ended in the restoration of the bonds without their payment being made or enforced.

After Shivram's return, he again visited Cambay on his second mulukgiri trip. Nasir-ud-din and the other principal sardars had at this time accompanied Raoba to Poona. He commenced his depredations on the districts, and 40,000 Rupees was paid on this occasion through Samal Beehar, the effect of necessity and of the inability of the Nawab to visit the arm of power.

6. To Shivram Babaji succeeded, who was proceeding to Cambay; but the Nawab, being apprised by Babaji of his intentions, anticipated his arrival to save his territories from depredation, and the payment of 50,000 Rupees was agreed to by a settlement effected in the Petlad pargana.

7. These are the whole of the contributions levied from the Nawab, which, the vakil observes, have been only the effect of superior force, the depredation on the pargana, and the weakness of the Nawab.

No. 2. Translation of a memorandum from the Gaikwad Government to Major Walker in answer to a memorandum received from the Nawab of Cambay, relative to the ghasdana demand on the pargana 1805/6.

1. The state of this concern in the time of the late Fatesingrao *Baroda* Gaikwad is adverted to. At this time an agent on the part of the ^{claims} Nawab of Cambay used to visit His Highness; and who having afforded satisfaction, he returned; but without giving something, this would not be the case. It is known to all that a vakil did come on this business.

2. Again in the time of the late Manajirao Gaikwad. In the first year of Manaji's succession there was a famine. In the 2nd year, in consequence of various unsettled matters connected with the Poona sarkar, no mulukgiri force was deputed, when in the course of the ensuing year this personage departed this life. Nevertheless on the first year of the succession of Manaji Gaikwad a vakil came and returned, after satisfying him.

3. It is further stated that certain bonds were taken by Shivram Jagdish in the time of the late Govindrao Bawa. The bonds in question were restored through the interference of Mir Nasir-ud-din Husain Khan, but not until the ghasdana and Darbar kharj were carried to the private account of the Gaikwad. Documents of this concern are in the records of this Government; and this being the case, you will see how far the assertion on the part of the Nawab is justifiable.

4. Babaji Appaji did receive on this account 50,000 Rupees. He also took from the Nawab written documents and security. The Nawab asserts that this sum was taken forcibly, though the memorandum rendered by the Nawab's party specifies this payment as the due of one year. The memorandum here alluded to, is the Nawab's desai's with the Nawab's seal affixed; to learn the veracity of which, it only requires to refer to it.

No. 3. Translation of a memorandum from Sakharam Diwanji respecting ghasdana of the Cambay pargana.

Major Walker has asked us what is the customary demand of *Baroda* ghasdana from Cambay pargana. The answer to this is that ^{rights} Fatesingrao Gaikwad in his lifetime used to proceed himself on mulukgiri, and he received the ghasdana from Cambay pargana; and when he did not go himself, the Nawabs' agent or karbari used to attend at Baroda and paid him the amount of the ghasdana. This amount he received in his private cash. Therefore there is no account of this in the sarkar's daftar. After Fatesingrao's death, Manaji succeeded to the masnad; but he never proceeded on mulukgiri. The Nawab's agent or karbari attended and paid the amount of ghasdana to him at Baroda.

In Govindrao Gaikwad's time the troops proceeded two or three times on mulukgiri. Shivram Jagdish twice repaired on this duty, but the Nawab's agent or karbari had come to Baroda, and paid the amount of ghasdana to Govindrao Bawa by the means of Mangal Parekh. After which Babaji Appaji in the year 1859 or 1802 proceeded to the Cambay pargana, and received 50,000 Rupees for only one years' ghasdana.

Ragunath Mahipatrao Kakaji's troops lately proceeded there to collect ghasdana, but Major Walker desired that it should be settled through his means, therefore it remains yet unsettled.

The amount of ghasdana from the Nawab of Cambay is to be recovered from the year 1808 to the 1802, being 5 years, 50,000 Rupees per year is Rupees 2,50,000.

No. 4. Translate of the parwanah given to the Nawab of Cambay on the settlement for that pargana.

Parwanah

The parwanah or deed is given to the Nawab of Cambay to wit: That settlement of the taluka-accounts, being the chukoti or sum total with nazranah and Darbar kharij included, has been made in the year Samvat 1857 [1858?] or 1801/2: Rupees 50,000.

Accordingly you did give security for this transaction.

Therefore until the end of the year 1802 no troops shall invade or oppress your district; on this account be satisfied; on this assurance promote the tranquillity of the taluka, continuing your residence there until the Mgrisal of 1858 [1801-1802]. No troops to enforce a settlement of this concern shall enter your taluka. To this deed is rendered the bhandari or guarantee of jamadars, Mubarak Bin Said [and] Muhammad Bin Abud; agreeable to which provision you will be fully protected from any infringement with the further assurance of Government, for such is the purport of this document.

It is further directed, that conformably to the above written purport, and in one deed shall the bhandari or guarantee of the two jamadars be subscribed and rendered. Dated 7th August, 1802.

No. 5. Translate of a memorandum by the wakil of the Nawab of Cambay.

Futile demands

That Anandrao Gaikwad did give to Major Walker a written memorandum of the Cambay ghasdana, in which it is stated that in the time of Fatesingrao Gaikwad a private agent on the part of the Nawab did visit Baroda to make settlement of the ghasdana concern, and that therefore there is no such document on record. On the part of the Nawab no agent ever did transact this concern, and Fatesingrao Gaikwad did twice in person go on the mulukgiri service, but even then no agent on the part of the Nawab went on this duty, neither in the subsequent reign of Manajirao Gaikwad.

Some time after this Govindrao Gaikwad succeeded to the gadi, who came from his country for that purpose; and some years, subsequent to that also, it was that Shivram Gardi, being deputed on the mulukgiri service, did march into and encamp in the pargana of Cambay, and after taking forcibly from the ryots certain bonds for moneys, did then again march from thence. The circumstance on coming to knowledge of the Nawab, the bonds were recovered through the means of Mir Nasir-ud-din Husain deceased, employed on that duty. Some time after this circumstance, Babaji with a force came to Petlad. The nature of this movement appearing to the Nawab to be of a hostile tendency towards his district, and being driven to extremities, willing to save his ryots from plunder, the consequent result of a

threatening army, the Nawab under these circumstances paid Babaji a sum of Rupees 50,000.

Thus is the statement of the particulars of this concern given for your information. Should then any such demand exist on the district of Cambay, how is it that the bonds taken by Shivram Gardi from the ryots were recovered through the means of Mir Nasir-ud-din above alluded to. On becoming therefore acquainted with the above statement, it will appear to you whether it is just or otherwise.

No. 6 Mirza Mogul's answer to the Gaikwad memorandum dated, the 28th April, 1806.

That in this business from our side, either at Baroda or with Babaji, no communication in writing on either side has taken place. *Futile claims*

Taherbhoy Desai was sent, and a verbal discussion of the subject happened; all the time of discussion or adjustment of this subject, Mubarak, a jamadar, was present, a servant of theirs. This money, being by them appointed to be paid to this jamadar, was accordingly paid him by us. What then has been alleged on this head at will is the cause of astonishment; nor can the ghasdana concern in question be verified in right or established from such proceeding.

No. 7. Heads of enquiry for Mirza Mogul.

(1) At what time, and in what manner did the tribute of the Nawab of Cambay to the Peshwa originate? *Questions*

(2) What was the amount of that tribute?

(3) What articles was it fixed on, and what was the proportion under each head to the Peshwa and the Nawab respectively?

(4) Were these proportions, or was this tribute fixed or regulated by any written agreement or verbal convention? It appears very unlikely that a transaction of so much importance should not be authenticated by some contract, and it appears incredible that no traces of any kind can be produced by the Nawab in elucidation of an event (not very remote) so interesting to his family.

(5) Did these payments undergo any variation from their first amount, and what were their subsequent changes?

(6) What number of people did he employ under him, and what were the offices they exercised?

(8) The chauth of the pargana is at present 12,600 Rupees; but it is stated to be 23,600 Rupees. What has caused this diminution?

(9) On what occasion and for what purpose did the late Nawab go to Poona? The circumstances attending an event so recent cannot be unknown to the well-wishers of the Nawab's family; therefore let them be stated; wherefore conceal them?

(10) What is the origin of the Nawab's claim for kathipal? How many villages does he hold or claim on that account from the Peshwa and the Gaikwad?

(11) By what tenor does he hold them, by sanads or by what other agreement?

(12) Has he any inam villages and how does he hold them?

Dated, 30th June, 1806 [S. & P. D. 1808, No. 253, p. 13466].

If this information is furnished without reserve and without delay, Major Walker will be enabled to make a report, which the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has desired of him; but, if the Nawab persists in withholding or in not furnishing information, on the plea of inability or any other pretence, Major Walker must be satisfied with the information which he may procure from other sources.

No. 8. *Translated extract of a memorandum received from Miah Fazl-ulla, Munshi, being the substance of the Nawab of Cambay's answers to certain communications which he was deputed to make, dated, 19th October, 1806.*

Cambay Concerning the full [account] of Mirza Mogul in the Gaikwad
reply ghasdana affair, I am in person ready, and these have never been given in my family. The major is mukhtiar, because no evil will arise from what is in his ideas proper, I am not different from the Company's Government.

Concerning the money of the ghasdana in the time of the two deceased Nawabs Momin Khan and Merjim, the Gaikwad never demanded ghasdana, and the Gaikwad army was always traversing Gujarat and Kathiawar. If not, I make with my own mouth an agreement to give this money, the reputation of this sarkar is wounded by myself. If the two deceased Nawabs had made any pecuniary settlement, and now I should refuse to grant it, I should be to blame, I have hopes from the Hon'ble Company under whose protection I have remained for many years.

The arrangement of the kathiapal was made verbally in a friendly manner between the deceased Nawab and the other party; from which day the ancient sibandi has been fixed according to the constant custom; and although the Gaikwad has taken back the villages, the expense of the sibandi remains the same; and although it is injurious to my Government, yet I cannot destroy an ancient practice, because it was accomplished with great difficulty. I have searched for the papers concerning these affairs, but cannot find them; and there is not one of the deceased Nawab's men of business here, and they are not to be found in the daftars.

P. S.—Upon my questioning the Nawab concerning the powers of Mirza Mogul, he replied that he himself was ready and at no great distance from Baroda. Whatever the Major Walker may conceive for my welfare, and whatever he may direct, I agree to. I will start no difficulties to the Major's orders.

1808 *Baroda, 8th October, 1808 (1808 S. & P. D. 253)*
Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

Ghasdana With reference to my letter of the 20th July last, relative to the demands of the Gaikwad on the Nawab of Cambay for ghasdana, I have now the honour to forward the copy and translate of an additional document on that subject, being the deed of settlement for the demands of the year it concerns, executed by the wakil of the Nawab to Babaji, which has been recently received from the Kathiwar daftar, and which the Government produces in further substantiation of their claims on His Excellency.

Chukoti to settlement.

Translation of a memorandum of the chukoti of the taluka of *Deed of settlement*
Cambay (for the year 1800 A. D.).

Nazranah and Darbar kharij

Nazranah	..	Rs.	40,001	
Deduct, sarpaw to Nawab	..		500	
Sarpaw to Desai	..		<u>500</u>	
		Rs.		39,001
Darbar kharij				<u>5,000</u>
		Rs.		44,001

Kistbandi payments (1801)

September 12	..	Rs.	11,000
October 12	..		11,000
November 10	..		11,000
December 10	..		<u>11,000</u>

		Rs.	44,001
Maswadi expenses	..		<u>5,000</u>
		Rs.	49,001

Baroda, 21st November, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 253)

1808

Jonathan Duncan to the Nawab of Cambay.

1. Upon examination and inquiry into the claim for remission *Kathipal summary* which you have brought forward, it appears to stand upon this footing: that, thirty years ago, in consequence of the depredations of the Kathis, who having crossed the Sabarmati used to plunder to the eastward of that river, it was agreed between you and the officers of the Peshwa and Gaikwad, in view to avert the evil in question, that you should adopt measures to guard the inlets of the fords and passages of the river from Cambay up as far to the village of Wouti, so as to prevent their irruptions: whilst to meet the expense of the sibandi or establishment deemed requisite for this operation 11,000 Rupees from the Peshwa's kamavisdar stationed at Petlad and the assigned revenues of several villages from the Gaikwad Government, amounting to 7,700 Rupees, were made over to you; that until the year 1860 (1803/4) the same was, with but little interruption, continued; but at that time (being now four years ago) it was clearly signified to your wakil, Jawalnath, then in attendance at Baroda, that, in consequence of the organised state of the country, the sibandi in question was no longer necessary, and that the expense thereof would be also discontinued, and that you would receive nothing on that account in future, in as much as the said sibandi had become perfectly unnecessary; under which circumstances the assignment from the Gaikwad, appertaining to Baroda, was resumed; and the 11,000 Rupees from Petlad, which up to the year 1860 had been credited in the chaauth payable by you to the Peshwa and retained out of the 23,600 Rupees payable on that account from your land revenue, were from that year no longer deducted, but the whole amount of the chaauth (the right to which revenue has, you know, been ceded by His Highness the Peshwa to the Hon'ble Company) continued during several years thereafter to be paid uninterruptedly by you; under which circumstances how can the plea, which you have last year brought forward,

be admitted, since the 11,000 Rupees were to reimburse you in the expense of protecting the fords? At the same time it must be known to you that the pay of a person employed ceases with his discharge; nor had this duty been well performed by you, for years back, as is sufficiently obvious by the cattle, that the Kathis had come and carried off from your own districts on the east side of the river, having been recovered and restored to you by the Gaikwad force.

As to the expense incurred in guarding the fords of the Vatrak River, as derivable from the revenues of the parganas of Petlad, Matar, Mondch, and Nadiad, those funds were provided and separately applied to that purpose from the time of Manajirao Gaikwad, without having ever had any connection with your late inefficient [guard] of those of the Sabarmati.

The distinct levies from the parganas for the Vatrak ada-bansi (or guard of the Vatrak) amounted to 6,500 Rupees (of which 4,000 from those are now ceded to the Company), the whole having always been paid to the Petlad kamavisdar, to whom also the charge of the sibandi of that department appertained. If therefore, Major (now Colonel) Walker wrote to you on the 18th of July, 1807, or at any other time, under the erroneous impression that [you were entitled to] any part of the kathipal, such intimation must be perfectly well known to yourself to have proceeded from the want of a full knowledge of the circumstances, since, exclusive of 11,000 Rupees from the Peshwa's half of Petlad and of 7,700 Rupees from the Gaikwad State, you never received anything for kathipal either from the Peshwa or the Gaikwad.

As to what you have observed in your letter of one year's amount of these Rupees 11,000 having been liquidated, it appears by a communication from Major Walker that in the year 1860 (1803/4) the kamavisdar stationed at Petlad on the part of His Highness the Peshwa did acquiesce therein for that season; and you accordingly received value from him for the sum of 7,000 Rupees, besides the transfer to you of 4,000 more, which the same kamavisdar got Major Walker to assign over to your collection from the ghasdana or Mewasi assessment of the Napar pargana, as being what would otherwise have been payable to the said kamavisdar from the Hon'ble Company's parganas of Matar, Mandch, and Nadiad on account of his defence and ward of the fords of the Vatrak in the manner aforesaid; on which footing you also paid up both your land and sayr chauth for that year and the three following; but your wakil having withheld from his collections from the Hon'ble Company's abovementioned Mewasi villages of Napar for 1860, 1861 and 1862 the sum of 216 Rupees of surplus beyond the 4,000 Rupees thus transferred to Your Excellency for the year in question, this residue remains of course to be accounted for to the Resident at Baroda.

Proposed settlement In order to settle everything to your satisfaction as far as possible I have written to Lieut. Col. Walker to endeavour to procure the assent of the Gaikwad Administration at Baroda to continue your kathipal allowance, in both its branches of 11,000 and 7,700 Rupees up to end of 1861, which is one year more than Your Excellency appears to have any clear right to, and allows you full time for your having dismissed

an establishment for guarding the fords of the Sabarmati, such as you were told a year before that there was no longer occasion for.

Impressed with a due sense of this reasonable and even favourable adjustment in your behalf, I have no doubt that, on your being apprised of these circumstances, you will abandon your unreasonable pretensions and immediately pay up the full amount due from you to the Hon'ble Company on account of the chauth, without compelling the Hon'ble Company's Government, which sincerely desires to prove your protector on all just occasions, to view you as a defaulter.

There appearing a disputed claim between you and the Gaikwad State with respect to the mulukgiri tribute, which for these many years past you appear by your own wakil Mirza Mogul's admission to have been from time to time in the habit of more or less willingly paying, I have to recommend that you immediately depute a respectable and intelligent agent to Col. Walker for its permanent adjustment; in which case that Gentleman will, from his own ascertained inclination to do you service no less than from the instruction of the Government, be desirous to get that important point adjusted for you on a permanent and eligible footing, such as shall not be too burdensome for you to support. Lose not, therefore, the present opportunity, or so favourable a one may not for a long time recur. What more need I say than to express my wish to be favoured frequently with accounts of your welfare?

Bombay, 7th February, 1810 (1810, P. D. 254).

1810

Sapurji Ruttanji's defence on behalf of Fateh Ali Khan, Nawab of Cambay.

That his grandfather [was] in the habit of friendship with the British Government upon very good terms, for many years back; and it was then in consequence promised him by the said Government that, whenever that country should fall under the control of the British Government and as also of the neighbouring territories, his late grandfather's posterity should be ever protected in every respect, both touching in regard to honour as to emolument, and to preserve the same to his and their growing generation for ages to come. But, instead of his generation deriving those salutary effects which were in expectation, it has turned out to the contrary. That is to say, that the following are the chief grievances that the present Nawab labours under and complains of, as follows:

That in the life time of the late Fatesing Gaikwad [he] had conferred certain indulgences upon his ancestors and to descend to their growing generations, of five villages and the sum of Rupees 11,000 annually as a reward for services performed by them in keeping off the banditti or robbers and divers plunderers of different tribes in committing depredation in that country, namely Kathis and others, who used to infest and pillage the country around from time to time; and that which said indulgence is now curtailed from him ever since the Baroda country has fallen into the possession of the Hon'ble Company, instead of rendering the necessary support entitled to his rank and reputation; and he finds himself daily degraded and depressed

i
 n every respect, and therefore he seeks the necessary redress at your hands of liberality and protection.

That the prejudice, which is threatened him by constant and urgent demands upon him by the heads of the Gaikwad body, who insist on it that he should supply them with yearly grain and grass for the consumption of their troops and cattle, this is a new imposition; and, if compelled, must inevitably amount to an average rate of a very large sum of money of some thousand rupees, and which imposition they wish to fix upon him as a new fresh tax and oppression. But indeed there never existed any such custom in the lifetime of his ancestors or predecessors.

That the Muhamad Ali Moulvi, who is employed in the Company's service as a chauthia at Cambay, who arrogates to himself the authority of obstructing constantly his three vessels or batelas, which have been ever in the habit of trading, and from up and from down the Cambay River, and abroad, as has been usual from time immemorial, and the product of which vessels was always devoted and applied for the use and purpose of Muharram festival and other occasional festivals, religious ceremonies on those particular days; and besides which said oppression and mortification, and what is worse, Hon'ble Sir, he seems to express to divers persons that he would charge chauth even upon all the vegetables that grow in the Nawab's own gardens; and he further gives to sundry persons that he would come, and sit, and preside at the adaulat himself, which is very surprising indeed; and the Nawab thinks that the British Government would never allow such things to come to pass as to degrade the reputation of a Nawab under their own protection.

It has ever been customary for years immemorial that packages bound up for transportation of clothes from, or to, Cambay in the mercantile business never to be unpacked or overhauled; but a list, conformably to usage, used to be presented at the custom office; but in those days and recently the chauthia has also taken the liberty to unpack all such and to displace every article of merchandise to the inconvenience of the Nawab and the detriment to the parties, together with resulting delays from time and tide, so as to prevent the Nawab of carrying on his usual trade to maintain his title and firmans.

That Mr. Corsellis, the Resident now at Cambay, has taken upon himself to pass and repass sundry goods and merchandisc belonging to the populace under his own name and cover for himself to accumulate the taxes which were levied for the benefit of the Nawab himself, and in consequence the Nawab was obliged to make his appeal last year to Commissioners, Messrs. Grant and Smith, and after investigating the said cause, which deprived him of his emoluments for a time back, and which amounted to no less than Rupees 14,643-1-75; and instead of Mr. Corsellis refunding the said sum of money to the Nawab, as was adjudged by the Commissioners, he offered through Mr. Diggle a short time after the sum of Rupees 3,000 only as a compensation and retrospect of a sum of Rs. 14,645-1-75; of which the Nawab refused acceptance, until he would lay his case open to Your Honour in hopes of meeting relief.

Lastly and terminating, the Nawab under the foregoing circumstances is compelled by pure necessity to thus intrude upon your valuable time to redress the wrong and injury under which he has hitherto been labouring under your mild Government.

Baroda, 8th May, 1810 (1810, P. D. 357).

1810

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

In obedience to the commands of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, the substance of the representation from the Nawab of Cambay has been submitted for the information of the Administration of this Government. *Cambay's claims and conduct*

2. The repeated discussions which have taken place with regard to the Gaikwad claims on His Excellency, supersede any additional observations on the part of this Government, than those which have already been offered to the consideration of the Hon'ble Board by my predecessor.

3. The ill-advised complaint of the Nawab of Cambay is however deserving of some observations, since it is calculated to draw inferences that are erroneous in fact and to excite an impression unfavourable to the Gaikwad Government.

4. The [*complaint*], I beg in the first place to remark, sets off in error. The advantages that the British Government acquired in Gujarat could scarcely have been contemplated during the lifetime of the grandfather of the present Nawab of Cambay, and consequently no promise could have been pledged of the nature represented in the petition from His Excellency.

5. It may have been possible from the subsisting connection that some general assurance of regard and friendship has been extended to the family of the Nawab, although I am aware of no engagement verbal or written by which the Government of the Hon'ble Company are bound to protect or defend His Excellency.

6. The British Government however have never proved deficient in those attentions which are due to the friendly sentiments of the Nawab; and in testimony of this regard to his interest it may be only necessary to cite in this place the instance in the year 1801/2, when the Gaikwad troops were encamped in the taluka of Cambay to enforce the claims of their Government for the payment of the ghasdana dues.

7. It may occur to the recollection of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that Mr. Holford, then Resident at Cambay, offered his interference to compromise these claims, which friendly offer was decidedly declined by the present Nawab with an intimation that he had settled or would settle with the Gaikwad commander, thereby showing an aversion to that agency to which he now appeals for protection, and acknowledging the exaction of the Gaikwad by a prompt compliance with his demands.

8. The Nawab of Cambay, having rejected the interference of Mr. Holford, can have no cause therefore to complain that he has not been assisted by the Company's Government, although it is notorious that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has offered to the Nawab through their Resident at Baroda for a series of years past the use of

their influence to obtain an adjustment of the Gaikwad demands on the most lenient and moderate terms to His Excellency consistent with justice to their ally.

9. His Excellency has however always found means to evade a discussion and resisted every inducement to send his vakil to Baroda, fully empowered to come to a determination under the arbitration of the Company's local officers with an Administration also, who were disposed to extend every practicable consideration and indulgence to His Excellency's circumstances.

10. These are not however the only occasions of the useful assistance which has been given to the Nawab by the liberal indulgence of the British Government.

11. The Gaikwad army, which had actually entered the taluka of Cambay, were recalled at the earnest intercession and instigation of the British Resident; and notwithstanding the reiterated and reasonable demands of the Baroda Administration, either to promote an adjustment with the Nawab or to allow them to prosecute their claim, and the uniform delays and evasions of the Nawab in respect to this equitable discussion, yet the Gaikwad ministers have refrained from pursuing any violence in His Excellency's districts.

12. As the Nawab obstinately refuses to come to an amicable adjustment, it may probably appear to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a justifiable measure eventually to leave His Excellency to the consequence of his perverse counsels.

13. With reference to the rights of the Nawab of Cambay to the kathipal villages, I beg respectfully to advert to the report of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, dated the 20th July, 1810, which clearly discovers the actual nature of the tenor by which the Nawab held the villages in question, so fully set forth in the sanads produced by His Excellency himself that nothing further may be required from me than to refer to those documents to prove beyond controversy that they were given to the Nawab, not in inam, but for services to be performed; which appropriation ceased when those services were no longer required.

14. Admitting however for a moment that the Nawab of Cambay could be entitled to the benefits of the kathipal arrangement, without the right of recall remaining with the Gaikwad Government, the inefficient manner in which he performed the duty may be allowed a powerful reason for discontinuing it.

15. So far from His Excellency being capable of resisting the inroads of the Kathis into the possessions of the Gaikwad and Peshwa in Gujarat, the cattle of his own villages were carried off by predatory bodies of Kathis and only recovered by the influence of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker in the country.

16. I shall now take the liberty of pointing out with every deference to the notice of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the improper allusions which are contained in the petition from the Nawab of Cambay; and I hope that his indulgence will be admitted, should I be prompted to speak with some degree of asperity of the

expressions which the emissary of His Excellency has made use of in his representation to the Hon'ble Board.

17. This representation signed by Shapurji Rutanji, evidently the product of an ignorant Parsi, is extremely objectionable.

18. I beg particularly to refer to the expressions of the Baroda country having fallen into the possession of the Hon'ble Company and the country falling under the control of the British Government, which are respectively calculated to mislead the public mind and create erroneous and unfavourable impressions.

19. The British Government are allied to that of Baroda by treaty and possess no power prejudicial or derogatory to the rights of the Gaikwad, but on the contrary they are bound to maintain and protect these rights in the spirit of the existing alliance.

20. The ignorance or presumption of the Nawab's messenger has also converted the Gaikwad demand of ghasdana into an actual levy of grain and grass for the consumption of the troops and cattle of the Government and country. To the express admission of the Nawab on several occasions that he has at different times discharged this contribution, it is asserted that there never existed such a custom in the lifetime of his predecessors.

21. The nature of these claims are so fully elucidated in the reports of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, dated 20th and 28th July and 8th October, 1808, that it would be superfluous to enter into any further exposition of them in this place.

22. In conclusion I have respectfully to state that by your dispatch of the 24th November, 1808, I am authorised to bring the claims of the Gaikwad for ghasdana to an adjustment conformable to the principles laid down for the guidance of the Resident; in pursuance of which instructions my endeavours have been sedulously directed to that desirable object.

23. The same perverted system however, which distinguishes the counsels of the Nawab of Cambay, has rendered my endeavours unsuccessful, although it has distinctly been explained to His Excellency that the Administration were willing to show every tenderness to his case.

24. The manifest disposition, which the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has discovered to enhance the true interests of the Nawab of Cambay, may probably induce him once more to await the result of a further amicable discussion with His Excellency; and in anticipation of the wishes of Government I have again requested the Nawab to send a vakil to Baroda, fully empowered to bring the claims of the Gaikwad to a conclusion.

25. I cannot however, from my past experience and the apparent want of good counsel to influence the Nawab of Cambay to a proper sense of his own advantage, express any sanguine hope that his vakil will be permitted to convey more than the usual and delusive verbal assurance of His Excellency's earnest desire to adhere to my advice and suggestions.

26. In that case, the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may be disposed to pay some regard to the protracted period during which the

Gaikwad Government have patiently awaited the result of the negotiations of the Resident with the Nawab of Cambay affecting their claims for ghasdana.

27. The natural expectations which the Administration have entertained that our interference would not prejudice a right established by precedent and moreover recognised by the Nawab by his prompt acquiescence to Babaji in the year 1858 (1801/2) renders it in every point of view desirable that their claims should be brought to an issue, if possible, by a compromise that would provide for the just demands of the Gaikwad consistent with the means of the Nawab of Cambay.

Bombay resolution, dated May 23.

Proposal In acknowledgment of the letter from the Acting Resident at Baroda of the 8th of May the following manner of fixing the future ghasdana payment of the Nawab of Cambay to the sarkar of the Gaikwad is to be suggested, with instructions to him to submit the same to the adoption of the Nawab and to the Administration of Anandrao's Government for their adoption:

"To add all the sums levied in the different years from the Nawab under this head of ghasdana; and after deducting one-fourth from the whole, in proof of their goodwill towards the Nawab and of his being also a connection of the Company's, to divide the remaining three-fourths by the number of years that have elapsed in the aggregate receipt, which will give the future annual sum payable by His Excellency; to which if he should continue to demur, the Governor-in-Council will not object to the Gaikwad Government pursuing its own accustomed means. The Agent of the Nawab of Cambay to be advised by Mr. Goodwin of the purport of this order and of the letter above received.

1810 *Bombay, 23rd May, 1810 (1810, P. D. 357).*

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

The letter contains the proposal made of the Bombay Government on 23rd May.

1813 *Baroda, 5th April, 1813 (1813, P. D. 396)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Carnac's proposal I request you will be pleased to represent to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that, in pursuance of the orders of Government dated the 23rd of May, 1810, I have repeatedly endeavoured by letters to the Nawab of Cambay and in verbal communications with his vakils to prevail on His Excellency to enter into a compromise with the Gaikwad Government (through my intervention) for the discharge of his dues under the denomination of ghasdana. These endeavours have been frustrated by the evasion we have so frequently experienced from the Nawab, although I had the good fortune to bring this Government to an acquiescence in the principle laid down in the letter above quoted.

The renewal of the demands by the Gaikwad places it out of my power any longer to protract the subject, and under the consideration of the Nawab's connection with the Company, the wish of this

Government to enforce the payment of their dues (which is authorised in the last paragraph of the letter dated the 23rd May, 1810) has not been carried into effect from my sedulous endeavours to obviate an extremity so disastrous to His Excellency's interest.

Conciliation has however been now carried to its utmost operations without inculcating the belief that either the Gaikwad has relinquished its claims or been deterred from prosecuting them by our influence.

One expedient only occurs to my mind to obviate the consequences of this Government undertaking its own cause, and that consists in the effects which might probably be produced by my having a personal interview with the Nawab of Cambay. In submitting this expedient for the orders and sanction of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, I should not conceal that the perversity of the Nawab's disposition may render my visit unavailing; but it will be so far useful as tending to show that no means have been left untried to reconcile the interests of the Nawab of Cambay with the right of our ally, the Gaikwad.

Bombay resolution.

Although the Governor-in-Council is disposed to concur in opinion with the Resident at Baroda that his visit to Cambay will prove unavailing in the adjustment of the ghasdana claims of the Gaikwad Government on the Nawab of Cambay, on the ground of His Excellency having heretofore so obstinately refused to settle these claims on the principles which the British Government had awarded, still as the Governor-in-Council is desirous that no means should be left unemployed to lead the Nawab to consent to the payment of these dues, the proposed visit of the Resident to Cambay is acquiesced in; and should Captain Carnac fail in his endeavours to adjust this transaction, it will remain with the Baroda State to adopt its own measures to enforce the payment of these claims.

Cambay, 23rd May, 1813 (1813, P. D. 393).

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 20th ultimo and to report that, in pursuance of the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to proceed to Cambay, I arrived here early on the morning of the 12th instant. My reception by the Nawab's Government was attended with the formalities usual on such occasions.

2. It was my desire to have had an opportunity immediately of a meeting with the Nawab regarding the objects of my visit, but the plea of ill health on the part of his Excellency induced me to wait his convenience. During the intermediate time I had endeavoured through His Excellency's authorised agent of communication, Muhammad Faiju, to impress the Nawab with a favourable idea of the advantage which would be derived by my mediation with the Gaikwad Government for the settlement of ghasdana claims. My interview with the Nawab took place at his desire and suggestion on the evening of the 17th instant, and at my request Mr. Skine was good enough to accompany me with the gentlemen of my family.

3. At this meeting my endeavours to lead the Nawab into any discussion of the claims of the Gaikwad proved quite unavailing. His Excellency laid much stress on the infirmity of his health, which, he observed, had deprived him of the natural energy of his character and of that quickness of apprehension with which he would otherwise embrace the objects of my visiting Cambay. It was in vain to lead His Excellency from the system of passive conduct which I perceived he was determined to pursue, though I should remark that the pretexts of his extraordinary behaviour were neither supported by his appearance, which by no means indicates the ravages of disease to the extent expected from the prevalent rumour and his own public representation, nor did His Excellency betray on the discussion of indifferent subjects any material deficiency in common penetration. My visit has therefore concluded with the usual presents under a promise that with mature deliberation His Highness would afford me his sentiments through Muhammad Faiju on the following morning.

4. The message which I received in pursuance of this promise was equally extravagant and delusive. It was the desire of His Excellency that the discussion should be deferred until after the expiration of the Divali, a request the more unreasonable as I had informed him of the expectation of Government that after the delay of so many years the rights of the Gaikwad would no longer meet with evasion.

5. This request was repeatedly preferred under an appeal to the feelings of the allied Governments in consideration of the impaired state of the Nawab's health, and after some consideration I was induced, from the indulgent regard we have always manifested to His Excellency, to acquiesce in his wishes, provided His Excellency would write me a letter or note to the effect of his messages with a view of being submitted for the satisfaction of the Gaikwad Administration, and that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council might at length discover some prospect of the settlement of the ghasdana question.

6. A request on my part so reasonable and at the same time, as I conceived, so concurrent with the wishes of the Nawab, was evaded with the specious reasoning that one so amicably disposed towards His Excellency as myself would never require any written evidence of the fidelity of his word. Although I laboured to show the Nawab that the request was founded in no doubt whatever of his honour, I am concerned to say that he continued inflexible in the resolution he had formed.

7. Convinced from this proceeding, abstracted from other decisive indications of his disposition, that the Nawab was purposing his accustomed policy of evasion, and that he still looked for forbearance, when every semblance of justice for such a cause had now vanished, it became my only resource, as his own agent, Mohammad Faiju, had voluntarily come forward to represent that the Nawab had begun to suspect the veracity of his mediatory communication and to be deaf to his reasonable remonstrances, to address His Excellency by letter; and I submit a copy of the English version of

this communication for the notice of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. The answer which accompanies this dispatch, demands no comment from me, for it bears intrinsic evidence of the character of its author.

8. In apprising you therefore that in consequence of this letter any further attempts with the Nawab would only be attended with unpleasant disappointment, and that I purpose immediately to return to Baroda, I should not omit to offer the accompanying translate of a letter which I addressed to His Excellency in notification of my intended visit, and to remark that I waited many days for an answer. In the meantime I had dispatched my baggage and established dawk hamals, which circumstances having arrived at the knowledge of the Nawab, he deemed it then requisite to write me to the effect of the enclosure which came to hand, as I was mounting my horse, after having received my audience of leave from the Gaikwad Government. Under such circumstances it was quite impossible for me to accede to the wishes of His Excellency, particularly with the suspicion, since confirmed, that the object was merely evasion; and in addressing my reply I did not fail to lament the delay of His Excellency's answer to my first communication. The plea of bad health brought forward by the Nawab is not so imperious from my own observation as he wished me to believe; and in troubling Government with this relation I beg to remark with submission that it is chiefly with a view of providing against misrepresentation of facts.

9. I shall have the honour to reply in a separate dispatch to the orders conveyed in the last paragraph of your letter now acknowledged.

No. 1. Copy of the Captain Carnac's letter to the Nawab of Cambay, dated 3rd May, 1813.

I have repeatedly made known to Your Excellency through the medium of friendly letters and by communication with your vakils the great anxiety of the Company's Government that the claims for ghasdana of the Gaikwad sarkar should be adjusted. I have been assiduous in my attempts to effect this object in a manner which would not be burdensome to Your Excellency's Government. But I have been concerned to witness that during the last three years my representations have not met the attention of Your Excellency. It now becomes necessary for me to try the advantages, which might result from a personal interview. I have therefore to notify that I anticipate a meeting with Your Excellency in a few days, and that you may be assured of the moderation of the Gaikwad demands under the influence exerted by the Company. I have also the satisfaction to state that the demand will be regulated with a due consideration to your means. It will afford me the highest gratification if the object of my visit proves successful; but, should it unfortunately be otherwise, the Gaikwad Government must necessarily exert their own means to obtain its dues.

No. 2. Translation of a letter from the Nawab of Cambay to James R. Carnac, dated 11th May 1813.

Your agreeable favour was received at a most propitious moment, and I took the subject of its contents into my consideration. My friend, Colonel Walker, is thoroughly informed respecting the claim

*Visit to
Cambay*

*Nawab
unwell*

of the Gaikwad Government for ghasdanna. No doubt you are so also; and the old inhabitants in your quarter are so perfectly aware whether it is right or whether it is erroneous, that it is unnecessary for me to expatiate on it. Conceiving that prolixity may be troublesome to your superior mind, I shall only remark, my friend, that, however much I should have been gratified in meeting you, I am at present unable to appear out from violent bodily disease and great mental affliction, of which you no doubt are informed. Affairs of small importance are transacted by my servants, and those of consequence remain unperformed. Should I recover by the blessing of God, I shall then give you the trouble of coming here.

No. 3. English version of a letter from Captain Carnac to the Nawab of Cambay, dated 20th May 1813.

Last warning. I have waited many days for the result of Your Excellency's determination consequent to our meeting. It has been with concern that I have understood from Your Excellency's agent, Muhammad Faiju, that the Gaikwad ghasdanna claims can form no subject of your consideration, particularly under the state of mind with which Your Excellency has been afflicted from a recent domestic calamity and from the sufferings of disease. Considering that in our interview I had the happiness to perceive that Your Excellency was fully capable for the transaction of business, and that the settlement of the ghasdanna dues did not require any material sacrifice of time or exertion of intellect, it becomes my duty to notice that the delay required on the agitation of the subject would be incompatible with the orders of my Government. In noticing therefore that this affair has already been agitated during several years, I cannot consent to the further protraction of it. It is of course optional with Your Excellency to make the settlement with the Gaikwad Government separately. At the same time a regard for Your Excellency's interests, founded on the long subsisting friendship of your family with the Company, induces me earnestly to suggest the eligibility of my mediation under an assurance that it will be my study to reconcile the demands of the Gaikwad with an indulgent consideration to Your Excellency's wishes consistent with justice.

In case however of your rejection of my friendly advice and intercession with the Gaikwad, I should also in candour repeat to you that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will not interfere in the measures of the Gaikwad Government for making the levy in question, and that on my departure hence to Baroda it will become my duty to notify to His Highness Fatesing that my negotiations at Cambay have proved quite abortive.

No. 4. Translate of a letter from the Nawab of Cambay to Captain Carnac, dated 22nd May, 1813.

Malingering. Your agreeable letter was received at a most fortunate moment. The subject of its contents was understood. My friend, I met you loaded with thousands of affections and inconveniences, and from being injured (by my exertions) the firmness of my resolution alone supported me during our conversation. It appears extraordinary that you should have conceived me to be in good health. You have written a few words about my (bodily) strength and (mental)

capacity. I also am most desirous that this useless and unjust claim should be settled justly and reasonable. Should it be God's will, the subject of present discussion shall be quietly and tranquilly adjusted at the Divali. My friend, no gentleman has even written me in such harsh terms as you. As yet you have only heard one side of the question. When my statement of it comes to your knowledge, and when you shall have inquired into it accurately and properly, you will then be able to discriminate between what is true and what is false.

Baroda, 18th June 1813 (1813, P. D. 398)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acquaint you that it is the intention of this Government to recover its dues from the Cambay Chief by taking possession of some of his villages, and to retain these villages, until the amount of ghasdana tribute is liquidated, and satisfaction is rendered for future regular payment. *Baroda measure.*

2. It was once in contemplation to pursue the usual practice of sending a body of troops against Cambay; but, as the measure above stated is equally efficacious, though in its operation more slow. I was glad to perceive that direct hostility was abandoned. The destruction, usually attending the irruption of a Maratha force with a view of making such levies, would have exposed the industrious ryots of the country to evils, which are not to be attributed to their conduct.

Minutes, 28th June.

Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is glad to find that his influence has been so successfully exercised over the Baroda Government on the occasion of receiving the dues of that Government from the Nawab of Cambay. *Approval*

Baroda, 1st November, 1813 (1813, P. D. 402).

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch with its enclosure from the Nawab of Cambay¹. The novelty of the question, proposed by His Excellency, has occasioned the delay which I have experienced in acquiring the sentiments of the Government; and it is only very recently that His Highness Fatesing has favoured me with an answer which could suitably be submitting for the notice of Government. *Cambay's proposal*

2. It will not probably appear surprising that Fatesing and his Administration have shown a reluctance to sanction the mode by which the Nawab wishes to settle the disputed claims to the ghasdana dues of this Government. To the principle of arbitration the Gaikwad Government offers no objection, but to the operation of it in cases of the relative nature of the ghasdana payment, affecting the supremacy of this Government, Fatesing has discovered a strong disinclination.

1. The enclosure is missing. From the second paragraph it is clear that the Nawab had proposed to submit the ghasdana question to the arbitration of a panchayat. From the fourth paragraph it would seem that the Nawab had made complaints against Carnac.

3. In communicating these sentiments I have only to add my own belief that the institution of a panchayat is not consistent with the usage of a Native Power in its relative situation with a tributary. At the same time it appears that the Gaikwad has considerably abated in any feelings of consideration, which might once have been entertained towards the Nawab of Cambay. His Excellency's contempt of this Government and the neglect with which he has invariably treated its officers when passing his territories, have contributed to the evident aversion of His Highness Fatesing. This observation is offered that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may be aware that any indulgence to the Nawab from this State emanates from a desire to meet the wishes of our Government. The conduct of His Excellency, instead of treating the demand of the Gaikwad with the temper and respect due to its power, has after an evasion of 10 years exhibited a succession of perverse obstinacy.

4. It cannot be necessary that I should trouble the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council with a reputation of His Excellency's observations on my proceedings at Cambay. I am averse to entertain a decided belief that the Nawab could knowingly descend to fabrications similar to those contained in the enclosure of your letter now acknowledged; but it must be painful to the feelings of any individual and highly unsuitable to the Nawab to find that His Excellency is betrayed by any instrument to a perversion of truth.

5. These remarks are drawn from me with considerable reluctance, and it is no less distressing to perceive that the European character can be held in such slight estimation by the Government of Cambay, as it obviously is with the mass of our countrymen, when it is manifested that the comforts, honours and political existence of the Nawab have been preserved by the interested friendship and honourable character of the British Government.

6. I have the honour to furnish you with a statement of the realisations, which have formerly been made from the Nawab of Cambay. It is not so circumstantial as could be wished, or as other accounts of revenue, from these payments having been usually the private appropriation of the Sovereign, and sometimes not carried to public account. The loss also of the old records of the Government during the convulsions antecedent to our alliance debar a hope of getting information from that source. The Gaikwad however does not wish to take advantage of this circumstance; and with more indulgence to the Nawab than justice to themselves the Administration demand from what has *bona-fide* been paid either directly or indirectly. In consequence of this resolution, and on the principle we had pointed out (which was acceded to), the annual payment to the Gaikwad will not exceed Rupees 5,795-1-82, as per accompanying account; but I am commissioned by Fatesing to say that he is willing to accept a sum even more moderate in compliance with any wish to that effect from the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council.

7. In reply to your dispatch I have the honour to state that the proceeding of which the Nawab complains in the accompaniment, is the occupation of some of his villages near Petlad, a measure stated to

be in contemplation in my letter dated 18th June, and approved by your reply of the 28th following.

Memorandum respecting the ghasdana dues of His Highness the Gaikwad on the Nawab of Cambay.

In the reign of Fatesingrao Gaikwad vakils came from Cambay to *Ghasdana* make some arrangements relative to ghasdana dues, but this does not *claims* appear in the daftars.

2. During the reign of Govindrao Gaikwad in 1852 Samvat, 1795. A. D. Jivan Jagdish marched into the Cambay territories and, assessing every village, took a paper from them to the amount of 35,000 Rupees, and returned to Baroda. This was not entered, some secret arrangement having taken place between Govindrao and the Nawab; thus it is stated no accounts of it are found in the daftar.

3. In 1854 Samvat, 1797 A. D. Jivan Jagdish made his mulukgiri circuit, but no ghasdana was levied.

4. In the time of Anandrao Gaikwad Babaji Appaji, Diwan, realised on account of ghasdana dues 50,000 from Cambay. This took place in Samvat 1855/7, 1798/1800 A. D. This is written in the daftar.

5. In 1863 Samvat, 1806 A. D. Raghunath Mahipatrao advanced to the town of Cambay, but exacted no ghasdana.

Presents have at various times been made from the Nawab to the Gaikwad Rajas; but, from the value not being been known at this time, the amount has not been stated.

Bombay, 19th November, 1813 (1813, P. D. 402).

1813

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

I am directed to inform you that, considering the unfriendly *Dropping* conduct of the Nawab of Cambay, the Governor-in-Council does not *the Nawab* consider him in the smallest degree entitled to the favourable interposition of this Government. At the same time he instructs me to express the high sense he entertains of the attention paid to the British Government by Fatesing, and to inform you that he does not think proper to interfere on the present occasion, persuaded that any measures His Highness may adopt for enforcing his claims on the Nawab, will be regulated by the principles of liberality and justice.

Cambay, 24th November, 1814 (1814, P. D. 417)

1814

James R. Carnac to Stephen Babington, Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

I had the honour to communicate that in consequence of the *Carnac in* express invitation of the Nawab of Cambay it was my intention to *Cambay* proceed to this place in order to accomplish the several objects [pending settlement].

Before I enter into an explanation of my proceedings here, it is proper, for the sake of perspicuity on the subject of my negotiation with the Nawab, to notice that, in consequence of some communication he had received from the Government of Bombay, His Excellency was induced to depute two vakils to Baroda, professedly to ascertain my

wishes on the subsisting points of difference; and at the same time he offered many pleasing assurances of his desire to reconcile them by my intervention. Finding that these vakils were not empowered to execute any definitive arrangements, it was explained to them that it would probably conduce to much benefit, provided a personal meeting took place, between the Nawab and myself; and that he might be quite prepared for what was intended to be represented to his attention, the vakils were generally informed of the several discussions connected with the concerns of their Master. After the expiration of some time the Nawab (as I have stated) in a friendly letter solicited my presence at this place, where I arrived on the morning of the 30th ultimo.

Discussions

The state of His Excellency's health would not admit of an interview until the 3rd of this month. On this occasion we retired to an adjoining apartment, after the observance of the several forms of etiquette, for the purpose of entering on business. His Excellency after a preliminary discourse, reciprocally maintained, adverted to the claims of the Gaikwad's giving him an uninterrupted source of uneasiness and of the measures of that State to exact by force what could not be taken as any pretensions of right or common justice. He hoped, therefore, as I could never allow that a man, who committed a highway robbery, became from that lawless act entitled to a fixed exaction from the person despoiled of his property, and as the Company on all occasions betrayed a scrupulous regard to the maintenance of the established rights of their ancient allies, that I had come to Cambay fully authorised to emancipate him from the general oppression which he had sustained from the Marathas established in Gujarat, whose superiority neither the dictates of his honour, nor the rank of his family, nor his personal feelings would ever allow him to acknowledge.

I endeavoured to explain to him that, whether the exaction in its origin was founded on right or the consequence of superior power, was not a question with the Company's Government. It was obvious for the last 29 years that a ghasdana payment was made to the Gaikwad State, which would not easily be induced to relinquish the privilege; or rather that the suppression of this claim by the intervention of the Company would be contemplated in the same light of injustice [*as he*] viewed the case at the present moment. At all events, as we had mediated on this disputed demand for many years, and protected the Nawab from the violence and resentment of the Marathas under assurances of settling their claims in an amicable manner, it was not reasonable in His Excellency to give an unqualified denial to an accommodation; nor could the Company, with consistency of conduct or adherence to their frequent promises, hear of the ghasdana claim being abrogated in a manner so peremptory and unconditional as the language of the Nawab would seem to suggest.

In this part of the discourse I was repeatedly interrupted by the Nawab by his appealing to the violence which his honour and feelings would suffer from an acknowledgment, however remote, of any principle which could imply an inferiority to any Maratha Government; and his former comparison of the man who transgressed th

laws by the commission of robbery with the claim of the Gaikwad was more than once repeated with forced gestures indicative of surprise at our advocating such a cause and his contempt for those in whose behalf it was preferred.

Continuing my observations in the strain before represented, I was led from the uneasy appearance, which the Nawab had assumed, to suggest to him to review what had been submitted to his consideration, from the purest motives of regard to his interest and welfare, and that I was far from wishing His Excellency to come to any precipitated resolution on any occasion, which seemed by his own account to involve sacrifices of great consideration to his future repose. I could not help however (I added) differing with him respecting the nature of the claim as it now stood. Prescription had given it [*a right*] binding on my Government; and as to its original character, His Excellency was explicitly informed that it could not be a subject to retrospection from its existence anterior to our alliance with the Gaikwad State, whose claims, at the period of its connection with the Company, the British Government were bound by every obligation of public faith and natural justice to respect and support.

This question having been set aside for the present, I ventured to intrude further on the Nawab by requesting his wishes in respect to the three [*other*] subjects* on which I was ready to give full explanation, if His Excellency could find leisure to enter on the business, coupling the remark with another that the ghasdana claim could not definitively be settled until I had received satisfaction on the points immediately affecting my own Government. The Nawab in his reply treated these points with great indifference, said that they were mere trifles, which could be settled in an hour, and ought to give me no uneasiness whatever. Under such circumstances he said that it became me to consult his feelings on the other subject, and not to press matters of my own Government under the assurances he gave me of their comparative insignificance. I told the Nawab that it would be acceptable that these points should first undergo discussion; and as he deemed them so trivial, it could be no sacrifice to get rid of them with all expedition, particularly as my Government did not exactly view these affairs with the levity displayed by His Excellency, and that the nature of my orders would not admit me finally to execute the ghasdana claim until the Company had obtained a due hearing of the cases in which their own interest were involved. The interview was then concluded by the Nawab saying that he would consider the substance of my communications on the visit and shortly apprise me of the result.

I had waited many days in the expectation of his promised information without being gratified by any tangible matter on which it was possible to prosecute the negotiation. The vakil, it is true, often came to me to know what I wanted to be done regarding the ghasdana claim, whether it was meditated to exact a present of pecuniary payment or an annual tribute. To these messages I replied uniformly that the principle of ghasdana was the exaction of money under that

* The three other subjects are mentioned in the next document, *i. e.*, Carnac's letter to the Nawab of Cambay.

denomination, when it suited the convenience of the claimant; but that it was more conducive to the Nawab's interest to make a permanent settlement at fixed yearly sum through our mediation. It would secure him from any increase hereafter, it left to the disposition of the Marathas themselves; and provided he attended to the differences with the Company, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council might endeavour to give a proof of his friendship to the Nawab by exerting his influence in His Excellency's behalf at the Gaikwad Darbar.

This observation, I hoped, would rouse the Nawab, if he possessed that sensibility of feeling or spirit of gratitude which the consideration and kindness of the British Government have a right to expect; but in my calculations of the generosity of the Nawab's disposition I was unfortunately disappointed; for, in place of witnessing an eagerness to assist my endeavours, he continued to show himself irresistibly cold, callous and indifferent. In short, he said that he would refer the subject to the Governor-in-Council. I was then constrained with great reluctance to address the Nawab by a letter; it became a resort which was unavoidable, when I found him sullen to every other medium; and the best consequence (I am sorry to say it), which I expected from the correspondence, would be the exposure of his fastidious obstinacy, the unreasonableness of his objections and language under the incontestable evidence of his own handwriting.

It is not to the purpose to detail to you the vexatious delays, which were experienced in obtaining answers to my letters, or the abortive attempts which were made through other channels of effecting the objects of my mission.

*Nawab
obstinate* I beg to send the original letters of the Nawab, accompanied by translates with copies and translates of those proceeding from me. Is there any thing more conclusive of the Nawab's want of correctness, when he declares in one of these letters that the objects, in which the Company were engaged, had never been mentioned to him by any other gentleman? Is it to be supposed that he had forgotten Mr. Keate's mission and his own repeated intercourse with Government? Or to what is an assertion of this kind, devoid of foundation, to be ascribed, unless the workings of an inherent resolution not to meet the just demands for inquiry and justice we have so often, and as vainly, attempted to obtain? Government will see, from the character of the Nawab's letters, that it was useless any longer to try and bring him to reason. Accordingly I notified my desire to receive an audience of leave.

On this notification being made, the Nawab gave a ready assent; but on the evening of the 18th, his wakil waited on me (after having communicated with a Gaikwad sardar, named Amin Sahib, who has accompanied me to Cambay) with proposals that the Gaikwad received horses and clothes in lieu of money on account of the ghasdana claim; stating at the same time that he wished to know what I had to say to such a proposal, which (he explained) did not come from the Nawab, nor was it even made with his knowledge; but his brother, Bande Ali Khan, seeing the impropriety of opposition, would undertake to manage the affair on ascertaining my sentiments.

Desirous of doing anything to place matters in the way of arrangement, I applauded Bande Ali Khan's interest in his brother's concerns, gave him some kind of encouragement to prosecute his good intentions, and urged him to bring the other points to an accommodation; after which, the ghasdana subject would not be a troublesome business to either of us. In the meanwhile, if he was sincere in his disposition, I would inquire the sentiments of His Highness Fatesing; but that Bande Ali Khan must be sensible, first from the communication he made being unsanctioned by the Nawab, and then from the impossibility of my overlooking the other subjects of dispute, that I could give no specific answer to his proposition, until he satisfied me by his word of his brother's concurrence to every object of my visit to Cambay.

What passed after this in the Nawab's family it is impossible to say. I know him to have been urged by the women, his domestics and his brother to pursue a system of conciliation; but the effects were transient, if any influence had been created by such intercessions. For on the following day the vakil told me that I was to consider the proposition he made the preceding evening of no validity, since the Nawab would not hear of any recognition of the Gaikwad's pretensions, and that he was ready to give me my leave on the following morning.

I waited on the Nawab to pass through the forms of dismissal. On this occasion I urged His Excellency in the most strenuous manner to enter on some discussion, and advised him of the benefit of the present opportunity and the effects his opposition would produce on Government, when he possessed not the semblance of reason to oppose. I could not get His Excellency to hear of the Company's claims, until I consented to settle the Gaikwad demands; and when I told him that his unqualified resistance to the claim in its origin put it out of my power to settle, he remarked, in ambiguous terms, to which he always resorts when at a loss, that there was time for all things, and there would be a time for those which I had been so long talking about. It was curious however to perceive that, when I took my leave on this day, the usual formalities were dispensed with; and it was apparent to myself that the Nawab was undecided, and did not wish to proceed to the last issue. He sharpened his inclination. I pretended to look upon the visit as final and invited him and his brothers to partake of the usual entertainment in return. His Excellency for the present declined, by saying that he had not yet paid me the honours antecedent to my intended departure.

Two days now elapsed without any communication of an important nature, but on the night before last I understood that the Nawab had received an answer to an express dispatch sent to Bombay. I had every reason to suppose that he had written from his having told me that he should refer my proposal about a yearly ghasdana payment to Government. How far this answer from Bombay instigated his proceedings, it is not of course possible for me to form a judgment of; but yesterday I was summoned for the audience of leave, and it was granted in form according to established custom. In the evening the Nawab's brothers waited on me, when the usual presents and ceremonies were returned.

Before I took my leave, a last attempt was made with the Nawab. The discussion was marked in point of argument with some warmth and anxiety, though with pretty good temper. I deemed it my particular duty on this occasion to explain to the Nawab in the most explicit way the orders and observations contained in my instructions. I entreated and urged an inquiry into the dispute about the Limbassi meadow lands, and the placard attributed to Muhammad Faiju, and remarked on his studied silence to these subjects in his answers to my letters. In the case of the former, I assured him it was in my power to produce arguments and to hear with every consideration the evidence on his own part; in the latter, I was also in possession of proof of Muhammad Faiju being the author of the scandalous libel against the Company's chautiah, Muhammad Moulvi. The Nawab in his reply told me it was not necessary (alluding to the grass lands) to adduce evidence about what belonged to him; and as to the question regarding Muhammad Faiju, he observed that he was not the protector of thieves and criminals, nor had he possessed another of his property or good name. Such circumstances, he thought, could only justify my repeated notice of Muhammad Faiju and his imputed misconduct, particularly after the ample explanations he had rendered to Mr. Keate. The Nawab was informed in reply that, whatever these explanations might have been, it was certain that they were not satisfactory, or I should not have been ordered to revive the subject to this observation. He said that it was not the custom of other gentlemen in their communications with him to betray a want of conviction when a simple answer was made to a simple question; and that no one had ever given him so much trouble in discussion as I had done. This was his meaning (he added), when he observed in his letter a few days back that the subject had never been mentioned by any other gentleman. He did not deny that Mr. Keate spoke to him relating to the Company, but not with such importunity as myself. It was not becoming to allow such remarks to pass silently, and I told His Excellency that in giving him so much trouble I had in view his own advantage and the just demands of my Government; that I was sorry to perceive his fixed opposition to its wishes, and had only in conclusion to say that in making a report of my proceedings I should have to animadvert upon his conduct as dictated by any motive but a desire of rendering a hearing to the injuries of which we had to complain.

Reflecting on the attempts which have been made by various public servants, I am almost at a loss to point out any means with the Nawab likely to obtain his attention to our representations. He certainly had some kind of intention to settle the ghasdana question before he heard from Bombay, through it is pretended that he was not a party to Bande Ali Khan's proposition; but he seemed to have imbibed sentiments of the character of the British Government erroneous in principle and inconsistent with what he owes for its protection; an extreme jealousy of every proceeding, which his diseased imagination presents into a desire of encroachment on his rights and prerogatives; a distrust of the consequences of concession, even with the amplest reason to render it; a resolution to oppose and

evade, because it displays his independence and gratifies the ruling passions of his breast. His reason might whisper the folly of this conduct, but mistaken pride and perverseness seem to defeat the better suggestions of his mind. As we cannot therefore obtain justice from the Nawab, it only remains that we dispense it for ourselves, as the last, though unpleasant, alternative.

In reference to the concluding part of the orders of the 9th of March I request you will acquaint the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that under the aspect of public affairs related in your letter of the 7th of this month, and the applications I have lately received from His Highness Fatesing to return to Baroda on account of public business (but particularly the proceedings of the Peshwa's officers at Ahmadabad and in Kathiawar), I conceive that my stay here, until an answer is received to this dispatch, might prove prejudicial to my other duties. Under these peculiar circumstances of the case I have to express my respectful hope that by returning to the Residency I shall meet the wishes and approbation of Government, especially as my coming back to Cambay (should particular occasion require) can be so easily effected,

No. 1. Letter from Captain Carnac to His Excellency the Nawab of Cambay, dated the 9th November, 1814.

My friend, I have repaired to this place in compliance with your invitation to effect the settlement of the following points, viz: *Points at issue*

Firstly, the claim of the Gaikwad Government on Your Excellency for ghasdana; secondly, the disputed title to the Limbassi meadowland; thirdly, the bungalow (built by Mr. Doveton), and fourthly, the complaints against Muhammad Faiju (on the part of the Moulvi Muhammad Ali); and I feel very anxious that the whole of these subjects should now be brought to a final adjustment. Impelled by this motive I entered most fully into particular when I had the pleasure of visiting you, and I have since done the same through vakils thereby intimating, not only how much I have at heart the settlement of the ghasdana claim, but also the three other points of discussion, which are more immediately connected with the Hon'ble Company.

The sum of the reply which I have received from Your Excellency respecting the ghasdana is that yielding the point would be derogatory to your character, and that custom does not authorise the demand. But you must be aware that the Gaikwad Government has several times according to the practice of the Marathas exacted it. I therefore expressed my wish that Your Excellency would, according to the instructions of Government and the dictates of friendship, inquire into the sums annually paid, and with all proper regard to your dignity and reputation come to such a settlement upon the same as should not only prove final, but also tend to your future advantage. Not receiving however any intimations, I made a second reference to Your Excellency, when you replied that every subject of dispute is finally adjusted, and that the present was not of that nature which could form an exception. Conceiving from this observation that Your Excellency had some inclination to meet my wishes, I requested, if this supposition should prove correct, that you would entrust the award to me,

which should in every respect prove worthy of acceptance. But I have understood that, unwilling to come to a decision on the ground of a reference to the yearly collections made by the Gaikwad, you are desirous that the subject should be again submitted to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. As this is the case, I agree to setting this point aside for the present.

But I beg to press those in which the Company is immediately interested on your notice, they being also those in which I feel most desirous to be favoured with your sentiments, since on the adjustment of them depends the final settlement, that of the ghasdana. I therefore most anxiously invite Your Excellency to come to a satisfactory decision on these matters. But it does not appear that you have any wish to do so. This may be well, though I cannot conceive on what grounds you wish to evade their consideration.

In short, I have repaired to this place in compliance with your wishes; but now that I have no expectation of effecting any object nor the hope of any advantage, besides the pleasure of a personal intercourse with Your Excellency, I must beg you will be pleased explicitly to inform me of the line of conduct which it is your determination to adopt.

No. 2. Letter from His Excellency the Nawab of Cambay to Captain Carnac, dated 14th November, 1814.

I received your agreeable communication at a happy moment and comprehend its contents. My friend, aware of the important concerns which occupy your time and claim your attention, it never was my intention to have given you any trouble; and I had therefore expressly deputed Said Asud Ulla to you at Baroda in the hopes that the several points in dispute would be brought to a settlement at that place and prevent any inconvenience to you; but learning from the correspondence of Said Asud Ulla that it was not your wish to adjust them at Baroda, and that you were desirous to repair to Cambay for that purpose, and this information also being confirmed by the verbal report of that person on his return from Baroda, I, seeing no other resource left, considered that on your arrival here you would in two days, after making due inquiry and deciding according to justice, not only effect the object of your journey but also gratify me and yourself; and it was under this view of the case that I took the liberty of begging that you would repair to this place.

As to the three points of dispute, independent of the ghasdana, they were never in my contemplation, as supposed by you, when I wrote to you. My only object was the villages, etc., which the Gaikwad sarkar has for several years held in attachment; but now you have arrived here, you have lengthened the discussions and insisted on matters, which I never even dreamed of, and which till the present period have never been made a question of by any of the gentlemen of your Government. Notwithstanding this desire, the last four or five days I have considered and anxiously inquired if by any means, without injury to my dignity, these points could be settled, but I have not been able to discover that this can in any way be effected. I feel myself without resource. No one however

*Nawab's
reply*

resigns his own reputation with his free will; and whatever of an oppressive nature occurred, will in the end meet with redress.

In reply to your interrogation whether the settlement of these points be intended by me or not, I have to state that I am willing to accede to anything that is just. In answer also to what you have said about not comprehending my motives for evading the adjustment of those matters which bear reference to the Government of the Company, I beg to intimate that after the termination of the discussion about the gahasdana I shall then have much pleasure in imparting my reason for this line of conduct.

No. 3. Letter from Captain James Rivett Carnac to His Excellency the Nawab of Cambay, dated the 15th November, 1814.

I have received your friendly reply to my letter of the 14th instant. *Explains* I had been long anxiously expecting the same, its contents I understand, *visit* and I comprehend all that the pen of friendship has dictated respecting the multiplicity of affairs which demand my attention, of your unwillingness on that account to put me to trouble, and of your therefore deputing Said Asud Ulla to settle the point in dispute at Baroda; but that, on learning from that person that it was my wish they should be discussed at Cambay, you had, having no resource, begged of me to repair to this place.

On the arrival of Said Ulla at Baroda, I replied to every point which you had commissioned him to make known to me, and I pointed out to him how everything might be adjusted; but during my intercourse with him I perceived that he possessed no powers to come to a decision. It was therefore necessary in order to know your sentiment that I should communicate with you personally, which, at length also appearing requisite to yourself, must have dictated your invitation; and I also reckoned on an interview with you as the means of affording me great satisfaction, viewed a compliance with your wish as a primary consideration, and immediately repaired to this place.

As to those points of discussion which bear relation to the Company, and on the settlement of which depends that of the others, *Points in dispute* and also on the subject of ghasdana of the Gaikwad I frequently have had communication with you. Of this you too are no doubt fully aware; and now that you express a wish that they could be adjusted without degradation to your character, and also that you have no objections to agree to anything that is just, I wish according to the instructions of the sarkar to endeavour to fix the Gaikwad yearly ghasdana claim (which has according to their usual practice for many years been collected) with every regard to your dignity and in strict conformity to justice, such as will be in every respect becoming and easy in its operation on Your Excellency.

If you should accede to this, I hope you will advise me of the same and entrust the business to me; but I at the same time expect that you will still be able to point out the manner of bringing the points connected with the Company to a determination. If not, I have no resource but to desire you will impart to me that it is your pleasure I should return.

As to what you have written that the points, having reference to the Company, had never entered into your contemplation, but that you had confined your views to the subject of the attached villages, and many other observations which for brevity sake I omit, also that the objects which I desire the attainment of, such as have never been wished for by any gentleman of the Government, I have to notice that Mr. Keate on his visit to this place called them most particularly to your attention, which you can not certainly be ignorant of; and you must be aware also that the settlement of them is necessary in consequence of the orders I have received from Government; therefore to write in this way is neither becoming your friendship or your good reputation.

God only knows how desirous I feel not only to avert loss to you, but also to gratify your wishes by bringing to a satisfactory conclusion, according to what I have written above, every point in dispute; but this produces no effect on your mind.

To conclude, if it be your desire to make an adjustment, my services are at your command; if not, I must beg your concurrence in my return to Baroda. Whatever friendship dictates, I have frequently most particularly brought to your notice; now it rests with you. I await your reply.

No. 4. Letter from the Nawab of Cambay, to Captain J. R. Carnac, dated 18th November, 1814.

Futile letter Your pleasing letter was received at an auspicious time, and what you have written is understood. Sir, in answer to my letter you have written that from the communications or appearance of Asud Ulla it did not seem that he was possessed of powers to settle any business. Sir, you are well acquainted with the customs of your friends' sarkar from ancient times, and that in no concerns is it customary to grant powers to any person. It has never been customary, and never will be so; you therefore being acquainted with the custom of your friends' Government and knowing my sarkar's practice to desire without rate that the business should committed to you is far removed from your favour and good reputation.

Sir, I considered, on the Governor Bahadur's communication and what was written to me by my vakils that Carnac Sahib would come here, having at that place (that is Baroda), carefully keeping in view what is right proper and just, settled according to justice with the Gaikwad, and that I should be relieved from oppression and made happy, and that he would then return to Baroda. Now you have come here, but no a word according to my wishes has been communicated.

You write, Sir, that you wish according to the orders of your Government to use endeavours to settle in an easy manner the matter of the ghasdana, which the Gaikwad had several times received according to their customs; for which reason you desire to determine something yearly. Keeping in view my character and honour, conformably with equity and justice, whatever might be proper would be settled. If this was agreed to, to let you be apprised, and to give the business into your hands,

Your friend has understood. The detail I shall reserve for a time, and now write shortly. Although by force, three or four times, it has been taken, still was it not ever returned; but what does this signify? I have been trying and considering that, when I meet with a place of justice, the money, which has been plundered from me, shall be returned. This place of justice I have secured. Will this money be returned or otherwise? Still it is most surprising that such an unjust claim is establishing. If you keep your sight on my honour, you will abandon your communication about a yearly payment, and pardon me, as well as relieve me from the distress which I experience.

Bombay, 7th December, 1814 (1814 P. D. 417)

1814

Bombay minute.

In acknowledgement of the preceding dispatch ordered that the *Orders* Resident at Baroda be informed that, according to the statement therein contained, the Governor-in-Council cannot but approve of what he had done, and that he is not to interfere in the prevention of any means being resorted to by the Gaikwad State for satisfying its demands, provided they should appear to be reasonable.

Baroda, 5th December, 1814 (1814, P. D. 417)

1814

James R. Carnac to Stephen Babington.

The Gaikwad Government having advised me of the realisation of *Gaikwad's* 50,000 Rupees in the last year from the 17 villages of the Nawab of *measures* Cambay, attached on account of arrears for ghasdana, I beg to be instructed whether I am to recommend Fatesing to return these sources of revenue until the Nawab chooses to come to some settlement of the Gaikwad claims. His Highness expressed himself disappointed at the Nawab's rejection of my advances for a settlement of the ghasdana demand and seemed displeased with His Excellency's obstinacy in consequence. I conceive that he expects to retain the villages until the Nawab behaves more consistent with reason and the Gaikwad rights.

Bombay, 16th December, 1814 (1814, P. D. 417)

1814

Bombay minute.

In reply to the preceding letter ordered that the Resident at *Orders* Baroda be referred to the communication made to him under date the 5th instant, informing him that the Governor-in-Council does not think proper to interpose in the adjustment of any claims which the Gaikwad Government may prefer against the Nawab of Cambay.

IV. DAULATRAO SINDIA

Baroda 16th March, 1813 (P. D. 1813-395)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter *False* calling upon the Gaikwad Government for an explanation of the *accusation* aggression alleged to have been committed by Gaikwad troops on Sindia's territories.

It is with satisfaction however that I can now relieve the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council from any apprehension of Sindia's authority having been retaliated on by the Gaikwad. This satisfaction

is increased, when I can assure Government that the inquiry has proved the aggression to have been confined to Sindia alone, and that the Gaikwad, in lieu of precipitancy, had observed a conduct of much forbearance and moderation.

It would be unnecessary to trouble the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council with the particular observations on the accompanying translate of a letter from His Highness Fatesingrao, elucidating the particulars of the late disturbance at Sonapore.

Translation of a letter from Fatesingrao to James R. Carnac, 'dated 12th March, 1813.

*Sonapore
affair* You have received a letter from Bombay, stating that the Gaikwad troops had gone into the territories of Alija Bahadur, and that it occurred without your knowledge. This having been made known to me has greatly surprised me, because there has nothing taken place contrary to the treaty of amity that subsists between us. The case is this, that Khanderao Govind, kamavisdar of Godhra in Sindia's mahals, with 500 or 600 horse and some Arabs with them under Muhammad Abud, who is an ill-wisher of this Government, marched on the 16th January in the afternoon on the village of Sonapore situated in our Thasara pargana; and the thakur of the village not being there, he plundered and burnt some houses.

On hearing this, the manager on the part of Kamal-ud-din Khan, Sarfaraz Ali, advanced 200 or 250 horse from Kapadvanj and, encamping on the frontier of our district, wrote to Baroda for instructions; and he was directed to remain quiet in his own limits.

Govind Raghunath, the vakil of the Godhra kamavisdar, residing in Baroda, was called upon to account for this proceeding on the part of his Master. He wrote to the kamavisdar of Godhra, who replied as follows: "That the village of Sonapore afforded protection to a thief of the name of Vera Katehy, who, in concert with other Kolis, plundered and burnt the Mowara village of Jalia. In consequence I advanced to take securities from this village, where a quarrel ensued. This is passed. Why excite fresh trouble with regard to Muhammad Abud and other evil-disposed vagabonds? I have suffered much from their licentiousness. I will discharge them all. The Darbar say that the damage sustained is 50,000 Rupees; but it will amount only to 500 or 1,000 Rs. and 4 or 5 houses burnt. I have dismissed Muhammad Abud. Therefore write to Sarfaraz Ali to refrain from committing any retaliatory acts, etc."

*Sindia's
letter* Sindia's letter has arrived in the Baroda Darbar. Its content are that the Gaikwad sardar should not do anything detrimental to his mahals. But, as there has been no injury sustained from the Gaikwad troops, I have not sent this letter to the Darbar; because, if I do so, the sarkar will conceive that I write idle complaints without foundation to my Darbar regarding the Gaikwad troops. From the above you will perfectly comprehend the whole transaction. Without your advice nothing was, or will be done. Regarding any disturbances on the border of our country, from the letter you have received from Bombay it appears that, notwithstanding the great friendship between

the two sarkars, which has so long subsisted, the Bombay Government are still disposed to look with distrust on me and repose but tittle confidence on my faith; which has greatly distressed and astonished me.

Minutes, 26th March, 1813.

The Resident at Baroda to be informed that the explanations he *Approval* had afforded on the subject of the aggressions, alleged to have been committed by the Gaikwad troops on the territories of Daulatrao Sindia, have been satisfactory. Captain Carnac will however assure Fatesing that this Government is not disposed to entertain any opinion of his conduct of the nature he has pointed out, but that he must see fully by the information laid before him the foundation of that report.

Baroda, 25th December, 1812 (1813, P. D. 392)

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council was informed by a *Muhammad* paper of intelligence transmitted by me under date the 19th instant of *Abud* the Arab jamadar Muhammad Abud having been retained with a body of men in the service of the new kamavisdar of His Highness Daulatrao Sindia's district of Godhra and its dependencies; and recent accounts state this jamadar to have been detached with 200 men for the ostensible purpose of settling the revenues of Sindia's villages which border on the Peshwa's pargana of Savli at present farmed by the Khanji Diwanji of this Government.

2. Muhammad Abud has long been the inveterate enemy of the Gaikwad Government, and consequently signalised himself (when in its service) by his opposition to the establishment of the British influence in Gujarat, and since his arrival in the vicinity of Savli his troops have been guilty of some excess towards the villages of that pargana.

3. I have therefore in reply to a letter from the kamavisdar taken the liberty of pointing out the impropriety of employing this jamadar in the immediate vicinity of the Gaikwad possessions.

Minutes, 5th January.

Ordered that a copy of the above letter be sent to the Resident at *Orders* the Court of Daulatrao Sindia, requesting that he will exert his influence (for reasons stated by Captain Carnac) for Muhammad Abdud's removal from a situation, wherein he may be employed disadvantageously to the British interests and those of its allies.

V. DHAR.

Baroda, 20th June 1807 (1807, S. & P. D. 208)

1807

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to enclose the translate of a letter to Babaji *Letter* Appaji, which will apprise the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of the unexpected death of, after a short illness, Anandrao Pawar, the Chieftain of Dhar and the nephew of His Highness the Raja Anandrao Gaikwad.

Translation of a letter from Ramrao Kasi to Babaji Appaji, dated Wednesday 10th June.

In reporting to you the news of this quarter, His Highness *Anandrao* Anandrao Pawar died on this day. For two months every kind of dead

remedy has been tried; but it was the will of God; where was the alternative?

1808

Baroda, 18th July, 1808 (1808, S. & P. D. 242)

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

*Murarr's
usurpation*

1. I beg leave to submit to your consideration the translate of a letter from this Government relative to the affairs of Dhar, accompanied by a memorandum of the Pawar family.

2. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is already aware that the late Anandrao Pawar is the son of the late Gaikwad Raja Govindrao's daughter and the sister of His Highness Anandrao Gaikwad, and the letter from the Government will fully apprise the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of the circumstances attending the affairs of Dhar, and that since the death of Anandrao Pawar his widow has been delivered of a son.

3. The infancy of this son of Anandrao has been considered by Murarrao Pawar, an illegitimate branch of the family, as affording a favourable opportunity to raise himself to power, and with this view he has committed the disturbances which are mentioned in the letter.

4. In consequence of these violent proceedings the family of the Pawars have requested the support of the Gaikwad Government.

5. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will observe that this Government cannot but view with anxiety the circumstance of so near a relation of its Sovereign deprived of his estates by an illegitimate usurper, when within their power to afford redress and without any guardian Power to support his rights.

6. They wished to be permitted to send troops to Dhar, or to request the assistance of Daulatrao Sindia; but having explained to them that such a measure might involve consequences of a serious nature, this Administration have requested me to submit the subject for the ultimate decision of the British Government.

7. The instructions contained in the Secretary's letter of the 23rd October last, conveying the copy of a letter from the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council have prevented me giving this Administration any encouragement on this subject.

8. Viewing, however, the double relationship which connects, both the widow and son of Anandrao Pawar with the Gaikwad family, in consequence of which the family of Pawar looks up to that of the Gaikwad as the natural and only guardians to whom they can apply with success under their present distress, I am induced at the earnest request of this family to submit the case to the consideration of the Company's Government.

9. From the overtures and professions of Murarrao I am inclined to believe that he would on the least indication of support to the other party be willing to enter into an amicable accommodation; and that, if the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council would sanction an amicable interference, an arrangement might be effected for the settlement of affairs at Dhar with justice to the legal heir.

10. With this view, I beg leave to submit a draft of a letter to Murarrao Pawar which with the sanction of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council I would propose to send to that person; and if he should be pleased to sanction an intercourse with Murarrao with a view to a settlement, I shall endeavour not to implicate the Hon'ble Company in any hazardous procedure or to pledge them to any support. This amicable-discussion also under the circumstance of the near relationship of Anandrao Gaikwad to the Pawar family cannot, it is presumed, afford any cause of jealousy either to Daulatrao Sindia or Jaswantrao Holkar.

No. 1. Translate of a letter from Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Shamsher Bahadur to Major Walker.

My young sister Balabai was given in marriage to Khanderao *Murar's* Pawar, whose son was the late Anandrao Pawar, the legal owner of *treachery* the State of Dhar, and who conducted the affairs of that subordinate sarkar. But by the will of God his days were shortened, and he departed this life.

At the time of his demise his wife was with child. The officers of the sarkar practised every precaution to preserve and render permanent the public welfare of that State. Shortly after the lady was delivered of a son, the heir of Dhar, and who ought to have been nominated successor; but in the meantime Murarrao Pawar, an illegitimate member of that family, having no claims to that State, who has always acted in a subordinate capacity, raising disturbances and engaging some troops, usurped the administration of affairs in Dhar.

Previous to this crisis the lady with her son and the members of the sarkar and my karkun had gone to Madavegarh. Murarrao here offered certain conciliatory and submissive overtures, further solemnised under the mediation of some sardars, on the strength of which the lady and her son with the public officers of the Government were brought back to Dhar.

After the lapse of 15 days, having entered into conspiracy and faction, he stormed the place. Opposition had commenced on the other side, but he, succeeding in setting fire to the building, every exertion was soon of no avail. The lady and her son he has in a manner confined and placed guards over them. The darakdars and other members of the Government being also confined, he is practising every kind of cruelty on their families and children.

Keshavj Pawar held a paga of horse, and was paid every attention to, and kept in the most respectable manner by Anandrao, whose confidence he had. This person and his havildar, being deceived, were seized, and have been privately made away with, that is, it is not known whether they have been killed or what has become of them.

There are the violent practices now on foot. The Company being my friend and ally, wherefore I have to address you on this occasion, while I hold it befitting that I should preserve the State of Pawar, I seek to obtain your aid to this end, in the same way as you have shown it to me and my sarkar.

Let the illegal practices, set on foot by Murarrao Pawar, be annulled for the future, let the lady and her son be protected from any species of oppression in future, and the concerns of that State be carried on as usual. Let the Hon'ble Company's Government under a just conviction of the necessity carry these reforms.

I have received a letter on the same subject from the Bai, and I seek from you, Sir, the completion of the arrangements I have here written, and suggested.

No. 2. Memorandum concerning the genealogy of Anandrao Pawar of Dhar.

Princes of Dhar Anandrao Pawar (I) had a son called Jaswantrao, who had four wives, but one only had issue, viz. Gahenabai, who had a son called Khanderao, whose wife was Minabai, the daughter of Govindrao Gaikwad, by whom was issue Anandarao Pawar (II), whose issue was Ramchandrarao Pawar. The father of Minabai Pawar, the widow of Anandrao Pawar, was Sntwaji Patel Satai, and her mother is the eldest sister of Gahenabai Gaikwad, the senior widow of Govindrao and now living at Baroda.

Here ends the descent of the legitimate branch of the family.

Again Anandrao Pawar (I) had a son named Jasvantrao, who purchased four Hindustani girls, whom he taught to dance and sing. Three of these girls had no issue, the fourth had two sons, one called Mahipatrao Pawar, the second Hibatrao Pawar. Mahipatrao had issue Murarrao Pawar, who is now twenty-five years old.

No. 3. Draft of letter from Major Walker to Murarrao Pawar of Dhar, 14th July, 1808.

Draft of letter of advice Having had the perusal of your several letters to the senior lady Gahenabai Gaikwad, and to Babaji Appaji, and to Gangadhar Shastri, they have afforded me such satisfaction, as they were expressive of duty and allegiance to your superior. Such conduct is proper; but, as information, received from others, differs from the subject of your letter, I am under some doubt; and I am led to consider that your letter is not a correct representation of circumstances. Friendship however renders it an obligation to write and point out the most proper conduct for you to pursue,

I understand you were much favoured by the late Anandrao Pawar, the rightful lord of the State of Dhar; and his wife, the senior lady Manibai Pawar, under the favour of God has been blessed with a son. It is proper you should act towards them as you have hitherto done, and conduct yourself agreeably to their pleasure in all respects.

It must be known to you that God never fails to treat those who quit the path of propriety according to their deserts. The lawful sovereign of a State is always supported, should any irregularity in established customs ensue.

Considering that Anandrao Bapu is the son of the sister of His Highness Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur, who is also closely connected in the ties of friendship with the

Hon'ble Company's Government, it is necessary that this letter should be written in the hope that you will duly consider its object and act accordingly.

Remarks in the Diary.

The Board, adverting to the instructions contained on the subject of the succession to Dhar in the letter from the Governor-General-in-Council of the 21st of September last, consider a reference to that authority necessary, before Major Walker can be authorised to make the communication he proposes to address to Murarrao Pawar, the more especially as we are not informed how far the latter may be in connection with either Sindia or Holkar; his standing in either of which predicaments might eventually involve the British Government in discussions with his protectors; constituting thereby a question on which the Supreme Government can alone determine; at the same time that, in view to the near relationship between the Pawar and Gaikwad families, it is certainly very desirable that the reasonable wishes of the latter may admit of being gratified in the protection which our ally, Anandrao, seems so anxious to extend to the legal descendant of the late Pawar family. *Delay advised*

Major Walker is to be advised to the above effect; it being there-with recommended to him to endeavour to ascertain whether Murarrao has any reliance on the extraneous support above adverted to, such as would obviously render our interposition a point of delicacy with reference to the consequences to which it might lead.

Baroda, 5th September, 1808 (1808) S. & P. D. 245)

1808

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, and now beg leave to transmit for the information of the Hon'ble the Government-in-Council a translation of a letter from a person in the service of the widow of the late Anandrao Pawar of Dhar. *Letter*

2. From this and other corroborative information it appears that Manibai Pawar had the address to convey the legal successor to the Principality of her husband out of the reach of the designs of Murarrao, an incident which may materially contribute to a favourable adjustment of the concerns of this petty State.

3. I have not been able to ascertain that Murarrao Pawar has opened any negotiation with a view of engaging the interference of Holkar in his behalf; but the inquiries on this subject will be intermediately continued, until this Residency may be honoured with the final instructions of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

Translate of a letter from Baburao Mama in the service of the wife of the late Anandrao Pawar to Gahenabai Gaikawad, dated 14th August, 1808.

The news of this quarter is that Ramehandrao Pawar, the son of the late Anandrao Pawar, has escaped from the town into the fort of Dhar on the 11th August. The Bai is still in the town. I write you all this information in consequence of a letter which has been received from the killadars Bhikaji Huttu and Keshavji Rawat. *Heir safe*

It is now necessary to make arrangements for the State and to pay the troops. By God's favour the child is in our possession, and you may rely on my faithful services. Everything else will be verbally detailed to you by Bhaga khidmatear.

1808 *Boroda, 8th November, 1808 (1808 S. & P. D. 252)*

Alexander Walker to Francis Warden.

1. I have the honour reply to your letter desiring me to procure and transmit the information called for by the Supreme Government respecting the degree of interference heretofore exercised by Sindia or Holkar in the affairs of Dhar.

*Sindia
Holkar and
Dhar*

2. Anandrao Pawar, the first of his family who appears to have been of any distinction, was an officer in the service of the Sahu Raja, and commanded a body of silahdar cavalry.

3. At the time of the Marathas spreading their depredations over Hindustan and dispossessing the Moguls of their provinces, their principal sardars were Jaiaji Sindia, Malharji Holkar and Anandrao Pawar (I).

4. These Chieftains were permitted to retain for themselves a proportion of the countries which they conquered and of the booty which they acquired.

5. After the conquest and partition of Malwa, the family of Sindia established its residence at Ujjain. that of Holkar at Indore, and the Pawars at Dhar.

6. The division of authority was equal, and they exercised in their respective territories an independent jurisdiction, which does not appear to have been immediately disturbed by the effects of rivalry and neighbourhood.

7. Although the family of the Pawars were not so enterprising, they received their proportion of tribute, which the armies of the confederates were able to impose on Hindustan.

8. Anandrao enjoyed his possessions for about 15 years and was succeeded by his son Jashwantrao Pawar, who was slain 12 years afterwards at the battle of Panipat.

9. Khanderao Pawar, the son of Jashwantrao, was a minor at the death of his father, and from this period the influence of the family appears to have declined.

10. During the minority of Khanderao the affairs of the Pawar were managed by a Diwan of the name of Orekar, who sought to establish his own independence; and the great commotions in Maratha Empire, which subsequently rendered Sindia and Holkar independent of the Peshwa's authority, have also exposed the territory of Dhar to the same irregular rapacity and ambition.

11. During the lifetime however of Khanderao these injuries were confined to the occasional incursions of predatory bodies of troops without any dismemberment of territory; but on the accession of the late Anandrao Pawar, the posthumous son of Khanderao, advantage was taken of that event by Daulatrao Sindia to levy a heavy contribution and to attempt the conquest of Dhar.

12. It is already observed in my letter of 18th July last that Khanderao Pawar was married to the daughter of Govindrao Gaikwad, whose issue was the late Raja Anandrao.

13. It is supposed that Daulatrao Sindia was instigated to attack Dhar by the Diwan Orkar; but however this may be, about 8 years ago Daulatrao appeared before the place with a large army and on the pretence of possessing varats from the Peshwa demanded 30 lakhs of Rupees, which were subsequently reduced to 6 lakhs.

14. The Administration of Anandrao being unable to raise more than 2 lakhs of this sum, the remainder was discharged by transferring to Sindia the claim of the Pawar family for tribute on Kotah, which amounted annually to four lakhs of Rupees.

15. Daulatrao Sindia appears to have repeated his exactions at two subsequent periods. On the first occasion he extorted one lakh, and on the second one lakh and 50,000 Rupees,

16. It does not appear that Holkar has ever received or demanded any contribution from the State of Dhar or otherwise interfered in its affairs.

17. The interference of Daulatrao Sindia in the affairs of Dhar, the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will observe to have been under the pretended sanction of the Peshwa and was confined to a pecuniary demand, but was really dictated probably by the necessities of Sindia, and suggested by the declining state of the Pawar family.

18. Sindia has not advanced any claims on the Principality of Dhar, nor has he interposed in its late family dissensions, which would appear still to have preserved all its interests, rights, and supremacy.

19. While I have in compliance with the instructions of the *Mur* Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council communicated the preceding *defeated* information, I have at the same time the satisfaction to state that the disturbances, which occasioned my address of the 18 July last, have been composed by the expulsion of Murarrao Pawar; and my proposed letter to that person has consequently become unnecessary.

20. It would appear that this revolution has been effected by the address of the widow of the late Anandrao Pawar, who first managed to provide for the security of her infant son in the fort of Dhar (the killadar of which has preserved his allegiance to the family); and then by the assistance of Bowsingrao, a sardar in the service of Sindia, and some other adherents had expelled Murarrao from the town after an action in which he was wounded

21. Murarrao has since fled to Jhabua, where he remained on the last advices, but without receiving any support or encouragement from the Raja. The authority of Manibai Pawar had been established in Dhar and its dependencies.

Baroda, 18th August, 1812, (1812, P. D. 388)

1812

J. R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to forward for the information of the Hon'ble *Letter* the Governor-in-Council a translated extract of a letter from the Kamavisdar of Godhra, communicating intelligence of the movement

of troops on the borders of Gujarat, announcing the capture of the fort of Dohad by Muhammad Abud, an Arab jamadar from Dhar, who was formerly expelled from Baroda with the other Arab Chiefs in the year 1802.

Letter from Banaji Anand, kamavisdar, to Gangadhar Shastri.

Abud aggressive The Dhar-man is committing depredations in the Pavagarh Mahal, Nur Borah and Muhammad Abud, an Arab jamadar, with two thousand men plundered the Jarod paragana of 30,000 Rupees worth of articles. He had some time back an intention of going to Dohad. I gave intelligence of this to Jaswantrao Bhau, who was encamped at Tandla. He wrote that he would come. The day that the Borah and Muhammad Abud arrived before Dohad, they erected batteries and began to negotiate, encamping near the walls. At this time Christnaji Jagunath arrived at Dohad on the part of Jaswantrao Bhau, and falling unexpectedly on them, defeated them. My jamadar by name Nataji, then admitted them with about 300 men into the fort, but this matter is arranging, and those Arabs have been punished. But the jamadar, he has also some men there; it is necessary to punish them; and to inform you of this, is the cause of my writing.

Resolutions. Bombay, 27th August.

Orders Ordered that the Resident at Baroda be informed that, in consideration to the near connection subsisting between the Gaikwad and the Chieftains of Dhar, the Administration at Baroda should have remonstrated, as it is desirable it should still do, with the petty State of Dhar against prosecution of the aggressions committed by the Arab jamadar Muhammad Abud, and that, if the Chieftain of Dhar will not listen to, nor act upon, this advice, the Gaikwad Government should explicitly declare its intentions of leaving the Principality of Dhar to its fate, and not to interpose its mediation or interference, which it might otherwise be disposed to do through motives of amity, in any measures which Daulatrao Sindia may think fit to adopt to resent an aggression apparently of so unwarrantably a description.

1812 *Baroda, 4th September, 1812 (1812, P. D. 388)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Explanation In reply to your letter dated the 27th of last month I request you will acquaint the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Gaikwad Government would have addressed the authorities of Dhar, in terms of remonstrance against the unwarranted aggression at Dohad, if that petty State had not been involved in unrest and confusion.

It is already on the records of the Governor that Sitaram Raoji had undertaken in the person of his brother the administration of the affairs at Dhar; and on the total failure of all his endeavours to retrieve the affairs of this Government, which involved his own ruin, the sibandi asserted their authority and are actually now in possession of the fort of Dhar and other places of defence subordinate to it. The principal chief of this sibandi is Muhammad Abud, whose turbulent character was ascertained during our negotiations with the Arab force at Baroda in the year 1802; and this man from the desolated state of

the Dhar Mahals occasionally issues forth from the strongholds in his possession and commits depredations for the subsistence of his followers. In one of these predatory expeditions he appears by treacherous means to have made the conquest reported in my dispatch of the 18th, and which he will most likely relinquish for a pecuniary gratification.

I trust this explanation will show the futility of the Administration addressing the nominal master of Dhar, while a noted freebooter and enemy of the Gaikwad State actually holds the supreme authority.

Bombay minutes, 14th September.

Ordered that a copy of the preceeding letter be communicated to the Bengal Government with information of the intimation, given to the Resident at Sindia's Court, of the steps taken by this Government in consequence of the proceedings of the jamadar Abud, acquainting the Bengal Government at the same time that we have not thought it advisable to interfere in consequence of the line of conduct prescribed by it in respect to the petty State of Dhar. Orders

VI. DUNGARPUR

Baroda, 18th July, 1810. (1810 P. D. 359)

1810

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

A vakil arrived at Baroda some time since from the Rani of Dungarpur, a petty Rajput Government situated on the north-eastern boundary of Gujarat, in order to obtain the protection of the Gaikwad or the Company's Government to preserve that State from destruction by the intrigues and extravagance of an interested karbari, who, it appears, has confined the family of the reigning prince, a youth of 11 years of age, and conducts the affairs of that Government without a controlling authority. Request

The administration of this Government were not willing to receive any proposals of the nature abovementioned until they had ascertained my previous sentiments; and the Dungarpur vakil was directed to submit the objects of his mission to Baroda for the notice of the British Government.

I have the honour to enclose copy of a narrative taken verbally from the vakil named Durva Purvoo Ram Virjilal, in which he has detailed the origin of the State of Dungarpur, founded no doubt on fabulous tradition, the prevailing dissensions that have reduced it to the present state of poverty and confusion, and the revenues of the Dungarpur State, with a few observations on the nature of the country.

This narrative does not afford much encouragement for an exterior Power to interfere in the affairs of Dungarpur, admitting that no objections to such interference were otherwise apparent.

The only advantage probably, which could be derived by a connection with that little State either by the Company or the Gaikwad, is the possession of a pass from Malwa and Mewar into the heart of Gujarat, by which outlet the Saheb Zadda Muhammad Ruzza found means to retire from his predatory incursion into the Gaikwad territories, during the last year.

6. It is not however apprehended, from every information I have been able to collect, that any considerable army with ordnance could easily advance to this province by the route of Dungarpur from the scarcity of water and other natural difficulties.

7. A connection with the Dungarpur Chieftain, were we disposed to cultivate it, with the view of forming a strong line of defence from the Mahi River in the vicinity of Lunawada to Dungarpur and the Principality of Idar, might afford umbrage to Sindia and other Maratha States, to which Dungarpur is tributary.

8. Until I am honoured therefore with the commands of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, the vakil from Dungarpur will continue at Baroda without receiving any communication of the decision of the Gaikwad Government with reference to his proposals.

No. 1. Narrative of Dungarpur, given by Durva Purvoo Ram Virjilal, a Nagar and inhabitant of Dungarpur.

See Political Department Diary for the year 1810, No. 352, pp. 3882-3906.

No. 2. Remark in the Diary

Refusal In acknowledgment of the above recorded letter from the Acting Resident at Baroda that officer is to be informed that the circumstance of Dungarpur being already tributary to Sindia and other Maratha Powers, constitutes a sufficient motive for the British Government's declining to countenance any extension of our own or the Gaikwad Government's influence in that quarter; under which circumstances the vakil should be civilly dismissed.

VII. GHODASAR

1808 *Baroda, 7th March, 1808 (1808, S. P. D. 226)*

Thakur of Ghodasar's offer.

Offer The thakur of Ghodasar in Mahi Kantha made an offer to pay his ghasdana tribute to the Company instead of to the Gaikwad. The offer was rejected.

[See *Secret and Political Department Diary*, 1808, No. 226. p. 2980]

VIII. JHABUA.

1810 *Baroda, 9th December, 1810 (P. D. No. 366)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Request The Administration of this Government [*Baroda*] have signified to me the receipt of a letter from Bhimsingji, the Chief of Jhabua in the Province of Malwa, requesting permission to pass two pieces of ordnance of small calibre (to be purchased at Bhavnagar) through the Gaikwad territories.

No answer has been given to this application until the sentiments of the Hon'ble Company's Government could be obtained, You will oblige me therefore by ascertaining whether the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has any objection to a compliance with the request above mentioned; but at the same time to notice that I have understood

some misunderstanding subsists between the Jhabua Chieftain and the Government of Daulatrao Sindia.

No. 1. Bombay Order.

Ordered that the Acting Resident at Baroda be instructed to write *Refusal* to the Chieftain of Bhavnagar to signify (without allusion to this or any particular occasion) that, as the sale or transit of ordnance, fire-arms and warlike stores, excepting for the use of Government, is strictly prohibited by the regulations of the English Government, so will he be held responsible if any be permitted to be disposed of, for export on land, or otherwise than for the dows and boats that may frequent his ports.

No. 2. Bombay Orders.

For greater security in this respect the Collector at Kaira is to be *Fire-arms* furnished with a copy of this correspondence, and directed to instruct his agent for the custom house department at Bhavnagar not to permit the export or allow of the transit on land of any ordnance, or fire-arms contrary to the true sense and import of the regulations.

IX. PALANPUR.

Baroda, 27th September, 1812, (1812 P. D. 389)

1812

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

1. The report of my predecessor has apprised Government of *Trouble in* the arrangements which had been concluded with the Chieftains of *Palanpur* Palanpur in the division of Mahi Kantha for the regular payment of his annual tribute to the Gaikwad on the principle of the settlement effected by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker in Kathiawar during the circuit of that officer in the province in the year 1807.

2. During the period of the life of Farid Jamadar, his attention to his agreements, confirmed by our bhandari, was uninterrupted; but during the last few months a scene has been disclosed, which, there is too much reason to believe, has been created by the basest treachery. The Diwan Feroz Khan was killed, and Farid Jamadar suddenly died, subsequent to which events Palanpur has been subject to those contentions incident to a state of disorganised government.

3. In this condition neither the authority of the superior State nor its acknowledgement of the existing Administration has been regularly solicited or obtained; and it became a question of some importance to allay the prevailing dissensions with a view of curbing a propensity to effect revolutions in the petty States, prejudicial to the good order of government and the happiness of the inhabitants, and inconsistent with the respect which is due to the authority of the Gaikwad and the bhandari pledged by ourselves.

4. The Administration have had it in contemplation to enter on some measures with a view of reforming the present State of Palanpur. In the interim proposals have been submitted to my Assistant, Captain Ballantine, the purport of which with the sentiments of that officer will be found in the accompanying papers. It appears to my judgment that the plan most desirable to adopt is to encourage the arrangement at Palanpur by the Gaikwad Government, and that my

Assistant should be present to aid its authorities and in unison with them to render justice to those persons whose grievances are made obvious.

By the prosecution of such steps it is probable that coercive measures may be avoided, and we shall have taken that participation which the latitude of our bhandari may require.

Bombay Minutes, 17th October, 1812

Approval Ordered that Captain Carnae be informed that the view which he has taken in the 4th paragraph of the preceding letter seems to Government the fittest to be adopted, and he is therefore to give effect to it accordingly.

Captain Ballantine's promise of secrecy, until the directions of Government be received, seems to have been very well justified under the circumstances.

1813 *Baroda, 13th April, 1813 (1813, P. D. 396)*

James, R. Garnac to Francis Warden.

Palanpur revolution The result of my Assistant's [Captain Ballantine] investigation has not only corroborated the information, obtained through many channels, of Farid jamadar having basely murdered his Superior, Phiroz Khan, for the purpose of securing the undisturbed possession of Palanpur to his (Farid's) son, Gulam Hyder; but it has clearly proved that a disposition now animates Gulam Hyder and his associates neither to listen to the interference of the British Government, nor to admit his subordination to the Gaikwad beyond the regular payment of the Palanpur tribute. In handing up the papers from Captain Ballantine on the subject it is only necessary to solicit the attention of Government to the cruelty of the Sindhi usurpers to the child of the late Phiroz Khan, who is a mere pageant to answer the ambitious ends of Gulam Hyder, to the oppression which is exercised in Palanpur and the contempt with which my assistant native agent has been used. These facts are definitive proof of the intention of Gulam Hyder to throw off his allegiance, were no other circumstances to be discovered to place his conduct in this reprehensible light. He has however given testimony of his contumacious disposition, by making preparations of defence, and in having resorted to the measure reported in the accompanying letter from Captain Ballantine which I received last night. It will be seen from this report that the present possessor of Palanpur, doubtful of the advantage which he once anticipated through the medium of the late Phiroz Khan's child, has contrived to elevate the petty chief of Disa to the sovereignty of Palanpur, and placed a restraint on the former, which has probably ere now put a period to his unfortunate existence.

While this extraordinary act has been effected without the remotest communication with the Gaikwad Government or myself, it carried with it a conclusive evidence of Gulam Hyder having openly avowed his independence, and may soon lead to the commission of acts of resistance to any title or control from the authorities which have hitherto exercised it.

Although such an act can scarcely be surpassed in criminality, the situation of the child of the late Phiroz Khan must excite a sentiment of sympathy. The murder of his father by the treachery of his servants, his present rigorous confinement with the members of his family, and the usurpation of his avowed rights by the artifices of Gulam Hyder with the Chieftain of Disa, perhaps exhibit a succession of as much human depravity as the annals of the country can afford.

With these observations I proceed to make known the sentiments of the Gaikwad Government as being roused by a sense of indignation with the proceedings at Palanpur. It is alive to the extreme danger of allowing a usurpation, effected by the greatest enormity and supported under a system of violence that cannot admit of toleration without departing from those wise regulations by which the tranquillity of the country is preserved. The Administration accordingly submit to the opinion of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the measure of resorting to coercion is constituting the only means now remaining of vindicating the insulted rights of the Gaikwad Government and the respect which is due to the Company's bhandari. Conciliating advances having only produced presumption and the repetition of aggravated misconduct, it appears that neither the dignity nor the interests of the allied Governments will admit of this course being longer pursued with any probability of success.

Documents dealing with the situation at Palanpur.

See 1812, Political Department Diary, No. 396, pp. 1665-1712.

Bombay Castle, 28th April, 1813 (1813, P. D. 397)

1813

Francis Warden to Captain James R. Carnac.

Whatever may be the nature and the extent of the authority which the Gaikwad has a right to exercise over this tributary State, it is yet obvious that Palanpur has long been in a state of subordination to the Gaikwad; and as there can be no doubt but that the punctual realisation of this tribute must depend upon the existence of regular Government in the country, the Baroda Administration is justified in maintaining the allegiance that has subsisted, and in preventing the foreign influence being introduced into that petty State.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is on these grounds and, for the reasons stated in your dispatch of the 13th April, entirely satisfied of the expediency of resorting to coercive measures for the purpose of re-establishing the legitimate authority in the Government of the Principality of Palanpur, if it cannot otherwise be accomplished, but it is understood that, if the month of June is the most favourable for commencing military operations in that quarter, the Government have resolved to submit the measures proposed to be adopted to the previous consideration of the Supreme Government.

In the meantime it is desirable that you should, after consulting with Colonel Holmes, report the force necessary to be employed upon this service; it being the opinion of Government that with the view of guarding against the hazard of failure, it would be advisable that a detachment of Europeans should be attached to the force to be employed on this occasion; and in order to be prepared to act immediately on

the receipt of the reply from the Supreme Government, the Governor-in-Council will direct a detachment of His Majesty's 56th Regiment to proceed to Baroda at such time as you may think fit to propose.

Difficulty.

The Governor-in-Council does not however clearly comprehend the principles on which it is intended to re-establish the affairs of Palanpur. It appears that the late Phiroz Khan equally with the late jamadar Farid Khan were usurpers; and that the legitimate title to the Government of that Principality vests in the Chieftain of Disa. It is not however known whether Disa is tributary to the Gaikwad. But however that may be, the Governor-in-Council concludes that the intended reform of government will be made in favour of the rights of the Chieftain in question, under which arrangement Fateh Khan, if of an age, and in all respects eligible and fit for the situation, may be placed in that office of Diwan as held by his father; but, if not, that his person as well as the person of his mother should be secured.

As however, the Sindhis have already restored Samsheer Khan, the Chieftain of Disa, to the government of Palanpur, the Governor-in-Council is of opinion that it would not be very difficult to adjust the affairs of Palanpur without resorting to force by assuring Samsheer Khan that the Gaikwad Government has no other object in him than to restore this tributary State to its just allegiance; that it has no intention to supersede his restoration to his legitimate rights; but, that it cannot allow of any foreign influence being exercised at Palanpur, that shall tend to disturb that subordination which the State in question has so long acknowledged towards the Gaikwad; and it will probably be necessary to insist upon the dismissal of the Raja Muhammad Farid and his principal partisans from the fort and territory of Palanpur.

Upon these points however the Governor-in-Council is desirous of receiving the fullest information from you; and you will at the same time report whether the Raja Muhammad is the brother or what other relation of the Farid Jamadar.

1813 *Bombay Castle, 28th April, 1813 (1813 P. D. 397)*

From the Governor of Bombay to the Governor-General.

*Events at
Palanpur*

In the month of September last we received a dispatch from the Resident at Baroda, apprising us that the Diwan Phiroz Khan had been killed, that Farid Khan had a few weeks after died, and that Palanpur had in consequence been exposed to those contentions for authority incident to a disorganised government,

The late Jamadar Farid and Raja Mahommad Farid were formerly the servants of the late Phiroz Khan, but had usurped the authority of the State. On the death of Phiroz Khan, Raja Mahammad Farid is said to have taken possession of all the property of the deceased Phiroz, and placed his son Fateh Khan ostensibly on the masnad; where for a short time he enjoyed the shadow of authority, being actually under the control of the partisans of Muhammad Farid. But by a letter, which has been received from Captain Carnac, dated the 14th instant, it appears that Farid has changed his plan and placed Samsheer Khan, the Chieftain of Disa, on the masnad of Palanpur, and that the son of Phiroz and his mother are placed in close confinement, in which

situation they have been treated with so much cruelty that their lives are in danger.

Your Lordship will observe that in the month of September last, in consequence of the desire of the Gaikwad Government to endeavour to effect a reform in the affairs of Palanpur through the means of a negotiation, we encouraged its having recourse to the agency of Captain Ballantine, the Second Assistant to the Resident at Baroda, for effecting it.

The Gaikwad Government having however failed in its objects, and Muhammad Farid having manifested a disposition not to admit the interference of the British Government or his subordination to the Gaikwad beyond the regular payment of the Palanpur tribute, it appears to us to be necessary that coercive measures should be resorted to, to retrieve the affairs of that Principality, should that determination be adhered to by the present Chieftain. *Coercive measures*

The policy of immediately checking any manifestation of insubordination in the Gaikwad tributaries, has been so repeatedly urged upon the consideration of the Supreme Government and recognised by that authority, and effects of that system have been productive of such benefit to the Gaikwad State in consideration of its power and of its interests, that no observations are necessary in support of the expediency of applying the same principles to the restoration of a legitimate government in Palanpur.

Baroda, 1st June, 1813 (1813, P. D. 398)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

1. As soon after my return to Baroda as possible I had conferences with the members of this Government on the practicability or otherwise of obtaining the object in view at Palanpur, independent of any means of hostility, and pointed out the general advantage of a peaceable adjustment. *Palanpur affairs*

2. The Administration have invariably remarked that the conduct of the Sindhis left little reason to believe that any representation would produce the consequence of their restoring the legitimate authority at Palanpur, admitting that the dignity of Government could sanction passive intercourse with parties who had not only departed from their allegiance, but exercised acts of the most abandoned cruelty to obtain their wicked purposes. With every inclination however to compromise, it was added that the Sindhis had passed the limits, which could render it an object with them to concede, until force at least was at hand to compel such a measure. Nothing short of their expulsion from Palanpur can either prevent the permanent introduction of a foreign influence or the interruption of tranquillity in that quarter. For it is not reasonable to suppose that men, who have dared to profess usurpation, acquired in the first onset by the most horrid murders and confirmed, as the sequel will show, by the basest treachery, will attend to any suggestions that could restore the primitive order of arrangement until coercion is used, or at all events the means are immediately apparent.

3. It does not require a recapitulation of the acts regarding Phiroz Khan and his unfortunate family to stamp the character of the Sindhis.

proceedings as marked by consummate depravity. These acts are fresh in the recollection of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council; and though it seemed feasible even under such circumstances to accomplish the public objects of Palanpur in consideration of the elevation of the Disa Chief to the masnad, it has since appeared that this step has been executed under professions of obedience and attachment, but really directed to the completion of an organised system of usurpation of the possessions of that Chief as well as those of the Palanpur Principality.

5. The shortsighted conduct of Samsher Khan led him to believe the asseverations of the Sindhis. To disguise their treachery they had the address to confirm the disposition of that person by giving him the daughter of the late Farid Khan in marriage, and having introduced their adherents into Disa and placed Samsher Khan in the nominal sovereignty of Palanpur, he was shortly thrown in the precise situation of the late Phiroz Khan's son, in reality nothing but a prisoner and an instrument to countenance their base designs. To complete the catalogue of the enormities practised by these usurpers I have the honour to submit transcript of a letter from Captain Ballantine, describing the desperate situation of Phiroz Khan's family, and that the Sindhis are drawing reinforcements from Marwar.

6. This letter would afford sufficient evidence of the futility of negotiation from Baroda; and I trust that the other instances of delinquency will satisfy the mind of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the honour and interests of Government and feelings of common humanity must authorise and justify the infliction of punishment as exemplary of the consequences, where the dignity of the British Government is insulted, and it witnesses the violation of every institution by which the existence of society is maintained.

7. Deducing from the general sentiments, conveyed in your dispatch now replied to, that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is resolved to use coercion, when the expediency is made obvious, and entertaining a respectful hope that the subject of this communication will be conclusive in that respect, I have already desired Colonel Holmes to adopt some preparatory measures, suggested from the obstacles incident to the season of our proposed operations.

8. Raja Muhammad is a relation of the late Farid Jamadar by marriage and has been principal actor in the late scenes of barbarity committed at Palanpur.

Letter from Captain Ballantine to James R. Carnac.

*Events at
Palanpur*

I have the honour to report to you in continuation of the subject of the affairs at Palanpur being from the substance of letters, yesterday received from the Munshi Jamal-ud-din.

The substance of the Munshi's letter proceeds to state that the widow of the late Phiroz Khan had deputed a secret messenger to Govind Pant, the Thanadar of Sitpur, through whom to inform the Munshi of the insufferable distresses to which she is exposed, being cooped up in a small place with her own son and three other males, viz., Mahabat Khan, the brother of her deceased husband, and his two nephews, Shamat Khan and Bunju Miya.

It would be impossible to follow the Munshi's statement without some breach of delicacy, but the perusal of which equally appeals to the feelings for unheard-of cruelties practised towards an innocent woman, as well as sentiments of undisguised abhorrence at the unprincipled and unjustifiable atrocities practised by the Sindhis, which neither the tears or supplicant entreaties of an unoffending female can appease. The greatest apprehension is therefore entertained for their safety, but the smallest attempt to assist the sufferers is attached with certain ignominy to the party so offending.

The jamadars Bhara and Bussunt are stated to occupy Disa with 200 Sindhis, the followers of Samsher Khan, to whose adherents generally all those favourable to them have been entertained in the service, with an increased salary, and colleagues by intermarriages, while those on the other hand undisposed to the usurpation of the Sindhis have been obliged to seek safety in flight.

It appears also that a considerable body of mercenaries are now encamped in Marwar, about 60 kos distant from Palanpur, to be entertained by the Sindhis, and where they wait the first rain from the impossibility of at present procuring forage. They are reputed to be 1,000 strong and composed of both horse and foot, a people styled Ghoshes, understood to be from the vicinity of Cutch.

The extreme arrogance that has characterised each succeeding act of the Sindhis scarcely reconciles to common principles the absurdity of their conduct and public threats, viz. that, when joined by the Ghoshes, they will commence a series of conquests, and that they have many friends, and are well supported from quarters where least expected. Whatever may be the merits of such assertions, they should perhaps be better substantiated to deserve attention. It may easily however be admitted that the present scarcity of forage and grain prevents them calling in their new levies. It is also said the Sindhis place much confidence on their after-act of placing Samsher Khan on the masnad, and that they have lately established a considerable post at Karimabad, a hill-fort difficult of access, 10 kos distant from Palanpur, to which place also it appears they have removed all their money and other available property.

I have no intimation that the Sindhis have any communication with the Government or Rulers of Cutch, or more than generally with any other neighbouring Chieftain, but the Munshi has been directed to give his particular attention in view to discover any such possible existing connection.

Governor's minute, 11th June.

Ordered that a copy of the above recorded dispatch be forwarded *Orders* to the Supreme Government, as affording in our opinion sufficient proof of the necessity of our prosecuting measures of coercion for the settlement of the affairs of Palanpur in the manner suggested in the letter from the Board, dated the 28th April.

The Governor-in-Council approves of the adoption of preparatory measures for the immediate prosecutions of those operations the vent of their being sanctioned by the Supreme Government.

1813 *Camp at Palanpur, 17th December, 1813 (1814, P. D. 405)*
James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

*Capture of
 Palanpur*

I have the honour to notify to you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, that the force under the command of Colonel Holmes acquired peaceable possession of the fort of Palanpur on the morning of the 15th instant. I shall submit in the sequel a succinct narration of my negotiations with the different parties in the fort.

On my arrival in the vicinity of Ahmadabad, vakils from Samsher Khan and the Sindhi faction made their appearance with renewed professions of submission to my wishes and with a commission from the principals of each of them to ascertain the concessions which were required.

These vakils, in the first interview and in several other meetings even subsequent to my reaching Kadi, were directed to assure their employers that, whatever may have been the original reasons prompting the advance of Company's troops against Palanpur, it was by no means the desire of the coalesced Governments to resort to any measure of hostility, except under previous provocation or an obvious determination of resisting the plans which my orders required to be executed. The vakils were urged to invite Samsher Khan and such of the Sindhi Chiefs, who might be well disposed, to come to this camp, when every attention, consistent with propriety and justice, should be observed on my part to their representations and claims. It was however a preliminary with me [that] the vakils were desired clearly to understand that no consideration would follow any injury to Fateh Khan, son of the late Phiroz Khan, and that he was at least protected in Palanpur from the ill-advised designs of any of the Sindhi jamadars. This latter observation was expressed with much earnestness, as I had obtained accounts which admitted of no doubt of the intention of the Sindhi faction to carry off Fateh Khan on our approach to this quarter, in order that his presence might give a sanction in the country to any lawless measures which it suited their interest to pursue. The vakils after some instances of equivocation departed to Palanpur with declarations that Shamser Khan and the son of the late Gulam Hyder with Pangary, jamadar, would meet me within a few marches of that place.

There was every reason to have little dependance on these assurances, particularly from the contradictory statements of the vakils when examined separately, the one party accusing the other of the designs of carrying off the person of Fateh Khan, and respectively declaring their incapacity to prevent this act of violence. It was not however advisable that at this crisis I should discover to these men the reasons why their professions were unworthy of credence. It was useful that I obtained a knowledge of their divided counsels, and I am satisfied with confronting them in their relations with a view that, if different sentiments actuated their principals, this development would tend to alienate them further.

Dongar Mehta, the manager of the late Phiroz Khan, who made his escape from Palanpur on the murder of that person, met me at

Kadi. The contiguity of Patan, where he had found an asylum, enabled him to have correct information of the state of the parties in Palanpur and the disposition of different Sindhi jamadars. The preservation of Fateh Khan was an object of importance, relatively considered with the primary causes for our intervention and the tranquillity of the country. It became my objects in consequence thus early to endeavour to induce any jamadars to desert the cause of the Sindhi faction and protect Fateh Khan. Dongar Mehta was authorised to select (giving the preference possible to those who might not have been implicated in the atrocious acts committed by the Sindhis) such men as were assailable under promises of future favour or reward. The mehta expressed his hope of being able to effect this purpose and made me more solicitous from the confirmation which he gave of the intentions regarding Fateh Khan by the Sindhis, exculpating Samsher Khan from a participation in them. The mehta was desired to write also to Shamsheer Khan in the strain of advice recommended to the vakil who had left me at Kadi.

The force advanced to Mehsana and subsequently to Sidhpur, 12 kos from Palanpur; but I had heard nothing of the men who promised to bring Samsher Khan and Gulam Hyder's son to this camp. The absence of accounts regarding them induced me to desire Dongar Mehta again to address Samsher Khan. The answer arrived the following day at Sidhpur, where we were constrained to halt to convey the heavy ordnance over the river, and it was not couched in language which could be considered favourable, but this might possibly have been occasioned from apprehension of the Sindhis, or with a view of deceiving them as to his real intentions. Dongar Mehta however apprised me of the agreeable information that he believed his endeavour to have succeeded with two Sindhi jamadars, named Murad Ali and Bassant (of inferior consequence comparatively with the others) in espousing the views of Government, and that a dispute had already occurred among the Sindhis.

Late at night on the 9th, further intelligence reached me that the Sindhis would positively attempt to execute their designs against Fateh Khan. From the sickness of the detachment, it was intended to advance to Palanpur by 5 marches, but this intelligence resolved Colonel Holmes in going as far as possible the following day. The troops reached the ground of encampment only a short time, when two persons appeared from Samsher Khan, reiterating his submission, but expressing fears for himself as well as Fateh Khan. On this information it was at first contemplated that the British and Gaikwad cavalry should advance with light troops to prevent the meditated escape of the Sindhis with the persons before mentioned. On considering however the assurances by Dongar Mehta of having secured two of the jamadars as well as the great extent of the fort, which our limited means would not allow us to encompass, and that, if the design was matured, the advance of such a body as we could command would render the Sindhis only more desperate and determined, with the certainty of involving hostility, which at this time it was desirous to avoid, these considerations resolved me to abandon the plan, and in lieu of it, to appear before Palanpur at an early hour

of the following morning (17th). In the meantime Samsher Khan's men were desired to return with a message that I recommended him to insist on coming to me on the foree appearing before the fort, and that I would support his demand for doing so and send Hasanbhoy Sadik to conduct him to camp.

On the troops taking up the position selected by Colonel Holmes for the eventual operations, I was happy to perceive that, though the line passed within gun-shot, no hostility was offered. The Sindhis had merely some troops drawn out under the walls of the fort, and these did not appear very numerous.

The men from Samsher Khan soon presented themselves. Dongar Mehta also informed me of his having heard from the two jamadars, alluded to in a former part of this report, of their intention of coming to me and of the perfect safety of Fateh Khan under charge of their choukis or guards. The emissaries of Samsher Khan returned with Hasanbhoy Sadik and Sidi Ismail by his desire; and in the evening Samsher Khan with a body of his own horse and the two jamadars pitched their camp in my immediate neighbourhood. An interview took place with Samsher Khan, in which the surrender of Fateh Khan into my hands was specifically urged, a measure, he was told, more feasible from the two jamadars, who had charged of this youth, being present with me. Samsher Khan fully admitted the practicability under present circumstances, alluding to the vicinity of the force which had operated, he said, to his own undisturbed liberation, but he denied having any participation in the views of Bhara and Allu (the two Chiefs of the faction), who had kept him in restraint in common with Fateh Khan, though with less rigour of treatment. As a proof of the truth of his assertion he stated that these jamadars had taken away his mother with their families, which had some time since been conveyed into the jungles in the vicinage of the Marwar hills. This statement I ought to remark in this place, from what I have been able to learn, is quite correct and that Samsher Khan has some merit in sacrificing his feeling for a parent placed in the hands of a ferocious soldiery to the security of Fateh Khan, in whose cause he was aware of our having no inconsiderable interest.

The jamadars were then required on the following morning (12th) to depute agents or attend Hasanbhoy in person to convey Fateh Khan to my camp.

The jamadars, Bhara and Allu, had so far reconciled themselves to pursue the prudent conduct of their former partisans as to make advances for relinquishing the fort into my hands according to my suggestions. During the 13th, these advances were repeated; and although I felt little inclination to indulge men of this character, I conceived it conformable with the wishes of Government to assure them of their personal safety and even to consider with all proper attention what they might have to advocate in defence of their proceedings. I was influenced in adopting this course essentially from the lamentable consequences which would befall a populous town by the punishment of these men and their diminished dependants. I was aware from the nature of the defences of the fort, surrounded by

a deep and formidable ditch at a distance from the walls and by various covering outworks, that a resort to punishment could not be effective without an assault of the fort, which even with a feeble resistance under such favourable circumstances would have sacrificed lives of too much value comparatively with the ends to be obtained. Another consideration, but of minor consequence, was that these Jamadars were not the authors, though one of them was the instrument of the base assassination of the late Phiroz Khan, and that reflecting on the uncivilised habits of the western soldiery, it was no singular instance of usurpation following an act of this atrocious nature. It was also worthy of deliberation in this case that Zarid jamadar sometime before his death projected and ordered the murder of his sovereign, and that he had usurped what his dependants continued to possess.

Such being the sentiments with which I was impressed, Hasanbhoy Sadik was desired to see Bhara and Allu, jamadars, on the 14th, having previously resolved in my own mind that, unless they had decided on submission by the following day, coercion became indispensable. Hasanbhoy's mission promised very fairly on the 14th, and he had actually proceeded at day light on the 15th, and was bringing Bhara and Allu to my camp, when these men, acting consistently with their former character for treachery, galloped off from the town in the direction of the jungles about 5 kos from this place with a few dependants. This conduct was not only with a view of deceiving me, but to avoid their own soldiery in the town to whom they were indebted in large arrears of salary, and perhaps this latter circumstance partially operated to the safety of Fateh Khan.

On having ascertained from Hasanbhoy that the jamadars had fled, the troops immediately advanced towards the fort. The Sindhis within being assured that on surrender their lives would not be endangered, the gates were resigned without difficulty.

The next object was to consider the probability of seizing the refugees; but as they must have reached the jungles from the time which elapsed between their escape and our occupation of the fort, it was needless to attempt any enterprise of this nature; and on deliberating afterwards on the propriety of pursuing these men, the barbarous character of the Koli inhabitants and great natural obstacles, opposed to the passage of troops by impervious woods and narrow defiles among hills and rocks, were so satisfactorily substantiated from sources of undoubted information that no reasonable hope of their seizure could be entertained, while by entering the limits of the uncivilized tribes who had yielded them an asylum, the danger of inciting a barbarous retaliation might have ensued: all plans of pursuit were therefore abandoned.

I beg leave to observe, before I conclude this part of this subject, that it is the opinion of Colonel Holmes that no measures, which our force could have pursued at any time, were susceptible of preventing the flight of these jamadars. It does not appear also that these men can have it in their power to create disturbance of any moment, but their flight with other circumstances of this petty State, especially the

extreme youth of Fatch Khan, will in prudence require that the arrangements for its administration are well founded.

1813 *Camp near Palanpur, 23rd December, 1813 (1814, P. D. 405)*
J. R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Organising government After the fort of Palanpur had been quietly relinquished, the first object of my attention was to ascertain the capacity of any members of the family of Fatch Khan to superintend the affairs of the government during his minority. Having satisfactorily established, from my own observation and some opportunity of conversation with these parties that no single instance of qualification could be discovered, and that all his immediate relations were deficient in education and habits of business from defect of intellect and other causes, it became of importance to look to another quarter. It was quite evident that Fatch Khan himself, from his tender age and inexperience, if left here under the charge of interested Karbais, would probably soon be exposed to all the evils from which he had recently been emancipated.

Under such circumstances the choice of a guardian became one of some intricacy, as the interposition of the Gaikwad authority was a measure desirable to be avoided until the last extremity, in view to those principles of justice and moderation to the tributary Powers, which had so wisely been inculcated and guaranteed under the pledge of the Company's Government. The plan most natural and also congenial to the feelings of those concerned was to consolidate the interests of Fatch Khan and Samsher Khan, whose consanguinity would authorise the act, and under proper restrictions could not fail it is hoped, to be productive of general good. Another powerful motive to incite this association of interests would be discovered in a view of the history of this petty State during many generations, exhibiting an uninterrupted scene of anarchy and confusion, terminating in the establishment of the power of mercenaries in their employ and an aggravation of intestine troubles.

On the first suggestion of our plan to Samsher Khan, he naturally renewed his pretensions of priority to the gadi to the family of the late Phiroz Khan. I did not evince the least disinclination to an investigation of these claims; it was due to any party preferring them, and was consistent with the character of our Government to render attention to every litigated question from a dependant. It was conclusive however in my own mind that, admitting Samsher Khan had substantiated his title on the plea of possession by ancestors, this act of his family having been the consequence of violence and injustice, it would rather tend to communicate strength than be prejudicial to the precedence of Fatch Khan. The occupation also of the gadi by Phiroz Khan for 17 years, according to the customs of the country, was equivalent to the right of his issue succeeding him, had it even been proved that Samsher Khan's predecessors were established in their assumed hereditary privileges.

The investigation on Samsher Khan's pretension engaged some days. His right was deduced from Mujabid Khan having adopted Kamal Khan, the second son of his brother Salim Khan. The inquiry however proved that the succession of Kamal Khan was disputed by

his brothers, Fateh Khan and Mulik Khan (Mujabid Khan having no children), who effected an equal division between the three of the country of Palanpur and its dependencies, and that afterwards Fateh Khan applied to Delhi, obtained a sanad of investiture from the royal court for his patrimonial rights. It was subsequently that Kamal Khan, during the minority of Fateh Khan's son, Pir Khan, obtained the undivided authority and control of the country, which he handed down to his son in disregard of the superior branch of the Palanpur family. It was in vain to search for documents, which in the progress of the revolutions in this government had become destroyed; but both parties adduced the evidence of Bhats, whose profession is chiefly to set forth the praises of men in their poems, which are liable to considerable doubt, if worthy of any credit.

The information already procured was definitive, in my opinion and that of the Gaikwad authorities, of the precedence of Fateh Khan; and in using to Samsher Khan those arguments which have their source from what is stated in the former paragraph, he was told that he could expect little indulgence from the conduct he had lately observed in assuming whether nominally or otherwise the power at Palanpur; and that the Gaikwad having placed Phiroz Khan on the gadi and recognised him as the Chief, with other circumstances involving the blandari of the Company, it followed that his only son would be equally supported.

This strain produced a salutary effect, after Samsher Khan was informed that, if his accession to our wishes was in consequence of his deliberate option, he was at liberty, in consideration of his prompt submission on the arrival of the troops and his protection of Fateh Khan from the designs of the Sindhi faction, to resume his possession of Disa. His pride and real interests probably suggested what his selfishness would deny, and he consented to pursue any course which was founded on reason and an observance of his own reputation.

The principle in view, as already explained, was to combine the interests of the parties, whose divisions had been so derogatory of right and good order, and to have a present agency which entertained a direct sympathy in the prosperity of the family. To accomplish this object much was to be considered on the score of feelings incidental to human nature and to introduce that description which had an inherent property of attachment. This end was only practicable by Samsher Khan adopting Fateh Khan as his son (having no male issue of his own); and I had the pleasure to witness the acquiescence of Fateh Khan and Samsher Khan to this desirable object. To give solidity to this powerful tie, the marriage of Samsher Khan's daughter to Fateh Khan has also been determined.

The advantage of this arrangement is not however limited to what has been stated; for, as Samsher Khan has by this act of adoption constituted Fateh Khan the heir to his own possessions and forts of Disa and Dhanera, he has removed those causes which might operate so materially; and by consolidating the Palanpur State it is rendered more respectable in itself and more efficient as a tributary.

Taking into consideration the conflicting state of parties, it was expedient, in spite of the advantages acquired as above set forth, to have an imposing interest for the present in this Government. It was with this object that it has also been settled that 200 sibandi should be entertained by the Gaikwad and placed under the superintendence of a respectable person, selected by that Government. These men are to have charge of two of the gates of the fort, but to be subject to the authority of Fateh Khan in like manner with the other troops of this Government. This stipulation, I have only to remark, ensures the possession of the fort at any time, if it should ever appear necessary to the Superior State and will be a powerful restraint on persons who may be disaffected or inclined to renew former contentions.

The ceremony of investing Fateh Khan with the sovereignty of Palanpur and his adoption by Samsher Khan took place yesterday in presence of myself, Colonel Holmes and several gentlemen, and the principal people of the place. In remarking that this arrangement appears to have given very general satisfaction, it only remains for me to express a respectful hope that it will meet the wishes and approbation of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

No. 1. Agreement entered into and given to the Government in the underwritten articles by Shamsher Khan, on its being resolved that Fateh Khan shall be united to him and of one counsel with him, from his willingly adopting Fateh Khan as his son.

See Aitchison (ed. 1892) Vol. VI, pp. 300-302.

No. 2. Translation of an agreement entered into and given to the Government in the undermentioned articles, willingly executed by Fateh Khan Diwan on its being resolved that he shall be united to and of one counsel with his father Samsher Khan.

See Aitchison (ed. 1892), Vol. VI, pp. 302-304.

No. 3. Samsher Khan's signature.

See Aitchison (ed. 1892), Vol. VI, p. 305.

No. 4. Bombay Governor's Minute.

Approval Ordered that a copy of the preceding dispatch be forwarded to the Supreme Government, acquainting His Lordship-in-Council that, under all the circumstances stated by Captain Carnac this Government is impressed with a belief that the arrangements he has made at Palanpur have been extremely judicious; that the Governor-in-Council is inclined to hope they will tend to reconcile all the contending interests and be likely to constitute a Government capable of enforcing due order and regularity in the administration of its affairs, and of performing its engagements with our ally, the Gaikwad.

N.B.—For other documents on the administration established at Palanpur see 1814, Secret Department Diary, No. 405 and No. 406.

1814 *Bombay, 6th February, 1814 (1814, P. D. 405)*

Francis Warden to J. R. Carnac.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch *Approval* reporting that the force, under the command of Colonel Holmes, had

acquired peaceable possession of the fort of Palanpur, and to acquaint you that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has observed with great satisfaction the able and judicious manner in which all your proceedings, from the commencement of this service to its termination, have been regulated, and he has accordingly instructed me to convey you his entire approbation of your conduct on this occasion.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council leaves it to your discretion to form such arrangements as you may conceive to be best calculated for the exercise of the duties of the government of Palanpur during the nonage of Fateh Khan, and in the selection of the persons who have shown attachment to Fateh Khan, and who from their character and consequence may be likely to uphold his authority and render his government respectable.

Fort William, 18th February, 1814 (1814 P. D. 408)

J. Adam, Secretary to the Supreme Government, to Francis Warden.

The arrangements, which have been made by Captain Carnac as *Approval* detailed in his correspondence, appear to be extremely judicious and to be well calculated to promote the good government and general tranquillity of Palanpur, and His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council has great satisfaction in expressing his entire approbation of Captain Carnac's proceedings.

With respect to the mutual engagements which have been executed by Fateh Khan and Samsher Khan, I am directed to observe that no provision appeared to be made for the administration of Palanpur, when the minority of Fateh Khan shall have expired. The right to the gadi having been declared to belong to Fateh Khan, and Samsher Khan having been associated with him in the Government solely on account of his being too young to assume the charge of the administration, it may be inferred that, as the power now vested in Samsher Khan is exercised merely in the capacity of guardian, that power will cease with the expiration of the period of Fateh Khan's minority. At the same time, as no stipulation of the engagements concluded between the parties provides for the surrender of Samsher Khan's authority at any given time, it may be proper that it should be distinctly explained and understood, either that the present arrangement is to remain in force during the lifetime of the guardian, or that it is to cease on Fateh Khan's attaining his majority, whichever of these plans may have been in the contemplation of Captain Carnac at the time of his making the settlement of the affairs of Palanpur with the concurrence of both parties.

X. RADHANPUR.

Baroda, 20th April, 1811 (1811 P. D. 372)

1811

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

The Administration have received accounts from the Nawab of *Radhanpur* Radhanpur [*Ghaj-ud-din Khan*] on the north-western boundary of *affairs* Gujarat, acquainting them of the defection of his eldest son, [*Sher Khan*], who had possessed himself of that place, and established his own authority independent of that of his father. The Nawab had in consequence solicited the assistance of the Gaikwad Government,

(considering himself under its protection) for the purpose of expelling his rebellious son from the station he has usurped.

In reply the Administration has acquainted the Nawab that, though well disposed to afford him every aid on the present occasion, it must be obvious that this Government could not undertake the removal of his son from Radhanpur under the chances of incurring a heavy expense, unless some security for reimbursement was previously made.

In the meantime a letter has arrived from the son to the address of Gangadhar Sashtri, a translate of which is now forwarded. It is proper to notice that the chief place of the residence of the Nawab is at Sami situated 17 miles south-east of Radhanpur, and that his son has merely obtained possession of the latter place.

The cause assigned for the conduct of the young man is his apprehension of a younger brother [*Kamal-ud-din Khan*] seizing with the acquiescence of the father the Radhanpur territories to the prejudice of his own legitimate right; and the extreme old age of the Nawab, as well as his increasing attachment to his younger son, has also induced the one now at Radhanpur to snatch a favourable opportunity of getting at least a moiety of his possessions.

I shall have the honour to advise you for the information of the Hon'ble Board of whatever circumstances may transpire in this domestic dispute and of the course which the Gaikwad Government may feel disposed to follow for the public advantage and in justice to the parties concerned.

Translation of a letter from Sher Khan Babi, son of the Nawab of Radhanpur, to Gangadhar Sashtri, dated 10th of April, 1811.

Rebel's message I have remained from of old in the pura of the kasbah of Radhanpur. In the meantime I conducted the affairs of this place, and I considered it reasonable and correct in my own mind to bestow punishment on the obstinate Mewasis who, having resolved on sedition, erected their heads in defiance, and practised themselves in disrespect. I therefore collected a body of horsemen and infantry, and employed myself in strengthening the defences of the city.

I myself on Wednesday, the 1st of the month of Rabial-awal last, removed from the pura at a fortunate moment into the inner fortress of the fortified kasbah of Radhanpur. I delivered into the hands of my own servants the conduct of the affairs of the districts and country

By the favour and assistance of God a complete arrangement was decked out to the view. You must always look upon me as one of your well-wishers. Keep open the doors of correspondence, and make me glad with commissions to execute for you. Do not consider that in any respect we are separate, for I esteem no one more than yourself. I place on you the greatest confidence in everything.

Bombay orders.

interference Ordered in acknowledgement of the above recorded letter it be signified to the Resident at Baroda that, unless it be clearly made out that the Chieftain of Radhanpur is a tributary or dependant on the Gaikwad State, the Governor-in-Council is not aware upon what

desirable or justifiable ground the Administration of Anandrao should interfere in their family feuds; more especially if such interference be susceptible of exciting any interposition towards the same object on the part either of Holkars's or Sindia's Governments, with both of which it is so desirable for the Hon'ble Company and its allies to maintain at all times a distant separation of interests in respect to such border broils; neither is it on the other hand to be wished that any opening should be afforded to either of those Princes to take any concern in the affairs of Radhanpur or in those of any other petty States within the limits of Gujarat, that may not be avowedly subject to their authority.

Under these views of policy Captain Carnac will endeavour to keep the Gaikwad State clear from all embarrassment in the progress of the announced dissension between the father and heir apparent of the Radhanpur territory.

Cambay, 19th May, 1813 (1813, P. D. 398)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

I have the honour to submit for the information of the Right *Baroda and* Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the accompanying copy of a letter *Radhanpur* from my Assistant, Captain Ballantine, reporting the death of the Nawab of Radhanpur.

This event would be less interesting under any circumstances but those which have lately taken place in that quarter by the indication on the part of the Jamadar Fateli Muhammad to effect a footing on the eastern side of the Rann.

Although the Radhanpur State has maintained a friendly intercourse with the Gaikwad Government as the Supreme Power in the country, it is in no manner subject. I am however of opinion that this kind of dependence would be practicably consistent with perfect justice to the rights of the Radhanpur family; and considering that this Principality is situated on the very skirts of the Gaikwad possessions, it will rest with the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to decide on the policy of forming a connection, which would embrace the power of interference or control on occasions of moment without imposing in ordinary cases any weighty responsibility.

Letter from F. D. Ballantine to James R. Carnac.

Last night intelligence was received from most respectable *Succession* authority of the death of Ghaj-ud-din Khan, Nawab of Radhanpur, on *question* the 11th of the present month [May]. Some apprehensions, it is reported, are entertained that disturbances may arise from the known difference existing between the sons of the deceased Nawab, Sher Khan and Kamal-ud-din Khan. However, as yet nothing of that kind has appeared. The former, being the eldest son, is of course considered the lawful heir; but as 2 or 3 years since he had incurred the displeasure of his father, they lived separate. The women of the Nawab's family are said to have caused dissension between the father and son.

Baroda, 31st August, 1813 (1813, P.D. 400)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

2. The enclosure will furnish a succinct account of the State of *Succession* Radhanpur from its foundation to a recent period. Since this time *trouble*

some changes have taken place in its internal affairs, subsequent to the death of the Nawab, from his two sons disputing the succession, and each having respectively possessed Radhanpur and Sami, situated apart about 15 miles. The one named Sher Khan (aged about 19 years), who holds at present the former fort, has had communications with the Gaikwad Government, with a view of acquiring its assistance for the consideration of his power over his father's dominions; and he has also written to me in terms of friendship, with the obvious intent to secure the Company's countenance to his proceedings. Sher Khan is the issue by *nikah*, considered equivalent to marriage, from a Rajput woman, whose tribe forms alliances with Mussalman Chiefs; and the younger son (8 years old) of the Nawab, now in Sami, is the offspring of a Mussalman lady of some distinction.

3. Sher Khan invited Fatch Muhammad from Bhuj to confirm his authority to Radhanpur. This expedition failed of success, and the divisions on the death of the old Nawab still continue to exist between his sons.

Carnac's plan 4. The object, which I proposed to obtain by rendering Radhanpur dependent on the Gaikwad, consisted in the consequent inability of its Chiefs to form an alliance of their own authority with foreign States, which, from the situation of its territories and its important passes from Sind and Marwar into the most fertile districts of the Gaikwad possession, might eventually prove prejudicial to our general interests in Gujarat.

5. It should be observed that Radhanpur is the only State within the natural formidable barriers of this province, which exercises an independent power of this Government, and is also dependent on no other.

6. The kind of influence, which, it occurred to me, it might be politic to establish, under the circumstance of Fatch Muhammad showing a disposition to connect Bhuj in an alliance with Radhanpur, would embrace a general supremacy over its Chief by rendering him a tributary (or by a treaty or alliance), and the consequent right of regulating his conduct in all foreign relations. It would certainly be inexpedient that he should be connected with either of the adjoining Powers of Sind, Cutch or Marwar, considering the commanding position of Radhanpur in Gujarat.

AN ACCOUNT OF RADHANPUR

Radhanpur A fortified town, which formerly composed the jagir of the family of Babis. Jawan Marda Khan Babi, by his valour and perhaps by the popularity which his family enjoyed throughout Gujarat, possessed himself of the subahdari of the province; and although he never received a regular firman from Delhi, yet he continued to exercise his authority and made the annual collections during a considerable period.

In the year 1774 Raghunathrao Gaikwad invaded Gujarat with a large army, and in due time laid siege to Ahmadabad, which was surrendered by the Babi on very advantageous terms obtained by his long, gallant defence against the allied Maratha forces.

In addition to his original jagir of Sami and Radhanpur, this treaty secured to him the districts of Patan Vadnagar, Mujpur, Visnagar, Tahrad, Kheralu and Vijapur, all of which are situated in the vicinity of Radhanpur.

Damaji Gaikwad, finding the power of Babi dangerous, after Raghunathrao had withdrawn, quarrelled with the Nawab Jawan Harda Khan, whose sons, Nawabs Nazam-ud-din Khan and Ghaj-ud-din Khan, after an ineffectual resistance, were deprived of Patan and the other mahals with the exception of their original jagir with Mujpur and Tharad annexed.

The late Nawab was named Ghaj-ud-din Khan. He supports the dignity of the family, and his capital is the resort of Muhammadans of the first respectability; the ancient and noble families, who formerly resided in Ahmadabad, having in general followed the fortunes of their respective Chieftains after the surrender of that city to the Maratha arms.

No tribute is exacted by any of the Maratha Governments from the Nawab; but he was on terms of strict friendship with the Gaikwad Government; and as two passes, one from Sind by the Rann, and the other from Marwar, are under his authority, he undertakes to retain forces for the defence of those passes on any symptoms of invasion.

Bombay, 17th September, 1813 (1813, P. D. 400)
Governor's Minutes, dated 17th September.

1813

The Governor-in-Council is decidedly of opinion that it would be desirable in every point of view to connect this petty State with the Gaikwad Government, instead of suffering it to remain exposed to intestine trouble, and to form an alliance with either of the Powers on the west side of the Rann, and a measure which might always furnish a pretence to the allied Power for sending troops to its assistance. *Approval*

Baroda, 3rd October, 1813 (1813 P. D. 401)
James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

1813

I have the honour to submit copy and translate of a letter from Sher Khan of Radhanpur and to notice that his wakil, Sidi Ismail, is now on his road to Baroda for the purpose of submitting the proposals of his Master to the Governments of the Company and Gaikwad. *Letter*

Letter from Sher Khan Babi, [elder son], to Captain James R. Carnac, received the 28th September, 1813.

The news of this quarter through the favour of Providence is good. I am always offering up my prayers to the threshold of the Almighty for your health and welfare. Husain Muhammad Seth is intimately acquainted with the former state of my affairs, and in this time also whatever is going on here, he will make known to you; and Sidi Ismail will arrive in the presence of the dispenser of benefits, and he also will present you my desires. My hope is this, that you will favour me, friendly and poor, with your assistance and protection. I am a dependant on your Government and will always remain in a state of obligation to you. The just affairs Husain Muhammad will undoubtedly represent to you. Favour me always with your letters and *Delegate*

command my services as may seem best to you, and let no difference be perceptible between us.

1813 *Baroda, 4th November, 1813 (1813, P. D. 402)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Kamal dead I have the honour to communicate that advices have lately been received of the death of the younger son of the late Nawab of Radhanpur [Kamal-ud-din Khan] lately in possession of Sami, and the opponent of his elder brother, who had applied for the intervention of the British Government as specified in my dispatches dated 19th May and 31st August. This event will probably render any connection, which the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may be pleased to authorise with Radhanpur, less difficult being formed.

1813 *Bombay, 18th November, 1813 (1813, P. D. 402)*

Francis Warden to James Rivett Carnac.

Orders As you are now on your way with the expedition against Palanpur, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council thinks it desirable that during your continuance in that part of Gujarat, which is contiguous to Radhanpur, you should endeavour to ascertain by what means the object of introducing the Gaikwad authority over that place can be best effected.

1813 *Sami, 5th December, 1813 (1813, P. D. 403)*

Henry Robertson, commanding the Resident's guard, to the Resident.

Visit to Sami I have the pleasure to submit for your information an account of my proceedings at Sami.

On my arrival at Beehraj I dispatched your letter to Mahabat Khan with a note from myself, intimating my approach. I received an answer the following evening at Mujpur, stating that Mahabat Khan would himself wait on me in the course of few hours. Almost at the same time two horsemen arrived to announce his approach, accompanied by Sidi Shahur, and to learn whether I would be pleased to meet them then or in the morning. I deferred our interview till next day, when I said I would be happy to ride with them to Sami; for it would have been to no purpose to have entered on business at Mujpur, and I expected that I might discover some traits of character in my companions, which would be of service to me when we began our discussions.

On learning that I meant to proceed to Sami the next morning, Mahabat Khan must have had a long consultation with his associate in faction; for it seemed to them advisable to send to me at midnight to request that I would not advance, as they were confident all our business could be settled at Mujpur. The only answer I gave them was that the Company's servants never disobeyed their orders, and that mine directed me to proceed to Sami. A second message came, which I answered as I did the first.

No jealousy was evinced towards me. I was conducted through Sami on the morning of the 3rd instant to a spot for encampment on the eastern face of the fort, which I preferred to living in a house in town. The propriety of my mission was fully proved by its effect. My arrival was greeted by the greatest portion of the inhabitants of

the town as the period of their oppression being terminated. Mahabat Khan's adherents were rendered wavering, and Hasanbhai Sadik, as instructed by Sher Khan, gained over in the sequel the most efficient part of his sibandi to the interests of the Nawab.

I was pleased to learn that Tejubai, the ostensible head of the faction, was said to have expressed her joy at the prospect of being delivered from the power of her counsellors. It is not surprising that this lady should wish to be released from her present situation, since Mahabat Khan's views were to keep her under restraint, to entertain troops and to usurp the possession of Sami.

My first conversation was with Mahabat Khan alone. On disclosing to him the objects of my mission, instead of commenting on the possibility or otherwise of their being accomplished, he began to defend his acts and, like all guilty men, was confused and vehement in his narration. I conceived it might tend to allay the fears of Mahabat Khan to assure him that I was not come to sift the actions of any one in the injustice which had been done to Sher Khan, but simply as a mediator to point out to Tejubai and her advisers the unreasonableness and inutility of their conduct in keeping possession of Sami to the prejudice of the rightful possessor.

I was not disappointed in the effect of these observations, but I observed a distrust in Mahabat Khan, which, I was well convinced, would be prejudicial to a fair representation of my advice to his mistress. I therefore (after ascertaining its propriety) expressed a wish to have an audience of Tejubai, and I received a promise that I should be invited in the course of the day; but about six o'clock a message was delivered that it was not the custom of Muhammadans to transact or consult on affairs on Friday evening. I returned my compliments and said I hoped to have a summons early in the morning.

No message coming from the town the next day, I sent my compliments to Mahabat Khan about ten A.M., requesting him to appoint a time for my introduction to Tejubai Bibi. He repaired to my tent, accompanied by Sidi Shahur, prepared to oppose my request of going to his mistress with the incorrect statement of her having resolved to adopt for a year a life of retirement in consequence of excessive grief for the death of her son Kamal-ud-din Khan. He also asserted that she saw no person except Sidi Shahur and her female attendants; that even he was not allowed to enter the inner apartments; and that consequently it would be impossible for me or even Hasanbhai Sadik to gain access. I replied that it was strange, this reason was not assigned on my first request for an audience, instead of those expectations which had been given me. But I have every reason to suppose from another circumstance that what Mahabat Khan represented to me was not the case; for, when by accident I afterwards went to Tejubai's house, I found on inquiry that Mahabat Khan was sitting in the inner apartments.

I represented to Mahabat Khan the inutility as well as the improbability of Tejubai mourning beyond the term determined by her religion, and that it was not becoming in him to bring me such a message, since its object was so easy to be discovered.

Finding it was vain to expect an introduction to Tejubai, I repeated the suggestions I had before made for the delivery of the fort into the hands of Sher Khan's troops. Mahabat Khan replied that, as Tejubai had resolved to mourn for a year, she would not permit Sher Khan's authority to be established in Sami till the expiration of the remaining ten months, unless I would grant her adherents a written settlement, which would ensure to them an undisturbed residence in any part of Gujarat they chose. I replied that it appeared extraordinary that Tejubai should wish to have the cares of government during the period of her grief and retirement; and that, as to their proposal of settling in Gujarat, I was not authorised to grant any such request; and that they ought to consider me merely as a mediator between them and their lawful Master, Sher Khan. I again strongly recommended that the fort should be delivered up as the only means by which Tejubai or her adherents might expect any favour from the Nawab, and pointed out in the most forcible terms the futility of opposition to, and the advantage of immediate compliance with, my wishes; and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that they at last agreed to my taking possession of two gates of the fort with the troops of the Company and Gaikwad, making a particular exception of those of the Nawab.

I had some difficulty in persuading Mahabat Khan and Sidi Shahur to accompany me to camp; but my invitation was finally the more readily accepted from the hope which, they said, they entertained of being permitted by your mediation to withdraw from the Radhanpur territories. I assured them that you would listen to no request however reasonable till Sher Khan's authority was proclaimed at Sami; and that, if they thought otherwise, they would undoubtedly be disappointed.

1813 *Bombay, 7th December, 1813 (1813, P. D. 403)*
Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

Directions I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, to refer you to the instructions contained in my communication of the same date, 24th November, respecting the conduct to be observed in respect to the petty State of Radhanpur. In the event of any resistance being made to the execution of the measures, to which that communication relates, it will be for your consideration how far it may be practicable under all the existing circumstances to carry them into effect by coercion; and should no doubts remain on your mind of the probability of enforcing them without any considerable degree of risk, you are at liberty to employ the force now with you for that purpose. You will have seen by all the proceedings of this Government the disposition it has manifested to support the legitimate sovereignty of the petty States, and in your proceedings on the present occasion you will always keep that principle of justice and good policy in view.

1813 *Camp at Palanpur, 12th December, 1813, (1813, P. D. 403)*
James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Radhanpur affairs The Nawab Sher Khan Babi, on hearing of my approach to Kadi, proceeded in person to that place for the purpose of communicating his views and to engage measures for the recovery of his late father's authority.

It was obvious that, until the Nawab received his possessions the consideration of establishing the connection with the Baroda State must be suspended. Under any other circumstances, the ends we proposed to obtain would be defective, while the Nawab in applying for such connection would be disappointed in his just expectations.

The accounts I had acquired, of the character of the persons in charge of Sami, led me to suppose it probable that, if opposition was meditated to the introduction of Sher Khan's power, a communication from myself to the usurpers, Mahabat Khan, and Sidi Shahur, could not be productive of unfavourable consequences. With this impression I resolved to depute Lieutenant Robertson to Sami.

It was gratifying to find that Lieutenant Robertson's reception indicated the best results from the mission. I had the pleasure subsequently to receive intelligence from this Gentleman that Mahabat Khan and Sidi Shahur had allowed a party of 50 Gaikwad horse (who attended Lieutenant Robertson) to enter the fort of Sami, and that those persons were on their way to this camp.

This Gentleman and Mahabat Khan with his associates reached this camp on the 7th instant. Having on the day been honoured with your letter dated the 24th November, I felt myself more at liberty to accomplish the objects proposed to be obtained at Radhanpur, and consequently made known my wish to Mahabat Khan and Sidi Shah for an immediate interview. The conversation of these persons was entirely self-interested, but it afforded me a good opportunity of telling them that, although I was prepared under the authority of the of the Nawab of Radhanpur to render to their claims or pretensions every consideration which justice might warrant, it was out of the question that I could discuss any subject with them in the capacity of unlawful possessors of any part of the Radhanpur territories; that in making assurances of their receiving attention to their own case it became me in the first instance to discharge my duty to the Nawab, an obligation paramount to any other, and which it was not in my power to perform as long as Sami was withheld.

After discussions of considerable length in this train, Mahabat Khan consented to furnish me with a letter to Tejubai, the lady of Sami, desiring the fort to be surrendered to the authority of the Nawab of Radhanpur. In the course of the same night troops were dispatched, accompanied by Gaikwad horse, with four of my peons. Sami was delivered up during the night of the 8th, and Sher Khan Babi was proclaimed as the Nawab under the usual formalities, on the following morning. The accompanying copy and translate of a letter from Tejubai apprised me of the circumstances.

The Nawab of Radhanpur expressed his feelings on this occasion in strong terms of gratitude, and this first proof of our goodwill to him and his family will in all human probability secure his future attachment. The peaceable manner in which Sami has reverted to his authority will be viewed by the country with approbation; it has preserved the town and country from those evils which unavoidably attend the introduction of force, and perhaps prevented the occurrence

of intestine troubles. In all points of view the arrangement, which has happily taken place, is highly conducive to the interests of the Nawab, and I should think that it will contribute as much to the credit as to the influence of the Company's Government.

It does not appear that any difficulty can now be experienced in effecting the ultimate views of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council; [*the introduction of the Gaikwad's authority over the Radhanpur State.*]

Letter from Tejubai Bibi to Captain Carnac, received 12th December.

Letter According to your orders the inner and outer forts of the kasbah of Sami with all the other places have been delivered up to the troops of my son Sher Khan. I am entirely obedient to your will and quite convinced that you will act with justice. I am satisfied that advantage must ensue. At present my prospects and character are in your hands. I possess a mediator in heaven, you are my only one on earth.

1813 *Camp at Palanpur, 16th December, 1813, (1813, P. D. 403)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Treaty I have now the honour to submit a copy of the articles of agreement in the Marathi, Persian and English languages, which have been concluded between the Gaikwad State and the Nawab of Radhanpur.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is probably aware that, previous to the conquest of Gujarat by the Marathas, a great part of it was subject to the sovereignty of the Babi family now established in Sami and Radhanpur. The possessions of Patan and its contiguous districts were a portion of the Babi's territories, from which their expulsion was only effected by Damaji Gaikwad after great struggles and on condition from the conqueror that the jagir, held at the present time by the family, should neither be liable to any demands from the Maratha Power, nor the armies of his nation be carried within its limits under any pretence.

The stipulations were faithfully fulfilled by Damaji Gaikwad; and when his successor, Fatesing, attempted to infringe them, he suffered severely for his temerity. Since this period the Radhanpur family have held a rank superior to the neighbouring States in the estimation both of the Government of the Peshwa and the Gaikwad in Gujarat, and distinctions were shown becoming their situation.

Principles These are considerations however virtually superseded under the terms in which the Radhanpur Nawab has solicited our friendship and assistance. It is nevertheless liberal to have a retrospect to his former situation, and in obtaining our objects to give every latitude for the preservation of privileges, which are cherished with the utmost tenacity. By following such a plan it occurred to me that we should more firmly engage the attachment of the Nawab, and that the terms of the connection would be honourable and advantageous to all parties.

Gaikwad's gain In submitting these articles of agreement I have the honour to state that, as far as the Gaikwad is concerned, his principal servant here has the authority under my suggestions to form any engagements which may be deemed expedient. It will be perceived that these

articles distinctly acknowledge supremacy of the Gaikwad, which no relation under the direct name of a tributary could possibly render more efficient or complete.

The operation of the Gaikwad influence and authority is extended by the execution of the instrument enclosed to the borders of the great desert, in this quarter, dividing Sind from the province of Gujarat.

The province of Jetwar the larger and the districts, in which the populous towns of Marwara, Soigaum and Tharad are situated, being tributary to Radhanpur, now fall under the supremacy of the Gaikwad Government. The lawless race, who inhabit this part of the country and generally on the eastern borders of the desert can afford no room for anxiety to the Gaikwad, as the engagements with the Nawab of Radhanpur expressly precludes interference in the internal affairs of that Chiefstain's Government; limiting the title of the Gaikwad solely to the exercise of authority in concerns affecting the foreign policy of the Radhanpur State.

Articles of Agreement concluded between the Gaikwad Government and Shri Khan Babi Bahadur Nawab of Sami and Radhanpur by Sakharam Mahadev, vested with powers for that purpose from His Highness Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur and under the advice of Captain Carnac, Resident at Baroda.

Article 1st: Perpetual friendship shall be maintained between the Gaikwad Government and Sher Khan Babi Bahadur, Nawab of Sami and Radhanpur, his heirs and successors. *Treaty.*

Article 2nd: His Excellency the Nawab, his heirs and successors engage to acknowledge the control of the Gaikwad State under the mediation of the Hon'ble Company's Government in all external relations; and that he will have no communications of any description whatever with foreign Powers, except with the knowledge and sanction of the Gaikwad Government.

Article 3rd: The Gaikwad Government shall never interfere in the internal concerns of the Radhanpur State; but in consideration of His Excellency the Nawab having recognised the supremacy of the Gaikwad State, he consents to make an annual acknowledgment by presenting a horse and clothes through the Company's authority at the Gaikwad capital.

Article 4th: When an enemy invades the territories of Radhanpur, the Gaikwad Government engages by the advice of the Hon'ble Company's Government to assist the Nawab with its forces in defending his dominions. It is however to be clearly understood that the Gaikwad Government is not bound to assist the Nawab in the regulation of his internal government, but only against external attacks. On such occasions the Nawab, his heirs and successors engage to reimburse the Gaikwad for the expenses, which may be incurred by the equipment of its forces, which on no other account will enter the limits of the Radhanpur State. Dated camp near Palanpur, the 16th December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirteen,

This measure has met with the approbation of all parties, who have an interest in it; and considering the utter incapability of the Chief, Ramsing, to conduct the duties of his station, the Hon'ble the Governor may be disposed to conclude that the arrangement of investing the son of Ramsing with the reins of government was an advisable and justifiable proceeding.

I have the pleasure to enclose a copy and translate of the sanad to that effect, and to state that the Gaikwad Government have earnestly solicited the annexation of the Company's bhandari for the performance of the stipulated engagements and to satisfy the Rajpipla Government.

The compliance of Government to this request cannot involve any extensive responsibility, and will be susceptible of several advantages, among others the introduction of a certain degree of influence that must in time obviate the secure resort of the discontented Grassias, who invest their possessions in the neighbourhood of Surat.

I request therefore to be honoured at an early period with the instructions of the Hon'ble Board with reference to the grant of their guarantee to the sanad adverted to, as well as the permanent establishment of a naik and 10 peons bearing my belts, whom I have been induced to grant at the earnest solicitation of the Administration, the Government of Rajpipla being at the expense of maintaining them.

Translation of a parwanah from Anandrao Gaikwad, Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur, to Rana Kumar Partapsing of the capital of Rajgir.

Parwanah

Your father, Ramsing of Rajgir, does not conduct himself properly, and in consequence many quarrels exist, and your inheritance is in danger of being lost to you. In consideration of this, the sarkar has thought proper to make arrangements that you be invested with exclusive authority to conduct the affairs of the State. The same being determined on, the parwanah is given to you. Your father Ramsing is a man of bad conduct, and listening to bad counsels is planning means whereby to involve the welfare of the State; wherefore you are invested with the executive management of affairs. You are however to transact all business and execute all deeds in the name of Ramsing. You are also to transact business by means of Kisondas Bakhshi, without whose knowledge you are to execute no public measure. You are likewise to institute such means as will preserve the ryots from suffering tyranny and trouble, and to obey the sarkar, continuing to pay the sarkar its dues and claims according to existing agreement.

You will also settle the debt owing to Mairal Narayan by your Government.

Moi-ud-din, jamadar, being well disposed to your State, extend to him the same indulgence and protection in his services to your Government.

You will arrange respecting a provision for your father, and take such measure as will prevent him from exciting disturbances.

Do you continue to conduct yourself as herein provided for. In any default in the administration of affairs, you cannot prosper. Consider this, and act according to the letter of the sarkar; and in behalf of which and consistent with justice, it has nominated Mr. Carnac on the part of the Hon'ble Company as guarantee.

Bombay resolution, 17th May.

In the reliance placed by the Governor-in-Council as to Ramsing's *Qualified approval* being really insane and quite unfit to conduct the government, the Board are not aware of any material objection to the extension of the Hon'ble Company's bhandari guarantee to the arrangement of Rajpipla in the name of his disqualified parent; and they acquiesce accordingly in the countenance, which the Acting Resident has already bestowed on the system thus in progress, the more especially also in consideration to the additional local influence it must give us towards the preservation of the peace of the athavisi from the more turbulent classes of our Grassias in that quarter being henceforward shut out from obtaining any asylum therein, and being on the contrary seized and delivered up, whenever they shall escape thither, which must be one positive stipulation on the Rajpipla Government before any actual bhandari be passed. Another might be their reserving their finest teak and other timber adopted to ship-building for the use of our dockyard, for the selection of which a proper agent might be deputed from the Presidency or from Baroda to examine their products and to ascertain how far from the vicinity of the Narbada they could admit of being floated down in the rainy season to the mouth of that river, and at what cost up to their arrival there per candi.

It is also desirable to have further information as to the nature and rise and progress of the debt said in the Gaikwad's sanad to be due to Mairal Narayan, to the end that Government may be satisfied of there being neither hardship nor injustice in any part of the transaction.

And Akaran, who is the person called Kison das Bakhshi, with whose concurrences Partapsing (whose own agent also had been mentioned) is required to conduct all the affairs of his Government.

On these several points a further report is to be called for from the Acting Resident; after which an ultimate resolution will be come to and communicated to him on the question as to the bhandari solicited.

Baroda, 29th May, 1810 (1810, P. D. 358)

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Having in my letter of the 7th instant submitted to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the arrangements concluded by the Gaikwad *Ramsing dead* Government with their tributary State of Rajpipla, it may be proper to report the death of Ramsing, the Raja of that country, on the 10th March. The debauched habits of this person accelerated his death, at which time and many months previously he had been reduced to a state of perfect imbecility of mind.

I take this occasion of acknowledging the receipt of your dispatch of the 17th instant relating to the affairs of Rajpipla, to which I shall have the honour to reply at a future opportunity.

1811 *Baroda, 3rd August, 1811 (1811 P. D. 377)*

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

Tributary State I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of (a) letter, calling upon me to report on the real state of dependency of Rajpipla on the Gaikwad Government.

I have accordingly to state that the petty Government of Rajpipla constituted one of the original tributary possessions, obtained by the Gaikwad family on the establishment of its power in Gujarat.

Though the tenor, by which its connection with this Government is held, is similar to those Chieftains in the Peninsula from whom a tribute is derived, the vicinal situation of Rajpipla and the revolutions and troubles, that at various times have taken place in that little State, have progressively led to a more intimate connexion and lately to a complete supervision of its internal administration.

Both Colonel Walker and myself have occasionally recited for the information of Government certain events in the Rajpipla Government, which drew forth the interference of the Administration here; and on my communication dated the 7th May, 1810, I had the honour to announce that the present ruler was considered under the express guarantee and protection of the Gaikwad Government, and that the interest it had taken in the affairs of Rajpipla had induced a solicitation for our bhandari in certain pecuniary transactions with a view of relieving the Rajpipla Government from its prevailing embarrassments. This sanction was extended by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council in your letter of the 17th May, 1810, under certain restrictions; but the bhandari has not yet been executed, from my having been unable to acquire that explicit information of the resources and expenditure of the Rajpipla State, which Government demanded and in consequence of the parties being less urgent for the bhandari in question.

1813 *Bombay, 5th November, 1813 (1813, P. D. 402)*

Francis Warden to James R. Carnac.

Rajpipla succession I am instructed by the right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to transmit for your information copies of two further petitions, from Narsidat, the vakil of Naharsing of Rajpipla, dated the 31st August and 21st September [1813] and to inform you that the party has been given to understand that this Government does not feel itself justified in interfering in any case between His Highness the Gaikwad and his subjects.

The Governor-in-Council is however desirous of receiving from you a report of all the proceedings which have occurred, in which the British Government has been concerned, respecting the transactions to which Naharsing has referred, and by which the heir to the gadi of Rajpipla has been prevented from the exercise of his lawful authority, accompanied by your opinion whether under all the existing circumstances it may be advisable that this Government should further interfere.

Bombay, 25th February, 1814 (1814 P. D. 408)

1813

James R. Carnac to Francis Warden.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has received the *Anklesvar trouble* advices of the excesses committed in the Anklesvar and Rajpipla districts, and conducted under the name of Naharsing, but virtually by the Koli Chief Jiva Vasara.

I have now to acquaint the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the most effectual temporary measures, which could be pursued, have been adopted by the Gaikwad Government. Five hundred horse and from seven to eight hundred foot have proceeded towards Rajpipla; whose operations will, it is hoped, be attended with effect, until the allied Governments shall resolve on the means of affording these districts permanent security.

Bombay, 16th March, 1814 (1814, P. D., 408)

1814

Bombay Government's Resolutions.

On a further consideration of the several letters and documents *Projected measures* which have relation to this subject, the attention of the Governor-in-Council could not fail to be drawn to. [*the suggestion*] that the British Government have the means of punishing the Government by confiscating as a forfeit the Raja's income, which he derives from the villages belonging to the Hon'ble Company's pargana of Broach, Anklesvar and Hansot, consisting of an annual revenue from tora gras for ready money payments, originally intended as the price of protection paid by the respective villages (of about Rupees 14,000 or 15,000 per annum, from which also can the damage sustained by the sufferers at Singhpur be made good, should other means fail of causing reparation to be made to them.

The Governor-in-Council views the collection of a revenue of this description by any foreign Chieftain on the subjects of the Company as liable to objection, if it could be prevented consistently with the principles of justice; but that he should be slow in sanctioning a measure which would deprive that State of any revenue, to which it is supposed to have had originally an undoubted right, without the consideration of due circumstances.

* The Magistrate and the Collector may therefore be called upon *Inquiry* to adopt the most effectual measures for ascertaining the grounds on which this levy was actually made. (1) Whether the villages from which the collections are made, are actually among those which have suffered? (2) The mode of collection and the proportions in which it is levied from each of the villages respectively. Whether its payment operates in any degree oppressively to the inhabitants? (3) And lastly whether contributions of a like nature are made by any of the villages to the Company?

Ordered that the Magistrate and Collector of Broach be directed to report whether there be any other payments made by the Company's subjects to foreign Powers as the price of protection and, if so, to deliver in a statement thereof, descriptive of the nature of the payments, when made, under what circumstances. What protection is afforded in return? and whether they operate oppressively on our subjects?

When the reports of the Magistrate and Collector of Broach shall have been received, it will be, a matter for consideration what steps may be most advisable to be pursued for affording compensation to the sufferers for the loss they may have sustained by the late attack; and in the meanwhile the Collector may be directed to make some small temporary allowances to the wives and families of the persons who were killed or rendered incapable of supporting themselves during the conflict, confining these allowances however within narrowest limits, until some permanent provision may be made for their support. Similar references to be made to the Magistrates and Collectors at Surat and Kaira.

Pratapsing It appears by Captain Carnac's dispatch of the 7th May, 1810, that Pratapsing, now on the gadi of Rajpipla, is the son of the late Raja Ramsing by his wife, the daughter of the Rana of Manduri, and that he has been placed there under the Company's guarantee on his submitting to the considerations under which his father held the government.

Naharsing (the uncle who is blind) declares that Pratapsing is not the son of his brother Ramsing's wife. But until that point can clearly be proved, it appears impossible to disturb the present succession. Our proceedings must therefore be regulated as applying to Pratapsing, who (until proved to the contrary) must be looked to for the preservation of the tranquillity of that petty State.

There is no treaty between him and the Gaikwad for the protection of his dominions against invasion, though assistance and support was given on a former attack by the Koli Chieftain under the supposed influence of Narbarsing.

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